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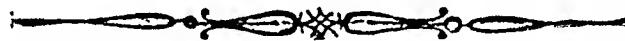
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# THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER

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# **INDIA IN HOME POLITY**

**Chronicle of Events**

**July—December 1933**

# CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

JULY 1933

**4th. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai Released** :—Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, ex-Advocate General, Bombay, undergoing imprisonment in the Nasik Jail from September last, was released, the rest of his sentence having been commuted by the Government.

**7th. Communal riot at Beldanga** :—A press note issued regarding the communal friction at Beldanga, said that the close proximity of the ancient Hindu temple to the mosque in the village provided opportunities for ill-feeling between the two communities. The Ratha Jatra festival, last month, passed off peacefully but on 3rd. July a crowd of Mahomedans assembled round the dakh bungalow where the Sadar Sub-Divisional Officer and the Circle Inspector were staying and assumed a threatening attitude. The Inspector who went to expostulate with them was severely assaulted. As the crowd refused to disperse the Sub-Divisional Officer ordered the police to open fire. There were no casualties. On the following day looting and assault by Mahomedan mobs at Beldanga and neighbouring villages began. More than 100 Hindu houses were damaged by fire. Police pickets were posted in the disturbed area.

**Die-hards on Terrorism—Select Committee Evidence** :—The chief feature of the conclusion of the evidence of Sir John Thompson, Sir Alfred Watson and Mr. E. Villiers was an account of terrorism, given by Sir Alfred Watson, who said : "Its objective is to break down the present system of rule. It is a widely sentimental movement, against a form of rule which, they consider, had never done them justice. Its adherents are generally intellectual youngmen, who, having attained University degrees, find no means of livelihood and drift into a State of despondency. Sir Alfred Watson did not think that the movement would be immediately eliminated with the grant of responsible Government, but the target would be changed. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyenger suggested the desirability of inserting in the White Paper proposals to induce Indian Ministers to face terrorism and deal with it. Sir John Thompson agreed to the desirability of doing everything possible, but there were difficulties in carrying out the suggestion.

**Indian Questions : British Protagonists' restlessness** :—The three protagonists of the Indian question, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lloyd and Sir Laurie Hammond, spoke at meetings in London.—Mr. Churell at Epping, reaffirming his intention to continue the opposition to the White Paper policy, was of opinion that the Federal system would not be established in India until provincial home rule had proved workable. He believed that his supporters' most moderate requests would ultimately be granted.—Lord Lloyd speaking at Lancashire, criticised Mr. Baldwin's Manchester argument that Britain could not repudiate her grant of full fiscal autonomy to India. He was of opinion that, "We still have a right and a voice in the tariffs that India may make, and the implementation of the White Paper proposals will lose that for ever." He advocated that the remedy for Lancashire trade was to recover the control of the great Colonial and Crown Colony Markets.—Sir Laurie Hammond, at a meeting of the Union of Britain and India, said that despite his die-hard attitude to the constitutional change fifteen years ago, he was of opinion that they must go forward with the constitutional proposals.

**12th. The Leaders' Poona Conference** :—The informal conference of Congressmen called by Mr. M. S. Aney, Acting President of the Congress, was held punctually at 2 P. M. at Tilak Mandir, Poona. Mr. Aney, who presided, opened the conference with a short speech welcoming the delegates. He was succeeded by Mahatmaji who in a brief speech lasting for 22 minutes placed before the conference the relevant issues on which he desired the definite views of the delegates present. Seventeen delegates addressed the gathering stating their views on the present situation

Hundred and fifty delegates were present. All the provinces were well represented.

**14th. "Advance" Security Case: High Court Sets Aside Govt. Order :—**A Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court, presided over by the Hon'ble Sir C. C. Ghosh, Acting Chief Justice, with Mr. Justice Mookherjee and Mr. Justice Panekridge, disposed of the application of Brojendra Nath Gupta, Editor, Printer and Publisher of "Advance", and Anil Chandra Datta Gupta, keeper of "Sadhan Press", against the orders of the Local Government, served upon them, demanding securities of Rs. 2,000 each for publishing in the issue of 20th May last a report of an interview at Cawnpore given by Maulana Hazrat Mohani to "Associated Press" regarding the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The securities had been deposited with the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. Their Lordships, in delivering judgment, found that the Local Government was not entitled to ask for any security deposit from the applicants, in as much as the article published did not come within Section 4 Sub-clause 1 of Act 23 of 1931 as amended by Act 23 of 1932. The application was allowed and the orders of the Local Government set aside. Their Lordships further directed the return of the security to the depositors thereof.

**Leaders' Poona Conference :—**At to-day's sitting of the Conference Gandhi expressed his views regarding the present political situation in the country. The proceedings began at 1-15 P. M., Gandhiji being the first to speak. He spoke for 80 minutes. He said that he could not understand what people meant when they said that the Civil Disobedience Movement had failed. The movement was not begun in 1930, but in 1920 nearly 13 years ago. Out of this for about five or six years in the middle there was no movement for one reason or other. He said that it could not therefore be said to have failed. Gandhiji invited the delegates to express their views in the matter before the future programme was decided upon.

**17th. Hoare Emphatic: No Negotiation with Gandhiji :—**In the House of Commons referring to the present position of civil disobedience, Sir Samuel Hoare said: "We have said that we are not prepared to negotiate, and we shall maintain that position. Mr. Gaudhi again wishes to put himself in the position of a negotiator with the Government of India and carried in reserve the unconstitutional weapon of civil disobedience. I repeat that there can be no question of making a bargain with the Congress as a condition for their accepting the ordinary obligations of law-abiding citizens." Sir Samuel Hoare proceeded to read the Viceroy's message to Mr. Gaadhi, pausing at the first sentence stating, "if the circumstances were different" the Viceroy would gladly see Mr. Gaadhi, Sir Samuel Hoare said that there was no question, whatever, of unconditionally refusing interview. The Viceroy's telegram had full concurrence of His Majesty's Government. Sir Samuel Hoare proceeded to deal with law and order in Bengal, and did not refer to Mr. Gandhiji's reply.

**Mahatma Refused Interview with Viceroy :—**The reply of H. E. the Viceroy to Gandhiji refusing to grant an interview took the inmates of 'Parnakuti' as well as the leaders there by surprise. Though slightly perturbed over it, Gandhiji appeared to have been determined to explore all possible avenues of peace. All Working Committee members and Congress leaders staying at Poona were summoned immediately who discussed the situation arising out of the Viceroy's refusal to grant the interview asked for. Finally Mahatmaji decided to send another telegram clarifying his position and also explaining the real nature of the decision of the informal conferences recently held.

**21st. Mr. Aney's Statement on Congress Policy :—**Mr. M. S. Aney issued his statement regarding the future policy of the Congress. He said that the mass civil disobedience, including no-tax and no-rent campaigns should be stopped for the time being, while those willing to offer individual civil disobedience might do so on their own responsibility without expecting any help from the Congress. Secret methods followed hitherto must be abandoned. All Congress organisations shall cease to exist; but wherever possible dictators in the provinces and all-India dictators shall continue. Mr. Aney called upon all Congressmen unable to offer the civil disobedient to carry on the constructive activities of the Congress.

*Gandhi on the Viceroy's Reply* :—Asked what he thought of the Viceroy's reply, Mahatma Gandhi said: "In my opinion, the Viceregal reply has created a regretful situation fraught with grave danger. The doctrine laid down in that reply, in my opinion, is altogether new. I do not know that civilised States have refused to carry on conversations with their rebellious subjects for the sake of peace, and whilst hitherto they have parleyed with rebels who have been armed from top to toe, in the present instance civil resisters are admittedly non-violent. It is also a matter for deep regret that His Excellency should have taken any notice, whatsoever, of unauthorised Press reports of confidential proceedings in answering a simple request for an interview for promoting peace. "The Viceregal telegrams," he added, "are clear proof of the fact that what the Government desires is not an honourable settlement but a complete and humiliating surrender on the part of the Congress". Regarding the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons in defence of the Viceroy's attitude, Gandhiji said that it was "another surprise like the Viceregal telegram and equally painful."

*Communal Award and Poona Pact* :—*Searching Cross-Examination of Sir Samuel by Sir N. N. Sircar* :—Sir Samuel Hoare was subjected to a long cross-examination by Sir Nripendranath Sircar on the subject of Communal Award and Poona Pact at the sitting of the Joint Select Committee, when it considered the question of franchise. Sir Nripen quoted figures with a view to showing that one community got sixteen more seats than their proportion of population in Bengal. He also pointed out that there was no signatory to the Poona Pact representing Bengal. The chairman at length yielded to the force of Sir Nripen's argument and allowed the reopening of the communal question.

**22nd. Death of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta** :—Mr. Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta who as a State prisoner was staying at Ranchi for reasons of health died suddenly on the night of 22nd July of apoplectic stroke. His mortal remains were brought to Calcutta by train. Then the funeral procession started and had to move at a snail's pace owing to the large crowd. Wreaths were placed on the body on route by the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, by Dr. B. C. Roy, an ex-Mayor and colleague of Mr. Sen Gupta and by the staff of the "Advance". The procession halted for some time at Mr. Sen Gupta's house, before reaching the burning ghat.

**23rd. India Office hostile to Bengal Hindus** :—That the India Office is definitely hostile to Bengal Hindus in their demands for the revision of the Poona Pact was the impression of Sir Nripendranath Sirkar, who, in the course of an interview, declared: "I am having an awful time, because I am trying to do something in the interest of Bengal, and everyone is opposed to me. I do not like all the power to be captured by others with Bengal Hindus holding aloof". It was openly said that the India Office and Sir Malcolm Hailcy were extremely hostile to Bengal Hindus, "they being obsessed with the idea that if Hindus get power, it would mean the breaking up of the constitution".

**24th. Gandhiji or Mr. Aney's Statement** :—Gandhiji, in the course of a statement on Mr. Aney's decision, observed that Mr. Aney had not given any reasons and that it was left for Gandhiji to give them. He explained why secret methods had been tabooed and said that mass civil disobedience had been stopped because the people were no longer able to bear the rigours of repression, and that they had not yet learnt to act as one man. "Those Congressmen who do not wish to offer civil resistance under the new scheme," Gandhiji adds, "will engage themselves in the constructive activities of the Congress, such as Harijan service, communal unity, khadi production, total prohibition, encouraging indigenous industries and other nation-building activities." Regarding the question of abolition of the posts of "dictators", Gandhiji said that the offices of "dictators" should be abolished while the opposite view was held by Mr. Aney. Concluding, Mahatma said that the Congress would be ever ready for honourable peace.

**26th. Sabarmathi Ashram to be disbanded :—**Gandhiji decided to disband his Ashram at Sabarmathi, which was established by him 18 years ago. Asked why he had decided to take such a step, Gandhiji said that the hundreds and thousands who had taken part in the struggle had lost their all and that he had only the Ashram; and "on the eve of my embarking on what is to me a sacred mission in life I should invite fellow-workers of the Ashram to join me and give up for the time being the activities in which they were engaged all these precious years". In an interview to the "Daily Herald", London, Gandhiji was reported to have stated that the Ashramites and himself were voluntarily giving up possession of the Ashram properties to the Government. He said that himself and people had come to the conclusion that they should no longer enjoy those things when others had been deprived of what were just as precious as the things of the Ashram to the Ashram people.

**Gandhiji's Letter to Government :—**Gandhiji wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department, stating his reasons for disbanding the Sabarmathi Ashram and suggesting that the Government take possession of the land, crops and buildings belonging to the Ashram and do what they like with them. Gandhiji wished that beneficial use be made of them, instead of the same being allowed to run to waste. Regarding the movable properties of the Ashram, he stated that he proposed handing them over to friends who would use them for public benefit and in accordance with the earmarking. The Secretary acknowledged the letter.

## AUGUST 1933

**1st. Mahatma Gandhi's Arrest :—**Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Mahadev Desai and thirty-two inmates of the Sabarmathi Ashram were arrested at 1-40 a.m. at Sheth Ranchhodlal's bungalow and taken to the Sabarmati Jail. Gandhiji had proposed to march with his companions from the Ashram to Ras in order to "carry the message of fearlessness to every village home." The arrests were made under Section 3 of the Emergency Powers Act.

**3rd. Girl Students arrested in Calcutta :—**Two girl students of the Diocesan College, Calcutta, were arrested on a charge of possessing revolvers without license. In this connection several houses in South Calcutta were searched.

**4th. Mahatma Gandhi sentenced :—**Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment by the Additional District Magistrate of Poona, under Section 17 of the Bombay Special Emergency Powers Act 1932. The trial was held in the Yerwada Jail and Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charge. After being served with the order not to leave Poona, but to quit the jail premises, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai were released this morning and were taken outside. As, however, both asserted that they would break the order and did not want to leave the jail, but remained in its vicinity, they were arrested by the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Poona, and taken into custody again. They were later placed on trial and convicted. Gandhiji was placed in "A" class, while Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. Gandhi's secretary, who was subsequently tried and sentenced under the same section to one year's simple imprisonment was placed in "B" class. The order under section 4 of the Bombay Special Powers Act of 1932 for the breach of which Mr. Gandhi was sentenced required him, among other things, to remove himself from the limits of Yerwada village by 9-30 a.m. and to reside within the limits of Poona City Municipality. The order was served on him at 9-5 a.m. and he was released forthwith along with Mr. Mahadev Desai. Mr. Gandhi was re-arrested near the Ghat-links falling within Yerwada village limits at 9-50 a.m. for non-compliance of the order.

*Calcutta Corporation's protest against Gandhiji's Conviction* :—On the motion of Mr. B. N. Bannerji, the Calcutta Corporation adopted a resolution, without a division, protesting against the arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi. European Councillors opposed the resolution, which was seconded by a Moslem Alderman. Mr. Nooruddin.

**6th. Conviction of Mr. Krishna Nair** :—Mr. F. B. Pool, Additional District Magistrate, Delhi, summarily tried under Sec. 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Mr. Krishna Nair, Memobhai Chhotidevi, Sohanlal and Swarnpanand, convicting the first to six months' rigorous and Rs. 50 fine, in default to six weeks further imprisonment and the others to three months' rigorous and Rs. 50 fine, in default six weeks additional imprisonment. The case against Mr. Nair was that he announced a meeting on behalf of the District Congress Committee in connection with M. Gandhi's arrest and while announcing carried the Congress flag and shouted the usual Congress slogans. The charge against the others was that they addressed on the same day, a meeting in Queen's Gardens, advocating boycott of liquor and foreign cloth.

**7th. Mrs. Gandhi's Conviction** :—Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi, who was arrested along with fifteen other women, was convicted by the City Magistrate, Ahmedabad, and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. Mrs. Gandhi was recommended to be placed in "A" Class in view "of her mode of living, social status and advanced age." Miss Kantak and Mrs. Mahadev Desai were sentenced to six months' rigorous and placed in "B" class, while the rest were sentenced to six months' rigorous and placed in "C" class.

*Gandhi Ashram inmates sentenced* :—The inmates of Mr. Gandhi's Ashram who were arrested along with M. Gandhi were released and served with restraint notices. They wrote a letter to the District Magistrate intimating their intention of disobeying the order and sixteen of them started the next morning on a march to Ras. They were arrested and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment on two counts, under Section 143 I. P. O. and Special Bombay Emergency Act, the sentences running concurrently.

*Constitutional Reform for separated Burma* : Secretary of State's Scheme :—A Scheme of Constitutional Reform in Burma, if separated from India, presented by the Secretary of State to the Joint Committee was released for publication. The Secretary of State remarks in presenting the scheme that it contains the nature of proposals which would be required if it were decided to separate Burma from India. Should the Joint Committee take the view that Burma should be included in the Indian Federation proposals of the Indian White Paper subject to some consequential adjustments would apply to Burma in the same way as to any other province. The Secretary of State reserves the right to suggest amendments on details later on. As regards the question of separation he states : "Although registering an emphatic opposition to Federation with India on the same terms as any other province, the Burma Council has refused to choose separation on the basis of constitution outlined by the Prime Minister which I may remark offered Burma control of almost of the whole range of functions which it is proposed in the White Paper to transfer popular control in the Indian Federal Government and in Provinces. The Committee, therefore, will apparently have to make their recommendations for or against separation of Burma without any clear expression of Burma Council but I should hope that when the Committee reassemble after recess an opportunity will be afforded to Indian delegates to express their views and that the committee will also agree to invite to London suitable number of representative Burmans for consultation."

*Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar sentenced* :—Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who started on a march from Trichengode with sixteen followers was arrested at Trichengode itself, along with his followers. They were tried by the Sub-divisional Magistrate and were sentenced to 6 years' rigorous imprisonment.

*Inter-provincial Conspiracy Trial opens* :—The trial in the sensational Inter-Provincial conspiracy Case, in which 38 young men from Bengal, U. P., the Punjab and Burma, had been accused of carrying on a criminal conspiracy to rise in an armed rebellion against the Government, began before a Special Tribunal in Alipore Court. In opening the case, Rai Bahadur N. N. Banerjee, the Public Prosecutor, narrated how the investigation of the police led to the

arrest of the accused, of whom one was absconding and described how they were apprehended.

**10th. Mr. Devadas Gandhi sentenced :—**Mr. F. B. Pool, Additional District Magistrate, Delhi, sentenced Mr. Devadas Gandhi to six months' simple imprisonment under Section 5 of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act for disobeying the Chief Commissioner's order not to enter the Delhi Province. Mr. Devadas Gandhi accompanied by his wife, came to Delhi on the 6th August. As soon as he alighted from the train, it was stated, he was served with an order from the Chief Commissioner, directing him to remove himself from the limits of the Delhi Province and not to enter it. Mr. Devadas Gandhi sent a note to the Commissioner stating that he had not come there with the intention of taking part in the civil disobedience movement and that if the order served on him was not withdrawn, he would not comply with it.

**Bengali Girl Students arrested :—**The Special Branch of the Calcutta Police arrested three Bengali girl students, following the searches of their respective houses, it was alleged, in connection with terrorist activities. A Bengali youth was arrested and it was alleged, was found in possession of a revolver and four cartridges.

**13th. Mr. Aney arrested :—**Mr. Aney, Acting Congress President, was arrested under section 145 of the Indian Penal Code. Along with thirteen others, including two ladies, Mr. Aney walked through the main street of Akola with music and after addressing a meeting, set out of the town towards the reserve forest. The party was arrested near Kotwali.

**14th. Death for Surya Sen and Tarak : Life Transportation for Miss Kalpana Dutt : Found Guilty of Waging War :—**The Special Tribunal delivered judgment to-day in the Supplementary Armoury Raid Case and sentenced Surya Sen to death. He was found guilty under section 121, I. P. C. (waging war against the King). Tarakeswar Dastidar was also sentenced to death under the same section. Both were found guilty also under other charges including 121A, I. P. C., but no separate sentence was passed. Miss Kalpana Dutt was found guilty under section 121, I. P. C., and sentenced to life transportation. No separate sentence was passed on her on other charges, though she was found guilty. The accused were allowed to appeal within a week's time. Elaborate police arrangements were made, around the court premises. The military paraded the town sometime prior to the delivery of judgment. The accused received the sentences calmly and were immediately removed. They left shouting revolutionary slogans.

**16th. Gandhiji Fasting Again :—**Mahatma Gandhi addressed a letter to the Government requesting them to allow him all the facilities for carrying on the Harijan uplift work on the same terms as he was doing during his last fast. He also informed the Government that he would go on a fast if his request was not acceded to. Since, according to him, Harijan work could not be interrupted except at the peril of his life. The Government's reply stated that he would be allowed to do so only on certain conditions, which did not satisfy Gandhiji. He commenced his fast on the 16th August. The Government, in a communiqué, state that the facilities they have allowed Mr. Gandhi to conduct Harijan work in the present circumstances are reasonable. "But if Mr. Gandhi now feels that life ceases to interest him, if he may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance, the Government are prepared, provided Mr. Gandhi is willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitements, to set him at liberty at once so that he can devote himself wholly and without restriction to the cause of social reform". Gandhiji was informed of the Government's decision. As he became very weak, he was removed from Yerowada Jail, on 20th August, in an ambulance van to the Sassoon Hospital. Mrs. Gandhi was released in order that she might be by his side.

**Mr. Aney sentenced :—**Mr. M. S. Aney, Acting Congress President, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250. Of the remaining thirteen members arrested along with Mr. Aney, two women were acquitted, while

all the others were awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment each. Mr. Aney pleaded "guilty" to the charge under Section 145 I. P. C.

**17th. Calcutta Muslims' protest against air bombing :—**A public meeting of the Muslims of Calcutta was held at the Albert Hall under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to protest against air bombing in the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province. A resolution was unanimously adopted characterising the operations as "an outrage on all tenets of humanity and justice," and appealing to the Government to desist from further operations. Another resolution viewed with deep concern "the policy of gradual penetration of the tribal areas, as a prelude to their final annexation to British India."

**Mahatmaji Starts Fast Again: Not Satisfied with Government Terms for Harijan work :—**Mahatma Gandhi, not being satisfied with the Government's terms giving him facilities for Harijan work from prison started a fast. An earlier message gave the India Government's 'communiqué' on the terms under which Mahatmaji would be allowed 'Harijan' work from prison. They were : (1) To receive newspapers and periodicals, but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the Press, whether with Press correspondents or others ; (2) To see not more than two visitors a day ; (3) To be allowed to send instructions or contributions to the editor of "Harijan" three times a week and a limited number of letters to other correspondents, and (4) To have at his disposal a convict typist and books, newspapers, etc. needed for "Harijan" work. The communiqué said :—"Mr. Gandhi on being imprisoned at the beginning of August requested that he should be permitted to do "Harijan" work and in connection with this to see visitors freely and receive and send correspondence as was permitted when he was a State prisoner. The matter had been under correspondence between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and Mr. Gandhi was informed that facilities (as given above) would be granted to him for the purpose strictly of anti-untouchability work."

**18th. Government prepared to Release Mahatmaji : "Provided He Abandons Civil Disobedience" :—**In the course of a lengthy communiqué, the Government of India state that they are satisfied that the facilities they have allowed are ample to enable Mr. Gandhi to conduct such work in favour of the removal of untouchability as are in the circumstances reasonable. If Mr. Gandhi now feels, however, that life ceases to interest him if he may not do "Harijan" service without let or hindrance, the Government are prepared, provided that Mr. Gandhi is willing to abandon civil disobedience and incitement, to set him at liberty so that he can devote himself to social work wholly, without restriction, to the cause of social reform. Mr. Gandhi was informed accordingly.

**22nd. Sardar Sardul Singh sentenced :—**Sardar Sardul Singh Cavcshar, Acting President of the Congress, was tried by the Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, under Section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500, in default to one month's further imprisonment. Sardar Sardul Singh pleaded "guilty" to the charge of picketing. He was awarded 'A' Class. Three volunteers who were arrested along with the Sardar were sentenced under the same section to three months' rigorous imprisonment each.

**23rd. Mahatmaji's Release and After :—**Mahatmaji was released unconditionally to-day. He was taken to "Parnakuti". In an interview to pressmen, two days after his release, Gandhiji stated that the release came upon him unexpectedly. He added that he would seek peace much more eagerly than imprisonment and a possible repetition of the fast. "I shall, therefore, again use this unexpected freedom from imprisonment for the sake of exploring the avenues of peace."

**Harijan Service : "the breath of my life" :—**Writing in the "Harijan" Gandhiji said : "Whether in prison or outside prison, Harijan service will always be after my heart, and will be the very breath of life for me, more precious than my daily bread. I can live for some days at least without daily bread, but I cannot live without Harijan service for one single minute. It is my cons-

tant prayer to the Almighty that this blot of untouchability may be removed in its entirety from Hinduism, and that the millions of Caste Hindus may see the Sun of Truth which shines upon us if we would only remove the scales from our eyes. As I have repeatedly said in these columns, my life is dedicated to this cause and I shall consider no penance too great for the vindication of Truth."

**24th. Mr. Mohanlal Saxena sentenced :—**Mr. Mohanlal Saxena and 21 others, who were prosecuted under Section 17, Clause 1, of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for taking out a procession advocating boycott of foreign cloth and British goods and asking people to assist the operations of the Town Congress Committee, were tried by the City Magistrate, Lucknow. All the accused pleaded "not guilty". They admitted having joined the procession to propagate boycott of British goods and foreign cloth, but denied having had to do anything with the Congress. All of them were convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each.

**30th. The Viceroy's address to the Legislature :—**Addressing the two Houses of the Legislature, His Excellency the Viceroy said that conditions in India were more satisfactory in many ways than they had been for a considerable period. Referring to the political situation, His Excellency observed that though civil disobedience still maintained a precarious existence, popular judgment had discarded it and the way to happier conditions is broadening out. Concluding, the Viceroy appealed to the members "to help their country forward to the attainment of her ultimate goal as an equal partner in shaping the destinies of the British Empire."

**31st. Seizure of dynamite sticks in Calcutta :—**A large sized trunk full of dynamite-sticks was discovered by the police, following a raid on a house in the Indian quarter of Calcutta, within a stone's throw of the police court. A Bengali youth was taken into custody. The seizure was believed to be the biggest during recent years. It was also alleged that, along with the trunk, was found a canister containing what is described as a poison-gas bomb. It was said to be of a different type from those discovered from time to time in the past.

## SEPTEMBER 1933

**1st. Gandhiji's appeal regarding "Harijan Day" :—**Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement in connection with the observance of the "Harijan Day" on 24th September in the course of which he said : "The Servants of the Untouchable Society has declared the 24th of this month as the "Harijan Day". It is the anniversary of the Yerowada Pact miscalled the Poona Pact. It is to be hoped that the day will be celebrated in a manner befitting the occasion. Each Harijan organisation should take stock of his or its year's activity and contribution to the removal of the cancer of untouchability. Societies and individuals can make resolutions for the year to follow. Subscriptions can be collected from door to door for work to be done. All the various activities that have been hitherto followed will, I have no doubt, be taken up with greater emphasis on the 24th September".

**2nd. Midnapore Magistrate Shot dead :—**Mr. B. E. G. Burge, District Magistrate, Midnapore, was assassinated to-day. Mr. Burge drove to the police lines, at five in the afternoon, to play a football match on behalf of the Town Club against the Mahomedan team. He was accompanied by Mr. Jones, the Additional Police Superintendent, and Mr. Linton, the Civil Surgeon. The play was just about to start when three Bengalee youths closed in on Mr. Burge. He was shot in six places. Mr. Burge's armed orderlies immediately rushed at the assailants, and shot down and killed one who fell across Mr. Burge's body. Another assailant was wounded and he died in hospital subsequently. The third

man was arrested. The youth who died in the hospital was a student of the Matriculation Class.

**3rd. Bengal Muslims oppose re-opening of the Communal Award :—**A reception accorded to Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi on his return from London was availed of by the Moslem Institute, Calcutta, to record a protest against the re-opening of the Communal Award by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The meeting passed a resolution opining that the reopening of the Communal Award was ill-advised and fraught with very grave danger both to the Moslem community and to the country at large. The resolution warned that any further attempt to change the Award would give rise to a very intense feeling of discontent and disaffection among the Moslems of Bengal.

**6th. Calcutta Corporation condemns the Midnapore Outrage :—**On the motion of Mr. Rooney, the Calcutta Corporation adopted unanimously a resolution recording its sense of horror and abhorrence at the dastardly action of terrorists at Midnapore, resulting in the assassination of Mr. B. E. J. Burge, tried and valued friend of all sections of the community, and conveying to the wife and relatives of Mr. Burge, its sincere and deepest sympathy in the irreparable loss that they had sustained.

**8th. Corporation-crippling Bill passed : A Blot in Bengal's History :—**The Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill was passed in the Bengal Legislative Council. With the passage of the Bill, curtain was rung down over the autumn session of the Bengal Legislative Council. One more weapon was forged in the armoury of the bureaucracy to be hurled, at its sweet will, on the unwary heads of the Councillors and Aldermen of the Calcutta Corporation. In moving that the Bill be passed the Minister referred to the "approbation of his conscience" which he said, he had received in moving and steering the Bill through. Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, in a thoroughly convincing speech, exposed the hollowness of the allegations made against the Corporation.

**15th. Gandhiji's Decision to keep aloof from C. D. :—**Gandhiji announced temporary retirement from aggressive civil disobedience up to 3rd August next. He said : "After hard praying and thinking, I have come to the conclusion that up to the termination of the period of my sentence, I must not court imprisonment by offering aggressive civil disobedience. This, however, in no way affects the advice given in the statement issued by me after the informal conference at Poona." Continuing, Gandhiji said : "My release has placed me in a most embarrassing position, but as a Satyagrahi somehow or other it offends my sense of propriety to court imprisonment in the circumstances created by my discharge. It appears to me to be petty to force the Government to rearrest me by taking aggressive action during my unexpired term of imprisonment unless extraordinary circumstances arise compelling me to revise my decision."

**16th. Pt. Jawaharlal's Letter to Mahatma Gandhi :—**The first of the letters of Pandit Jawaharlal to Mahatma Gandhi after their talks at Poona, was released for publication. The letter stressed the importance of the resolution passed by the Karachi Congress on Fundamental Rights and Economic changes and clarified the position in this respect. Regarding the immediate national problems the Pandit made it clear that the Congress itself had not been dissolved by Mr. Aney's statement and agreed with the action taken by M. Gandhi and Mr. Aney in this respect. Pandit Jawaharlal opined that the difference between individual and mass civil disobedience was not fundamental. While agreeing with M. Gandhi in discouraging secret methods in carrying on Congress activities, the Pandit pleaded that a certain latitude should be allowed in exceptional circumstances.

**Mahatma Gandhi's reply :—**Mahatma Gandhi in a letter replied to every point raised by Pandit Jawaharlal. He said that he was in whole-hearted agreement with Pandit Jawaharlal that without material revision of vested interests the condition of the masses could never be improved. Mr. Gandhi agreed with Pandit Jawaharlal's interpretation of Mr. M. S. Aney's action and stated that he was quite clear in his mind that if those instructions had not been issued the whole

movement would have collapsed through the growing internal weakness. Mr. Gandhi added that the essential difference between mass and individual civil disobedience was that leadership was essential in mass civil disobedience while every civil resister was his own leader in individual civil disobedience. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said that there was nothing wrong in Congressmen feeling unable to join civil resistance and said that they also would be serving the country if they took to constructive activities like the achievement of communal unity, the removal of untouchability and the universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar.

**20th. Death of Dr. Annie Besant :—**Dr. Annie Besant, who was ailing for the past few months, passed away to-day. The funeral was quite an imposing one and was attended by a large number of ladies and gentlemen. The mortal remains of Dr. Besant were cremated on a platform of "Suryashrama" at Adyar. Before the pyre was lit, Mr. A. P. Warrington, the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society paid a glowing tribute to the departed leader. He was followed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Leadbeater and Mr. A. Runganatha Mundiar. Feeling tributes were paid, in the Assembly, by the party leaders and the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly as also Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Tagore, Dr. Alam, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas, Mr. George Lansbury and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, when interviewed by the press representatives.

**22nd. Measures against terrorists in Midnapore :—**The Government of Bengal, considered the following measures necessary to suppress terrorists' activities in Midnapore: (1) Increase of the armed police force in Midnapore town by 100 men with the usual complement of officers, at the expense of the inhabitants of the town for one year at present. (2) Further increase of the Intelligence Staff employed in Midnapore. (3) Application to Midnapore District of the rules in force in Chittagong under the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act.

**23rd. Flood havoc in the Punjab :—**Several villages in the Ambala Division, Punjab, were swept away and others seriously inundated due to floods. Hundreds were rendered homeless. A great deal of damage occurred to crops and property. People took shelter in shops, godowns, and stables. A number of houses collapsed in one of which an old woman instantly died and two were seriously injured. Four persons were reported to have died in a house collapse in Bibyal village. In Ludhiana, a portion of the northern wall of the jail compound suddenly collapsed owing to incessant and very heavy rainfall.

**24th. Gandhiji's appeal for flood relief in Orissa :—**Appealing for funds for the relief of flood-stricken Orissa, M. Gandhi says that the affected area covers two thousands miles. The people affected number three lakhs. One thousand five hundred villages have been destroyed. Twenty-thousand houses have collapsed and the damage is estimated at Rs. 15,00,000. M. Gandhi says that it would be necessary to provide relief to people actually in want of food and clothing for twelve months, for they will not have, till the next year's crops are ready, the wherewithal to keep body and soul together. At least, five lakhs of rupees will be required to help those who can be proved to be clearly indigent.

**Bomb thrown on Police station :—**A country-made bomb was thrown into the compound of the Lohari Gate police in Lahore, at 11 p. m. presumably by a person passing by the road. The bomb failed to explode, and no damage of any description was caused. Enquiries showed that the police received information that a bomb was going to be thrown at the police post during the night. High officials, including the Senior Superintendent of Police, the Superintendent, C. I. D., and others hid themselves inside the buildings. But the man who threw the bomb escaped. Several midnight searches were carried out in the city and two persons were taken into custody.

**27th. Indian Women's Representatives at Geneva :—**The President of the League Council cordially received the three representatives of Indian Women, namely, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur from the Punjab, Mrs. Hamid Ali from Bombay and Mrs. Swaminathan from Madras. They submitted suggestions to the League to appoint Indian women wherever possible as members or associates of Commiss-

sions dealing with social operations. The President promised to bring their application to the notice of the League.

*Sir John Simon's defence of the League* :—A spirited defence of the League and the Disarmament Conference, against what he described as unfair criticism, was the most striking feature of Sir John Simon's address to the League Assembly. Sir John Simon's reply to the criticism that no progress had been made was apparently a direct answer to the Norwegian Premier Dr. Mowinckel's speech on the previous day. Sir John Simon urged that the prompt achievement of Disarmament would do more than anything else to help the economic recovery. He said that some modification of the present draft Disarmament Convention might facilitate the formulation of a plan for Disarmament by stages. There is a lull at present in the discussions at Geneva and the delegates have left for their respective countries in order to report to their Governments on the progress of Disarmament talks. The crux of the situation is Germany's insistence that her claims must be satisfied regarding the possession of at least samples of every weapon accorded to other powers. France is opposed to that demand.

*Search for absconders in Chittagong* :—Acting on information, the police and the military surrounded a house at Paraikora near Chittagong, in search of absconders. In the course of the watch, they found three persons proceeding towards the house, of whom one was arrested as a suspect. Later, towards the morning, the troops, who kept a night-long vigil, found two persons emerging from the house. The latter tried to break through the cordon. One was arrested and was believed to be an absconder. The other was chased by the troops and fired at but he escaped into the night. Incriminating documents, it was alleged, were recovered. The arrested man was removed to Chittagong.

**28th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Exhortation to the Youth of India** :—Speaking under the auspices of the Hindu Young Men's Association, Bombay, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appealed to the youth to make a new resolution regarding the future of their mother-land. Explaining the reason for the present "low condition" he said: "In a weak moment, we made a pact called the Irwin-Gandhi Pact which was the beginning of the national undoing. People like me would never say 'Come down' however steep the mountain or deadly the path, full of peril and certain of death, but would say 'Go ahead, always, without looking back at the valley, until you reach the mountain peak.' Continuing, she said: "We want freedom which gives to all classes of the country bread and a living chance to every man and woman."

*Gujerat Swadeshi Exhibition* :—Mr. B. G. Horniman opened at Ahmedabad the Swadeshi Exhibition organised by the Gujerat Swadeshi League. The exhibition, which was to continue for one hundred days, would move in a caravan of motor cars, through all the districts of Gujerat. Mr Horniman commended this method of propagating the cult of Swadeshi and urged its adoption all over the country.

## OCTOBER 1933

**2nd. Muslims' Opposition to re-opening of the Communal Award** :—The attempt on the part of Bengal Hindus to reopen the Communal Award, was opposed at a Muslim meeting held at the Howrah Town Hall, presided over by Mr. Abul Kasem. The resolution stated that the Award had already relegated the Moslem majority in Bengal to a statutory minority and further that the participation of Moslem representatives in the constitutional discussions had been on the clear assurance that the Communal Award was final.

**3rd. Joint Select Committee re-assembles** :—The Joint Select Committee reassembled to-day. Sir Samuel Hoare resumed his evidence. To numerous questions on Britain's

position Sir S. Hoare said that while there was no British guarantee, His Majesty's Government would not allow a situation to arise in which India could repudiate it. Regarding the rights of members of the Services, Sir S. Hoare pointed out the difficulty of specifying "severing" rights and said that it must be left to the discretion of the Secretary of State. He made it clear that the right to retire on proportionate pension would be enjoyed by the present members of the Services and would extend to those recruited during the next five years.

*Hoare on Better feeling in India* :—A better feeling in India was stressed by Sir Samuel in a letter to his constituents. He said that his advisers informed him that there was greater feeling of goodwill towards Britain than for several years. "We are now beginning to find more support for police among the public of Bengal." Sir S. Hoare attributed the change to the double policy of maintaining Law and Order and proceeding with constitutional reform. He referred in this connection to the steps taken to ensure the fullest consideration of every side of the Indian question and added : "Let us meanwhile not fight about question that have not yet been settled and avoid the use of rhetorical phrases such as 'abdication and cowardly surrender' which have no connection whatever with Government proposals."

**4th. Ruling Chiefs and Rural Uplift** :—A big step forward in formulating an all-round rural uplift scheme in the Presidency, was taken by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, when, at His Excellency's invitation, the Ruling Chiefs of the Presidency and their representatives assembled at the Government House, Poona, to confer with His Excellency on the subject. H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes said that the future being closely bound up with co-operation between British India and the Indian States they were asked to confer about the welfare of villages in their territories and in British India. The prosperity of India, said His Excellency, lay in agriculture and the well-being of villagers. His Excellency invited suggestions. The Chief of Sangli suggested that talukas of like agricultural conditions should be grouped together for the purpose of the scheme. The Chief of Aundh emphasised the need for delivering villagers from crushing indebtedness. After a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Conference ended with a tea party.

*Women's plea for Registration of marriages* :—The Bombay Women's Committee on educational and social reform, at its Seventh Annual Conference, passed a resolution urging on the Government the necessity of making the teaching of reading and writing compulsory for all illiterate prisoners in jails. The conference expressed the opinion that in order to make the Sarda Act more effective, registration of marriages should be made compulsory throughout India. The conference also passed a resolution giving whole-hearted support to the Girls' Protection Bill, sponsored in the Indian Legislative Assembly by Kunwar Ragbir Singh.

**6th. Identity cards for Hindu youths in Chittagong** :—An order was promulgated directing the Hindu Bhadrakol youth between the ages of twelve and twenty-five residing in the thanas of Anora and Hathazari in Chittagong to obtain identity cards similar to those issued in June last to youths of four other thanas in the district, on the ground that "this section of youths is even now actively engaged in the terrorist movement as shown by their possessing terrorist and objectionable literature and stealing guardians' money and jewellery, thereby assisting terrorists and procuring shelter for absconders.

*Sir T. B. Sapru's Tribute to Dr. Besant* :—Eloquent tributes were paid to the memory of Dr. Besant at a representative public meeting held in the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The speakers included Mr. Chintamani, Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurur, Munshi Iswar Saran and Mrs. Uma Nehru. Sir Tej Bahadur, paying a glorious tribute to her services to India, said that Dr. Besant was to a very large extent responsible for that burning passion for political freedom and political self-respect which was now characteristic of this country. He had not the least hesitation in saying that no Indian loved India more deeply and more sincerely and with greater

passion or with more burning faith in India's destiny, than Dr. Besant did since she adopted India as her motherland.

**10th. Sir S. Hoare favours Separation of Burma :—**A personal opinion in favour of separation of Burma was expressed by Sir Samuel Hoare in a statement before the Select Committee. He said that it would be inappropriate at the present juncture for Government to declare a definite decision that might appear to prejudice the Select Committee's deliberations, but he himself had come to two conclusions reached by the Simon Commission, namely, that Burma should henceforth be separated and that the general body of Burman opinion supports separation. Taking his stand on the assumption that the majority of anti-separationist opinion worked under the idea that they could secede from Federation at will—an idea which was not opposed by Indian opinion—Sir Samuel argued that such privilege could not be extended to one federating unit alone and said that he was satisfied that once this issue had been made clear Burmese opinion would be overwhelmingly in favour of separation from India.

**11th. Joint Select Committee :—**The question of the powers of Indian legislatures was discussed before the Joint Select Committee, and among the points which emerged during the discussion were that the legislature was not empowered ordinarily to amend the Constitution Act, but was free to discuss a resolution thereon; that with the consent of the Governor-General, the legislature was competent to deal with the Rupee Ratio and that the Reserve Bank Act was only alterable with the approval of Parliament. On the question of Commercial discrimination, Sir Alan Anderson, on behalf of the British Chambers and Shipowners' Parliamentary Committee, urged the necessity of making constitutional safeguards against commercial discrimination completely watertight. Mr. Jayakar raised the question of India's right to develop her key industries in India. Sir Austen Chamberlain said that that would be discrimination. When the members of the Indian Empire Society gave evidence, a number of Indian delegates to the Select Committee declined to cross-examine them. Sir Samuel next gave evidence on Sections 125 to 129 of the White Paper dealing with the administrative relations between the Federal Government and the units. The difficulties confronting the Federal Government in ensuring the implementing of Federal legislation in the "Concurrent field" were discussed.

**12th. Appeal for a United Front: Plea for A. I. C. C. Meeting :—**Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya issued a Press statement pointing out the urgent need for arriving at a unanimous national policy for the speedy attainment of Swaraj. Panditji also put forward a strong plea for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee as early as possible, before which he proposed to place his own political and economic programme along with others that might be brought forward for adoption by the country. "I deprecate," said Panditji, "the talk of two parties being formed within the Congress was more necessary in the interests of the country than it is to-day".

**13th. Burma again Opposes Separation: Emphatic Demand of Conference :—**A conference of Dr. Ba Maw's party was held for two days at Mandalay and was largely attended by Phonyis and prominent members of the Council. U Sein presided. Dr. Ba Maw, in the course of a speech, said that he was not for a permanent federation with India, but that he was against separation until Burma was granted a suitable constitution. Resolutions were passed calling upon the British Government to make an immediate announcement that Burma should not be separated from India, and upon all affiliated associations to be prepared to undertake such action as might be decided upon by the party if the British Government forced separation upon Burma, in spite of the anti-separationists' great success in the last General Election. Another resolution was passed, forming a sub-committee to consider the question of the future constitution of Burma, as well as the proposed delegation to wait upon the Select Committee.

**Hindu Maha Sabha Session :—**The fifteenth session of the Hindu Maha Sabha was held at Ajmere on 14th. and 15th. October. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his address, pleaded for unity if the Hindus wanted to exist as a community. Bhai Paramanand, the President of the Conference, in his address, criticised the Communal Award which, he stated, aimed at

creating a number of small Moslem provinces in India, and had reduced the Hindus to the position of an insignificant minority in the Centre. He deplored the lack of national consciousness among the Hindus. The President warned the British Statesmen of "the great perils involved in the continuance of the present anti-Hindu policy". The proposed constitution "is not only a negation of democracy and the greatest obstacle in the growth of common nationality, but it is believed to be the worst form of government." After the President's address, resolutions were discussed and passed. The first important resolution appealed to the League of Nations to apply to the Indian minority problem the same principle as was applied to the European minorities. The next resolution, while sympathising with the need for amelioration of the condition of labour and of the tenantry, strongly disapproved of any movement advocating extinction of capitalists and landlords as a class. Another resolution regretted the unemployment among Hindu youths and called upon Hindu organisations to establish industrial ashrams for training youths to various handicrafts. The separation of Sind was opposed. All Hindu youths were called upon to receive training in physical exercises and arts of self-defence. It was also resolved to make the necessary preparations for capturing the legislatures.

**15th. U. P. Congressmen's Suggestion:**—The U. P. Congress workers' Conference held at Allahabad passed the following resolutions: "The proper method of drawing up a constitution and settling the form of Government for a free India is by a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise and fully representative of the people of India. Such a Constituent Assembly, which can only function when the nation has gained sufficient strength, will also settle the problem of minorities to the satisfaction of all the groups concerned." The Conference was of the opinion that political freedom must be accompanied by social and economic freedom of the 'exploited masses', and the national programme and policy must be based on the transfer of political and economic power to the masses. The meeting endorsed the decision in respect of individual civil disobedience.

**Plea for summoning A. I. C. C.:**—A vehement denunciation of the present Congress leaders, whose "game of hide and seek has brought about chaotic confusion," and a strong plea for the immediate summoning of the All-India Congress Committee were voiced by Swami Gobindanand, left-wing Congressite and President of the All-India Political Workers' League, who was recently released from jail, in the course of a lengthy communication to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. After denouncing the 'dictatorial habits and quack remedies applied by Mr. Gandhi by trusting to inner voice and undertaking fasts' the Swami emphatically protested against the introduction of the Harijan uplift question into the Congress programme.

**16th. Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha:**—The Punjab Provincial Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference was held to-day. Resolutions were adopted *inter alia* urging the Government not to send any political prisoners to the Andamans, condemning the "repressive policy" of the Bengal Government, protesting against Rail-Road Bill, appealing to the people not to charge any peasant and workers compound interest, and asking peasants and workers to unite, condemning the "capitalism" of the Congress, exhorting young men not to marry before twenty-five and pressing for the release of all the political prisoners of the 1914-15 Punjab "Conspiracy" case.

**Central Sikh League: Plea for Abolishing Communal Electorates:**—"That the only way to democratic Swaraj is through the abolition of communal representation in the various legislatures of the country" was the unanimous opinion expressed by the joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and the Central Sikh League, held at Lahore. Another resolution recommended to the Khalsa Durbar to arrange for a referendum to focus the attention of the Khalsa on the mischievous character of the Communal Award.

**18th. Conference of Indians Overseas:**—The second session of the Indians Overseas Conference was held at Ajmere, Mr. Chandkaran Sarda, presiding. Many delegates from Mauritius, Trinidad, Africa, Fiji, etc., were present. The Conference passed five resolutions. One of the resolutions declared that Indians

would always stand by the Indians overseas in their political, religious and other struggles. Another resolution urged on the Government to safeguard the interests of the Indians in Kenya and South Africa.

**19th. Protest against Sir S. Hoare's statement Re. Burma** :—U. Chit Hlaing, President of one section of the Anti-Separationist Party, and also leader of that section in the Burma Legislature, sent a communication to the chairman and members of the Joint Select Committee, London, condemning and protesting against the views expressed by the Secretary of State on the issue of the separation of Burma at this stage of the Committee's proceedings and before the Committee had consulted the Indian delegates, particularly Burmese, and urging in the name of justice, fairplay and in the best interests of Burma, that a Burmese delegation be invited without delay to elicit their views on the issue of separation or Federation.

**21st. U. P. Liberal Conference** :—Presiding over the eighth session of the U. P. Liberal Conference, at Allahabad, Mr. A. P. Sen, in the course of his address, observed that there was no real self-government in the proposals of the White Paper. He appealed for united and concerted action.

**All-India Muslim League** :—An impassioned appeal for the protection of the Muslim League not against the machinations of an external foe, but against internal dissensions and for acceptance of the Communal Award, a demand for adequate representation of Muslims in the Federal Legislatures and in the public services and the introduction of suitable reforms in Baluchistan, formed the main feature of the Presidential address of Mr. Abdul Aziz, at the 23rd Session of the All-India Muslim League, which was held in the Howrah Town Hall, Calcutta.

**22nd. Mr. V. J. Patel's death** :—Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-President of the Legislative Assembly, died at a sanatorium near Geneva. He was conscious to the last and was conversing with friends, Messrs. Subhas Chandra Bose, Lotewala, Bhogilal and Nathalal. Shortly before his death, Mr. Patel gave a parting message to the country in which he stated that he was praying for the early attainment of India's freedom.

**Dr. Tagore's Tribute to Mr. Patel** :—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore gave the following tribute to the late Mr. V. J. Patel: "By the death of Vithalbhai Patel India has lost a most valiant fighter in the cause of her freedom. A selfless patriot, he most ungrudgingly gave of his best to the cause of his country. Cruel death snatches him away at a time when his services were most sorely needed and it is all the more pitiable that he should breathe his last thousands of miles away from his beloved motherland. Together with the rest of India I pay my homage to the memory of the departed leader."

**Bombay Corporation adjourns** :—As a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. V. J. Patel the Bombay Corporation adjourned on 26th October without transacting business after passing condolence resolution moved by Mr. Jamuadas Mehta, recording the Corporation's deep regret at the passing of "one of India's able politicians, a great Parliamentarian, patriot and a respected national leader."

**24th. Four years' R. I. for Miss Jyotikana Dutta** :—Miss Jyotikana Dutta, Fourth Year Class student of the Diocesan College, Calcutta, was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment by the Special Magistrate, Alipore, on a charge of unlicensed possession of arms and ammunition. It was stated that on the complaint of another girl student who missed Rs. 12 from her room, the hostel authorities instituted a search in the course of which two revolvers, two pistols and 53 cartridges were found in her room.

**Daring Train Dacoity near Kurigram** :—A daring armed train dacoity was committed near Kurigram. It was reported four youths, wearing masks, boarded a running train between Kurigram and Tograhat stations and at the point of a revolver and daggers snatched away Rs. 500 from the manager of a local Marwari firm. Before any hue and cry could be raised, the miscreants jumped down from the running train and began to run away. They were given a hot chase by the villagers, who succeeded in capturing two of them. They were

brought down to Kurigram thana. One villager received injuries caused by a revolver shot. The money was recovered from a paddy field near by. Extensive house searches were being made in this connection.

**25th. Communal Award condemned : Bengal Hindus' Meeting at Albert Hall :**—That the Communal Award was calculated to frustrate Indian National Unity by creating communal jealousies and difference was the verdict given by Bengal Hindus when they assembled in a well-represented meeting at Albert Hall under the presidency of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee. Both the President of the meeting and Bhai Paramananda, who in an exhaustive speech dwelt on the absurdity of the Communal Award and the White Paper, pointed out the unreasonableness of the Muslim demand for a statutory majority in Bengal and the Punjab and weightage in provinces where they are in a minority, while refusing the same to Hindus. The Poona Pact also came in for severe condemnation. The meeting adopted the following resolution unanimously : "This meeting of the Hindus of Bengal records its emphatic condemnation of the Communal Award, which, apart from the other great imperfections of the White Paper, is in itself a negation of self-government and is at the same time utterly unjust and unfair to the Hindus, based on no uniform principle whatever and designed with the sole object of keeping the Hindus permanently in a position of political inferiority".

**28th. The Democratic Swarajya Party :—**The Maharashtra Political Conference held in Bombay formed a party called the Democratic Swarajya Party. The members of this party should be members of the Indian National Congress. provided this condition will not be insisted upon unless and until the Emergency Powers Act recently placed on the statute book banning the functioning of Congress bodies is repealed and the said bodies are rehabilitated in their legal character. This party recognises direct action—as distinguished from civil disobedience—as a legitimate political weapon, and reserves the right to decide upon the time, occasion and methods. This Party favours the capturing and making use of all constituted bodies from the village panchayat right up to the Federal and the acceptance in the national interest of any public office and responsibility. The Party adopted an economic programme to solve agriculturists' indebtedness and unemployment.

**Agra Women's Conference :—**The representatives of the All-India Women's Conference held a conference at the residence of Mrs. Prakash Narayan Sapru, at Allahabad. The conference strongly advocated the urgent necessity of opening birth-control clinics under efficient medical advice. The conference urged the improvement of the housing conditions of so-called untouchables, and the abolition of the disabilities regarding inheritance and rights of women. The conference condemned the spirit of communalism and provincialism in the country.

**During Mail Robbery at Hili Station :—**About a dozen armed dacoits attacked Hili station, on the Eastern Bengal Railway, in the small hours of the morning and, after wounding two mail peons and several passengers and coelies by firing a number of shots, escaped with the mails for Hili and Balurghat that had arrived by the Up Darjeeling Mail. The dacoits looted the station safe and took away the sale proceeds of the railway tickets, amounting to about Rs. 350.

**19th. Marwari Women's Demand :—**Resolutions condemning the dowry system and child marriages, urging the abolition of purdah, protesting against separate electorates, and demanding further widening of women's franchise were adopted at the All-India Marwari Women's Conference held at Calcutta. The Conference also urged the Government to take prompt and effective measures to prevent crime against women, and decided to remove untouchability.

**The Madras Congress Swaraj Party :—**A meeting of Congressmen was held at the Congress House Madras where members discussed at great length the present political situation in the country and finally formed the Congress Swaraj Party to carry on political work in the country. The manifesto of the Party was discussed and adopted. The programme of the party included a nation-wide agitation against the White Paper and the Communal Award, reiteration from thousands of platforms India's demand for Purna Swaraj, the pursuit of the

constructive programme of the Indian National Congress organisation of peasants and industrial workers and promotion of communal harmony.

**30th. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya sentenced:**—Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who was arrested for picketing a foreign cloth shop at Masulipatam, was produced before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, who sentenced him to three months' imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine.

**31st. Bhai Parmanand's criticism of the Communal Award:**—Bhai Parmanand President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, addressed a crowded meeting of Hindus at the Town Hall, Nagpur. The notion that the attainment of Swaraj was impossible in the absence of Hindu-Moslem unity, he said, was a delusion. The hard fact was that so long as Moslems looked to the British Government to secure their demands, it was impossible to attain such unity. He expressed the opinion that where Mr. Gandhi failed to achieve results despite repeated efforts, no leader, however eminent, could hope to succeed. Proceeding, Bhai Parmanand explained the implications of the Communal Award, which, he said, had done injustice to the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab. Bhai Parmanand concluded by saying that Hindus must organise, unite and agitate, with a view to getting the Award modified.

## NOVEMBER 1933

**2nd. Dewas State Affairs:**—A Govt. communiqué said: "With reference to the recent rumours regarding the affairs of the Dewas State, (Senior Branch), it is understood that as the Maharaja has left his State for Pondicherry, leaving it in a state of considerable financial embarrassment, and as it is not clear whether he has any intention of ultimately returning, the Government are taking steps to ascertain his intentions, so that the interests of His Highness's State and subjects may be duly safeguarded."

**3rd. Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act brought into force:**—The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, which was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at August session received the assent of the Governor-General and was gazetted. The new Act came into operation from 16th November. Under the provisions of the Act, the Corporation was debarred from having in its employ persons convicted of offences against the State or other anti-Government activities and from making grants to institutions where such persons were employed. It further introduced a system of surcharge and the disallowance of illegal expenditure.

**5th. Kathiawar States' People's Conference:**—The Kathiawar States' People's Conference, held at Amreli, passed the following resolutions: The first resolution mourned the death of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. The second resolution, which was passed unanimously, condemned the Federation scheme as outlined in the White Paper, and reiterated the minimum demands of States' peoples. The third resolution demanded the termination of the Bikaner "Conspiracy" case. The fourth resolution condemned the States' Protection Bill, and appealed to the members of the Legislative Assembly to throw it out.

**7th. Gandhi's Harijan Tour:**—Gandhiji began his tour from to-day. He visited a village near Wardha where he addressed a public meeting. A purse was presented to him. He proceeded to Nagpur, the next day, where he was given a rousing reception and purses were presented to him on behalf of the residents of Dhantoli, the Harijan Samaj and the Nagpur Municipal Employees' Association. Addressing an audience of eight thousand people, at the town of Katol, Gandhiji said that he started on this All-India tour in order to remove the curse of untouchability. He added that either untouchability should go or he should perish in the attempt.

**8th.** *Afghan King assassinated* :—Nadir Shah, King of Afghanistan, was murdered by a fanatical supporter of the pro-Amanullah Charki family to which Gulam Nabi, who was executed last year, belonged. The late King's son, Mahomed Zahir Shah, was proclaimed King. Ex-King Amanullah, when interviewed at his residence in Rome, stated that he was always ready to serve the country and prepared to return to Afghanistan if the Afghan people wanted him.

**9th.** *Mr. V. J. Patel's Funeral* :—The earthly remains of Mr. V. J. Patel reached Bombay. The coffin was lowered from the ship's deck with the aid of a crane and carried from the wharf to the G. T. Hospital and thence to the Asian Building from which place the funeral procession started. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Kashibai Patel, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Nariman, Mr. Brelvi, Mr. Horniman, Dr. Purushottam Patel and several others had assembled there. The coffin was placed on an open lorry. A big portrait of Mr. Vithalbhai was mounted on the hood over the driver's seat. Nearly a thousand bareheaded volunteers marched silently. The procession halted in front of the Corporation buildings when Dr. Jayle, the Mayor, accompanied by the corporators, placed wreaths on the coffin. The body was taken to the Sonepur Cremation ground where nearly six lakhs of people assembled. The body was placed on the sandal-wood pyre. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered the funeral oration, followed by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Dayabhai Patel. Mr. Vallabhbhai's son, set fire to the pyre.

**10th.** *Safeguards for Anglo-Indians* :—At the meeting of the Joint Select Committee, Col. Gidney, in a memorandum on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, appealed for safe-guards for the Anglo-Indian community. The memorandum asked for economic protection for thirty years whether it asked for adequate representation in all Government departments. During the thirty years period, it asked that the number of posts they were occupying to-day in the various services should not be reduced. Col. Gidney emphasised that they reduced specific protection in the Constitution Act.

**11th.** *Dewas State Affairs* :—A Government of India Communiqué, regarding the affairs in Dewas State, said that "owing to recklessness and lack of proper control by His Highness" the affairs of the State had drifted from bad to worse. The treasury is empty, credit of the State exhausted and, continues the communiqué, His Highness had been driven to alienate permanently portions of his territory. When it was pointed out to him that a commission of enquiry was necessary, His Highness had elected to leave his State without making satisfactory arrangements for conducting the administration. "The Government of India" concludes the communiqué, "have been compelled to call upon His Highness to return to the State by the date specified, failing which, such temporary measures as are necessary must be taken to meet the immediate situation". A subsequent communiqué stated that the Government of India were taking steps to meet the immediate administrative needs of the State, since His Highness the Maharaja had not returned to the State within the time fixed.

**12th.** *Pt. Jawaharlal's Condemnation of the Mahasabha* :—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a crowded meeting of Hindu University students in Benares, condemned strongly the recent activities of the Hindu Mahasabha. He said that he had long been of the opinion that the Hindu Mahasabha was a small reactionary group, pretending to speak on behalf of the Hindus of India, whom it was very far from representing. "Under cover of seeming nationalism, the Mahasabha", declared the speaker, "not only hides the rankest and narrowest communalism, but also desires to preserve the vested interests of the group of big Hindu landlords and princes."

*Bhai Parmanand's reply to Pt. Jawaharlal* :—The view that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is incapable of placing himself in the position of Hindus because of his early training and therefore Hindus should not pay any attention to his advice any more than should they to the advice of Maulana Shaukat Ali, was expressed by Bhai Parmanand in the course of a statement to the Press in reply to Pandit Nehru's attack on the Hindu Mahasabha. Bhai Parmanand asserted that Hindu

Mahasabha was as earnest about winning Swaraj as the Congress. He added that the Pandit could not point out even a single resolution passed by the Ajmer session of the Mahasabha which would justify his accusations against the Sabha.

**13th. Search of pedestrians in Chittagong** :—Armed police and military pickets were posted at street crossings in Midnapore, for searching people of all sections, ages, and position, passing street crossings all over the town and passengers from trains and steamers. The District Magistrate notified that the special precaution was undertaken on creditable information as a preventive against terrorist outrages within the town and suburbs. The public were warned that anybody stirring out between ten in the night and six in the morning must stop on a challenge by police or military officers.

**14th. Arrest of twenty youths at Mymensingh** :—Twenty-four houses, belonging mostly to Mymensingh, and twenty youths were taken into custody as the result of a roundup. The police and the military took part in the raids. Nothing incriminating was reported to have been found, but certain literature was seized.

**15th. Punjab Hindus' protest against Communal Award** :—The Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha cabled as follows to the Secretary, Joint Select Committee, London: "The Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha strongly protests against the Communal Award which allot's Hindus a lesser number of seats in proportion to their strength in population, whilst maintaining separate electorates. This is at variance with the recommendation of the Simon Commission. The Lucknow pact, if maintained, regarding separate electorates, should not have been varied in respect of the number of seats."

**18th. Reserve Bank Report** :—Reports of the Joint Select Committee on the Reserve Bank and Imperial Bank Bills were signed and several members handed over notes of dissent, the most important of which was one concerning the State Bank and the ratio question which was signed by nine members. The following were the nine who signed the note on the ratio and State Bank: (1) Rai Bahadur Ramsarandas, (2) Mr. Husain Imam, (3) Rai Bahadur Matlraprasad Mehrotra, (4) Sardar Sant Singh, (5) Mr. B. Das, (6) Mr. Gayaprosad Singh, (7) Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, (8) Mr. B. K. Basu and (9) Mr. Nripendra Narain Singha. The last mentioned two members signed with reservation on the ratio question.

**21st. 7 years' R. I. for alleged possession of dynamite sticks** :—Jogendra Nath Banerjee was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment under the Bengal Terrorist Outrages Suppression Act by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, sitting with special powers. Jogendranath's two co-accused were acquitted. Their rooms in Nimbolla Lane, North Calcutta, were searched on the 31st August and 177 sticks of dynamite, 32 sticks of gelignite, 188 detonators, three coils of safety fuses and a large number of cartridges were discovered in a closed trunk.

**24th. Communalism condemned** :—Twenty-four prominent Congressmen of Lahore, including Doctor Satyapal, Lala Shamlal, Dr. Goplichand, Lala Dunichand and Mr. Kedarnath Seigal, issued a statement stating inter alia "that all patriotic men and women, living in this province should now combine and consolidate their Nationalist forces in condemning the anti-national and reactionary activities of the Hindu Mahasabha, and other similar unpatriotic organisations, including Muslim League, the Sikh League, and to give their whole-hearted support to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our trusted leader, and foremost and sincere patriot of the country, in his justified attacks on the Mahasabha, the Muslim Conference and all other such communal organisations."

**Police Raid in Benares** :—The police raided a house in Durgakund, in Benares, and arrested Sitanath Dey, alleged revolutionary absconder, with four others. A reward of Rs. 2000 had been offered for Dey's arrest. The names of arrested persons were Keshoprasad Sharma of Bihar, Keshav Chakravarty of Bengal, Prophullakumar Chakravarty of Benares and Swami Karamdevaji of Amritsar.

**25th. Muslim League session at Delhi** :—The twenty-third annual session of the Muslim League met at new Delhi under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, of Cawnpore. The President, in the course of his address, pleaded for rallying together of Muslims of all shades of opinion under the banner of the League. He deplored the attempts to scrap the Communal Award. He criticised the sweeping nature of the safeguards contained in the White Paper. Resolutions were passed condemning the attempts to alter the Communal Award, urging that in the matter of appointment of Ministers religious minorities should be given adequate representation and protesting against the British policy in Palestine. Another resolution reiterated the Moslem demand regarding representation in the legislatures and Fundamental Rights. Reservation of one-third of the posts in the Services for Moslems was also urged. The next resolution opposed weightage to Indian States in the Federation as it was likely to upset the communal balance.

**26th. Separate electorates in Bengal condemned** :—In view of the controversy raised over the question of the Communal Award throughout India, particularly in Bengal, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League issued a long statement to the Press, in the course of which, after recalling its own views regarding the unacceptability of the White Paper it condemned the protagonists of separate electorates in Bengal, who by accepting the White Paper were trying their level best, in co-operation with the bureaucracy in India and London, to sell the birth-right of Muslims and non-Muslims for a mess of pottage for another decade at least."

**27th. Pandit Jawaharlal's plea for national outlook** :—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru issued a long statement on Hindu and Muslim communalism, in the course of which he held that still the activities of the Hindu communal organisations including the Maha Sabha were anti-national and reactionary. The Pandit said that he felt convinced that nationalism could only come out of the ideological fusion of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other groups in India, by which he meant a common national outlook, which he believed would come from below, not from above, for among those above there were some much too interested in British domination and who hope to preserve their special privileges.

**28th. Plea for summoning the A. I. C. C.** :—A meeting of prominent Congressmen of Sind, Dr. Chotirm presiding, discussed the present political situation in the country. After four hours' discussion the meeting passed, by 17 votes to 8, a resolution expressing the opinion that, under the conditions existing at the present moment, it would be most difficult to continue individual civil disobedience or revive mass civil disobedience in Sind. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution expressing the opinion that, in view of the fact that dissection was so rife in the Congress ranks, it was high time a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee should be called with a view to discussing the present political situation in order to revive political life in the country and bring about a unity in Congress ranks.

**7 years' R. I. for possessing live bombs** :—Harendra Kumar Banerjee, his brother Birendra Kumar Banerjee and Bhabranjan Mukherjee were sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment each, under the Bengal Terrorist Offences Suppression Act by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, sitting with special powers. They were found in possession of four live bombs, and plant for their manufacture in a house in Gray Street.

**30th. Bhai Parmanand on the Communal question** :—Bhai Parmanand, explaining his recent references to Hindu Muslim unity, said: "When we see that all our efforts to attain communal unity have failed, I do not see what other course is left for Hindus, but to work on the basis of unifying themselves and, then, having advanced one step, to make another for bringing round the other communities to their views. So far, we have failed to evoke a national spirit among Moslems and there is hardly national spirit among them worth the name. Let us therefore give this plan a chance."

**Bengal Governor's Review : St. Andrews Day Dinner Speech** :—Speaking at the St. Andrews Day Dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal made a

review of the position of Bengal for the past year, with special reference to terrorism and economic distress. As to terrorism, His Excellency was of the opinion that the situation "to-day as compared with a year ago shows a distinct improvement." "Experience shows," he said, "that the law may still have to be strengthened in certain respects. That matter is in hand." Terrorism, said he, represented "a desperate effort" to advance the supposed interests of the Hindu community. The reason for this, in the opinion of His Excellency, lay in the gloomy outlook before the educated Hindu youth. To eradicate the evil an immediate economic readjustment was necessary, together with a steady pressure against the terrorists. The task of readjustment, said His Excellency, was not one for Government alone—the best elements in the community must be harnessed to it. He outlined some suggestions for the reorganisation of the rural economy and concluded by saying that if sympathy and co-operation were revived for the people, "I can promise that money will be found" for working them out.

## DECEMBER 1933

**2nd. Police Searches in Calcutta** :—The Special Branch of the Calcutta Police searched several places in the City. Four persons were arrested. The searches, it was understood, were in connection with the terrorist activities.

**4th. Communalism condemned** :—To discuss the situation arising out of the Jawaharlal—Mahasabha controversy, a public meeting was held at Calcutta, Acharya Ray presiding. The president declared that it was not the proper time for rousing communal passions and he emphasised the need for inter-communal amity. Resolutions were passed deplored the activities of certain communal organisations, both Moslem and Hindu and urging upon those communal organisations to confine themselves to the work of social reform.

**6th. Record of the Select Committee** :—The British Indian memorandum of 19th November and Sir T. B. Sapru's memorandum of 27th July were included in the voluminous "Record of the Select Committee" issued containing the memoranda submitted by the delegates. The British Indian memorandum suggests modifications of the White Paper with a view to satisfy moderate opinion in India, and ensuring that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice India's advance to full responsibility. Sir T. B. Sapru explains his entire position in relation to the White Paper and names five essentials to meet the situation, namely (1) Central responsibility with safeguards necessary in India's interests for the transitional period; (2) Provincial Autonomy on similar terms; (3) Reserve subjects controlled by the Governor-General only for the period of transition, which should not be long or indefinite; (4) the adoption of a definite policy to facilitate the early transfer of the reserved departments; (5) a Statutory declaration of India's constitutional position to the British Commonwealth. Sir T. B. Sapru's memorandum (which incorporates a note on commercial discrimination by Mr. Jayakar) is supported by Mr. Jayakar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, and Mr. Joshi. The States are represented in the memoranda by Sir A. Hydari and Sir M. Mehta.

**All Parties Conference** :—A further step in the direction of calling an all parties conference with a view to organising and consolidating public opinion in order to get the White Paper proposals substantially modified and devising ways and means to end the present political stalemate in the country was taken to-day when the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association under the presidency of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad discussed at considerable length the details of the programme for such a conference. After an exchange of views it was decided that a preliminary conference of representative leaders of the city and province

should be called on December 20 prior to calling the All-Parties Conference. Accordingly invitations were being sent out to about fifty leading men of the city and province. Meanwhile the Bombay Presidency Association's move to call an All-Parties Conference met with considerable encouragement and welcomed as a right step by several leading men. Mr. H. K. Hales, Conservative Member of the British Parliament who was not present in India intimated that he welcomed the move on the part of the Bombay Presidency Association, particularly in view of the fact that he himself was working to call an All-Parties Conference early in January next with a view to ascertaining the unanimous opinion of the country on the White Paper scheme of Reforms before he sailed for England so that he could place the unanimous verdict of India before the English public on his return home.

**13th. The Punjab Conspiracy Case judgment:**—After a trial lasting for over three years the curtain was rung down on the Punjab Conspiracy Case when judgment was pronounced by the Special Tribunal sentencing to death Amrik Singh and Gulab Singh and Jangirla, Rupchand and Kundanlal to transportation for life and awarding imprisonment ranging from two to seven years to eleven of the accused and acquitting Jaiprakash, Dharamvir, Dyanathrai, Bausilal and Sewa Ram. In the supplementary case Sukhdevraj was sentenced to three years' rigorous. That they had formed an organisation called the Hindusthan Republican Army the objects of which were to improve the conditions of Indians by resort to violence was one of the allegations against the accused. In furtherance of their objects they were alleged to have entered into a conspiracy in 1926 and bombs were prepared and arms secured. The first overt act of the accused was an attempt to blow up Lord Irwin's special train in December 1929 when bombs were buried under the railway line seven miles from Delhi on the Muttra side and were connected by electric wire. It was further alleged that the accused had planned to rescue Bhagat Singh and others associated with him while they were being conveyed to jail by the use of a stupefying gas but the plan could not be carried out as the gas could not be prepared in time. The accused also attempted to commit dacoities in the Military Accounts Office at Rawalpindi and the Railway Oetroi Office and bombs were thrown simultaneously in six Punjab Towns on June 19 1930 resulting in the death of a police officer and injuries to another. This was alleged to be their last overt act.

**17th. All-parties Muslim Conference:**—The All-Parties Muslim Conference was held at Lucknow under the presidentship of the Raja of Salempur. The Conference was supported by seven Muslim organisations. Among those present were Mian Abdul Aziz, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Chaudhury Kaligonzaman, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mr. Maswood Ahmed, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani and Mr. Mohd. Husain. The Raja of Salempur, in the course of his address, said that by creating a body composed of representatives of all important Muslim organisations they were on the way to bridge the gulf existing between the Muslim organisation. Resolutions were passed appealing to all well-wishers of the country to oppose all separatist activities of every community which are calculated to widen the gulf between the communities; that all parties represented in the conference should work for the unity of the different groups of Moslems and foster better relations with other communities and educate the Muslim masses to take their full share in the fight for freedom; and to establish a board of thirty members to give effect to the resolutions.

**22nd. Reserve Bank Bill Passed:**—The Assembly passed the Indian Reserve Bank Bill to-day. Many non-official members congratulated Sir George Schuster on his successful piloting of the Bill. Winding up the debate, Sir George Schuster said that the attitude of the House would greatly enhance its credit and help the constitutional advancement and gather the support of opinion in England on which so much depended. He added that the measure was a most practical step taken towards grant of fiscal autonomy to India.

**24th. All-India National Trades Union Federation :—**The All-India National Trades Union Federation held its first session in the Servants of India Society Hall, Bombay, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose presiding. Mr. Jamandas Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, said that their aim was to ameliorate the hard lot of labouring classes and achieve the eventual establishment of a Socialist State in India. He warned the workers against the traps which a section of the Communists were laying for them in the name of Trade Unionism. The President, in the course of his address, urged the need for concrete work and not abstract theories. Speaking of the White Paper, he said that the whole scheme was so devised as to produce a double roller, capitalism and communalism to crush socialism and nationalism. He pleaded for real Trade Union spirit among the workers and proper organisation. The conference then considered the resolutions. Resolutions expressing gratification at the re-establishment of unity in the Trade Union movement in India, and the readiness to co-operate with the Labour movement in other countries were passed. Another resolution affirmed the Federation's faith in unadulterated democracy. The Government of India was urged to release all Meerut prisoners and to implement all the recommendations of the Whitley Commission. The last resolution expressed dissatisfaction at the White Paper proposals and instructed the Working Committee to frame amendments as soon as the Joint Committee report was published.

**26th. The Liberal Federation Session :—**The fifteenth annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held at Madras. Mr. J. N. Basu, Calcutta, presiding. In the absence, due to illness, of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar welcomed the delegates and visitors. He said that the White Paper proposals were of a most discouraging character but he hoped that representations by all parties in India might possibly induce Britain to modify and, if possible, liberalise the proposals. Mr. Basu characterised the White Paper as a strange combination of centralised authority and of responsibility, weighted with brakes of various descriptions. He said that it was certainly not anywhere near Dominion Status. He then examined the various proposals and added that they were aggressively reactionary. He appealed for the discontinuance of the repressive measures to create an atmosphere of good-will. Concluding, he appealed for unity. Then resolutions were passed supporting swadeshi, condemning terrorism and protesting against Government's repressive policy. The conference strongly condemned the demand of the European settlers of Kenya and urged that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests should not be departed from, and assured support to Indians in South Africa in their joint demands for their elementary rights. The Liberal Federation accorded its support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the classes concerned. The Federation was emphatically of opinion that the White Paper proposals were not calculated to establish any real responsible government in India and that the Secretary of State's declaration in the House of Commons that Dominion status in neither the next but one violated the solemn pledges given with the sanction of the British Cabinet. It was also resolved that no scheme of reforms could meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations which did not confer the full power and status of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

**All-India Medical Conference :—**The All-India Medical Conference held its tenth annual session in Bombay under the chairmanship of Dr. M. A. Ansari. Dr. Deshmukh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address, observed that the Indian Medical Council Bill was passed in a hurry by an Assembly ignorant of medical matters. Regarding the Indian Medical Service, he said: "It is a very old service; but here is another institution with a senile outlook which refuses to acknowledge the birthright of modern medical India." Dr. Ansari, delivering the presidential address, deplored the indifference of the Government in regard to the medical problems in India. The need for medical research was obvious but the attention paid to it left everything to be desired. Regarding the Indian Medical Service, he said that the civil side of the service as a military reserve was unduly costly, quite insufficient for war purposes and altogether superfluous as a military reserve. Dr.

Ansari pleaded for the use of indigenous drugs and instruments at least by the independent members of the medical profession. He appealed for missionary spirit in young men and women so that the sufferings of the people might be brought under control. Then several resolutions touching the medical profession were adopted. The conference urged the necessity for a scheme of National Health Insurance. The conference condemned the Indian Medical Act, urged that no members of I. M. S., a purely military service, should be employed on the civil side, and urged that open competitive examinations for recruitment to Indian Medical Service should be resumed only in India.

27th. *All-India Women's Conference* :—About two hundred delegates from all parts of India attended the eighth session of the All-India Women's Conference held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, under the presidency of Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore, H. H. the Maharani Sushar Devi of Mayurbhanj was the chairwoman of the Reception Committee. Among others, Mrs. Sarojai Naidu, Sir Hassan Shrawardy and Professor Radhakrishnan addressed the gathering. Several resolutions were adopted touching, educational, social and labour problems. The resolution on franchise reiterated the demand made before the Joint Select Committee. The Conference also adopted resolutions on removal of untouchability, abolition of capital punishment and rural reconstruction. The resolution on birth control aroused much discussion and was adopted by a large majority.

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# INDIA IN HOME POLITY

JULY—DECEMBER 1933

## I. THE UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING

Whilst Gandhiji was slowly coming round the perilous corner to which he had brought himself by his recent ordeal of self-mortification, and arrangements were proceeding apace for holding an informal conference of Congressmen at Poona to take correct bearings of the Congress position and chalk out its future course, the Parliamentary Joint Committee were, as they had been for some time before, sitting in judgment over what in India was by many regarded as a piece of constitutional jugglery, and, in England, was by some regarded as an act of 'betrayal' or 'surrender'. The White Paper appeared to have but few ardent champions here or in Great Britain. Even its sponsors did not look like meaning that they would stick to their guns should they find themselves out-maneuvred by their own die-hard flank. It is true that at a recent meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, the Churchill party had been utterly routed, and Mr. Baldwin's phenomenal triumph on the occasion was hailed with some little flutter of elation in quarters where the dying embers of the hope that some tangible good would yet come out of the labours of the R. T. C. had not been quite dead. The defeat of the Die-hards at a meeting of their own party was held by some to be a factor of special significance as it showed that the policy and principle of the White Paper were in a "no danger" zone, and that whatever were the chances of the safeguards in the proposed constitution being more jealously guarded and the concessions being more liberally curtailed, the chances were ninetynine to one that the R.T.C. issue wrapped in the White Paper would not, after so much ado, prove a still-born Indian 'constitution'. While some could hear it mewling in the nurse's arms, others hoped or feared that it might live for good or for evil. Since the great Conservative Party was committed to the policy of the White Paper, it was not thought likely that it would prove quite blank a paper, though it was not apparent to many that it would not, all the same, prove a paper dyed with a colour that swallowed and absorbed all the rays of the sun but did not emit and reflect any.

## II. ROUT OF CHURCHILLITES

The rout of the Churchill Party at the said meeting was supposed to be the more significant as it had been preceded by a raging and tearing campaign by the India Defence League and a section of the British Press to cloud and befog the Indian issue, and stampede into a panicky, senseless hostility not only the "temperamentally nervous" Conservative Party but also the great mass of sane and sober British public whose ignorance of actual Indian conditions remained, and still remains, abysmal, and apathy to Indian aspirations colossal. One or two quotations from the *Evening News* (reproduced in the *Leader* of Allahabad of July 2) would throw a more

lurid light on the stage than any distant flings of observations from here could be expected to do.

"Conservative Associations everywhere have denounced the Government's policy of scuttling from India. To this growing volume of protest the India Defence League will bring reinforcements that even Mr. Baldwin, accustomed to having mugwump Conservative Members of Parliament eating out of his hand, will find it difficult to resist." Then again—"So the affair moves on, but it will need every voice of protest in the country to turn the Government from the panicky purpose of scuttling from India at the bidding of the Congress Brahmin and the point of the terrorist gun."

### III. "THE CONGRESS BRAHMIN"

As a piece of newspaper slang-mongering this would be hard to beat. The Conservative Party, much less the British public, was not, however, taken in by this prodigious phantasma of ill-mannered slang and gross misrepresentation. They had sufficient sense and discernment to take a less absurdly incorrect measure both of the "Congress Brahmin" and of the "point of the terrorist gun". They knew, though without fully grasping what they know, that the Congress, even when apparently defeated, was still a factor in the Indian *ensemble* of conditions which counted more than any other single factor or even perhaps the sum of all other factors; and that the terrorist's gun, though making some damage to the plaster of the said walls of the British fortifications in India and causing much annoyance and more anxiety than the situation demanded, was not believed either by the Government or by the general run of the Indian people as by itself able to make actual breaches in the stronghold of British supremacy in India. It has been said that the battle of Waterloo was won on the play grounds of Eton. Even more truly can it be said that British authority and prestige in India were established not on the battle fields of Plassey or elsewhere, but in the British Courts of Justice, and, generally, in the sphere of British civil administration in India. If the British Empire should be here lost, it would be lost not where the terrorist bomb-thrower and gunman has been operating, but in spheres of relationships between the rulers and the ruled that are quite civil and normal. The Non-cooperation and the Civil Disobedience Movements launched by the Congress were conceived by its leaders as fundamentally subversive of those relationships, and Government were not mistaken in their appreciation of, and reaction to, them as such. If those movements had succeeded, those relationships should most assuredly have ended. The Congress mandate which Gandhiji had carried to R. T. C. was, in fact; the death warrant to the British Empire as now existing in India. The Dominion status, the transition period, etc. were not meant to effectively prolong its life. That Empire was simply asked to choose the manner of its death. If complete Independence or Purna Swaraj meant its electrocution, did not Dominion Status mean its mummification after death? It was no wonder; therefore, that the British element in the R. T. C. declined the honour of holding on a near neighbour just on the west of its imperial isles. It was

expected that Great Britain and the Free State of Ireland would in future march hand in hand on the high road of common imperial destiny. But no. The Ireland of De Valera would not be yoked together with its ex-master in an imperial team. The whip hand of the Welsh wizard had been the hand that had drawn up and signed the Irish Treaty. Can a whip hand be thought of again when Ireland is in her present mood to tear up that 'scrap of paper' and cast it away ?

#### IV. THE LOGICAL CHAIN OF EVENTS

The Die-hards were clear-sighted enough in so far as they looked at this side of the logical chain of political events in India. To accede to the Congress demand is certainly to make an end of the business of governing India as a dependent part of the British Empire. It is to close down and retire. They were right so far. But their sight was not clear enough with regard to two other vital aspects of the situation. First, they did not look at the other side of the same logical chain of political events in India. Those events, unless controlled, would lead to the Empire losing its most vital member—its dependency. This seems to be logically inevitable. But the question is—How best to control those events ? There are kinds of control. By a certain kind of control, the Empire lost America. It also lost Ireland by the same kind of control. Should it be well advised to persevere in the use of the same kind and method of control in the case of India ? By other kinds and methods of control, India may, it is true, also 'get out of control' some day.

#### V. "GETTING OUT OF CONTROL"

But this "getting out of control" is a probability that has to be reviewed with respect to more than one frame of reference. We may consider it first as a probable future event. Here we ask ourselves the question : What *will be* the future relationship of India to the Empire ? But we may also consider it as an ethical order, and ask ourselves : What *should be* the future or even present relationship of India to the Empire ? The two questions are stated separately, but, in actual practice, they must be taken and answered together. The fact of that relationship is not like a purely physical fact which lies beyond the sphere of our influence or interference, e. g., an event in the distant nebulae. The relationship between India and the Empire has been, is, and will be determined by several factors of which the wills and actions of the partners concerned have been, are, and will be not the least important. It is a partnership that has been entered into and maintained and from time to time modified by the voluntary acts—both of commission and omission, sometimes right, sometimes wrong—on the part of the partners involved. Both Great Britain and India have been and are responsible for their connection and partnership. They will be responsible for any future readjustment of their relationship also. So far the character of that relationship has mainly been that between a ruling race and a dependency. That character has been determined by its own proper and adequate assemblage of conditions. Our own wills and action have been in that assemblage. The faith that the British connection has been 'a dispensation of Providence' or otherwise, is an attitude of mind

that may be valid or otherwise, but, in any case, it does not upset the simple position above stated : Great Britain and India have, for a substantial part, willed and worked themselves into their partnership. And if that be clear, it is clear also that the fact of the relationship, being to some extent a fact of joint volition and conduct, is also an ethical fact involving responsibility and merit. So the two questions are in this way interdependent.

## VI. THE Two QUESTIONS

Yet, for convenience, one may consider them apart. Now, as regards the first, viz., What the future relationship will be, the answer will be obviously different in different situations or sets of conditions. First, Great Britain may continue to "govern" as she has been governing. Secondly, she may "abdicate" and "get out". Thirdly, perceiving—as the *Manchester Guardian* once wanted the ruling race to perceive—that both these—governing or getting out—are 'cowardly alternatives', she may essay to teach India how to govern herself. Leaving aside this last for the moment, we may confine ourselves to the first two.

## VII. Can AND Should

Suppose Britain decides to continue to govern as she has been governing. Here we must face two questions : *Can* she continue to govern ? And *should* she continue to govern ? Is it a "cowardly alternative" to do so ? As regards these two, British statesmen are not unanimous in their answer. There seems to be a sharp cleavage of belief and opinion even within the ranks of the great Conservative Party itself. The meeting of the Central Council to which we alluded was itself an evidence of the cleavage. Mr. Baldwin, apparently, did not believe it would be possible to hold India as a Dependency without making some concessions to the Indian demand for self-government. He, apparently, took a correcter measure both of the 'Congress Brahmin' and the terrorist gunman. In view of that ampler measure—of the actual extensity and depth of Indian discontent—'continue to govern' would not, he thought, be either a practical or a moral proposition. Mr. Baldwin made this perfectly plain in his speeches inside the Parliament or outside. The day when India will learn to govern herself will be the proudest day for India—so said some British statesmen in the past. Mr. Baldwin appeared to think that that day was coming. The terrorist gunman might be safely removed from the scene of his action, and even ignored. But the appearance of the 'Congress Brahmin' showed that the advent of that day could not be long deferred. Mr. Baldwin could not bring himself to believe with the Die-hard members of his own party that the teeming masses and the great body of the intelligentsia in India were now, and would in future remain, mainly with the Bureaucracy and not with the Congress Brahmin. Even if it were possible to hold India by the sword, such a hold would not be, in view of the state of mental alienation necessarily produced and more and more accentuated, a position of honour and profit to Great Britain. It would not be in the interest of Great Britain to keep her hold on India in this manner. And it would not be in the interest of India to be so held. So Mr. Baldwin was for trying the third alternative—that is, gradually transferring power and responsibility.

### VIII. THE ALTERNATIVES

As regards the alternative of 'getting out', all British parties were practically agreed. That was not to be thought of. It would be neither in Britain's interest nor in India's so to get out. Both the partners would stand to lose by such an abrupt ending of their "contract". And it may be observed in this connection that, barring a few ultra Extremist groups, even Indians—those who are politically-minded—did not and do not want the Britishers to clear out bag and baggage to usher forthwith the Indian millennium. The Congress did not ask them to leave. They were asked to stay, not of course to govern as now, but to assist India in her difficult task of self-government. They were asked to pool their interests with the interests of India, and join their shoulders with those of the Indians in the titanic task of Indian political, economic and social uplift. They would, for instance, continue to help the Army Administration in India without, as now, being the sole masters of the Army policy and finance. Now, this would mean of course ceasing to 'govern', but it would not certainly mean "getting out".

### IX. THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

The Die-hand Wing could not yet think of the third alternative. Or if it did, it did so by going back to the Simon Commission proposals, if not to other even less progressive schemes of advance. The premises upon which they would base their conclusions were not those upon which Labourites or even the "orthodox" followers of Mr. Baldwin would, apparently, base theirs. They did not accept the position that the Congress Brahmin truly represented the interests of the "teeming masses" or even of the Indian intelligentsia. They did not think that those interests would be safer in the hands of the Congress Brahmin than in those of the present benevolent, paternal British Government. And they did not believe that any liberal reforms hastily granted would prove a solvent to the many existing formidable tangles and difficulties of the Indian problem. On the contrary, the strong and just rule of Britain was just the factor required to keep things smoothly and orderly going in India. To eliminate that factor was to plunge her into chaos. It would be betraying a "trust".

### X. THE KEY-IDEA OF DIE-HARDISM

This was the avowed key-idea behind all the Die-hard agitation in England against the White Paper. This also was the gist of the Die-hard testimony before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee. One may assume that there were many in the ranks of the Die-hards who honestly held and cherished that key-idea. Others were perhaps merely playing to the gallery. Perhaps their motive was not quite so transcendently altruistic. Possibly they were thinking more about what Britain stood to lose than what India might stand to lose by the severance of the imperial connection. But let us not here psycho-analyse our "witnesses". Let us admit the *bonafides* of the "trusteeship" complex without question. But the question was and still remains—Were the Die-hard premises valid? Are they valid now? Were not those premises carved out of a mass of confused, narrow, out-of-date political thinking or lack of thinking in regard to the actual conditions

And problems of the India of to-day? And if that were so, were we not still faced with the two questions—Could Indian Government continue as it was without making successful adaptations to the changed conditions? And was it *right* to so continue?

## XI. PREMISES AND CONCLUSIONS

If those premises had been held, and therefore, those conclusions had been drawn half a century back, there would have been many amongst political thinkers in India who might have felt half-disposed to concede those premises and grant those conclusions. Then, it was generally felt (and none felt it more honestly and whole-heartedly than the teeming Indian masses), that there was a solid foundation in actual conditions both for the Indian wardship and the British guardianship complex. The Child Congress of 'half a dozen grasshoppers' in the early eighties of the last century found itself virtually imbued with that complex. But neither India nor Great Britain nor the world at large have remained stationary during these fifty years. History has everywhere moved with rapid giant strides. Almost every nation of the East or West has long outgrown and cast away the short clothes of political childhood and broken loose from the leading strings of every kind of national tutelage. Even India has moved. Lord Morley's 'fur coat' may not still be suitable for her, but neither can she now be forced into her discarded short clothes. She now feels that she can be trusted to manage her own affairs. She now feels that she can take care of her own classes and masses. She may not yet be undisputedly right to feel as she now feels. But neither can she be undisputedly wrong. And it is futile to pretend that what she now feels is felt only by the Congress Brahmin, or by the terrorist bomb-thrower, or by the Indian Moscow agent. That feeling is not confined to a 'microscopic minority.' More and more directly and actively her classes and her masses are also coming to share that feeling. The late Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements failed in a sense which everybody knows and understands, but they also succeeded in a sense which not many unmistakably understood. They provoked an unprecedentedly wide-scale mass response not only in feeling but in the shape of active participation. Whether the methods employed were right or wrong, it could not be gainsaid that the Indian masses were considerably interested in the nature, progress and fate of those operations. It was precisely because they were so interested that those Movements could assume such admittedly vast and serious proportions. Precisely on that account also were they admittedly matters of great concern to those who had Law and Order and respect Constitutional Authority in their keeping. And Government reaction thereto was not only unusual in its greatness and firmness, but also, unusual (in so far as it had to invoke emergency powers) in the mode of its conception and expression.

## XII. DIE-HARD PREMISES BEHIND TIME

So the Indian premises of Die-hardism are behind time by at least half a century. And so must be its Indian conclusions. It shows good sight when it looks at the logical chain of Indian political events as viewed from one position. But it shows a sight both

blurred and distorted when it looks at it from another. It seems to be afflicted with a curious myopia with strange spells of lucid, distant vision. India, though no longer a child, is still in her short clothes of childhood. The White Paper, it fears, is going to put her into ampler garments larger than her actual self, but which she will soon outgrow. A future Blue Paper will then have to order still ampler clothes for her. But these also will not suit her then, or for long. The time will soon arrive when she will decline to have her garments thus ordered and fitted—or misfitted out by another. She will insist on making her own clothes as best she likes. And if we allow her to have her own way in this, we shall soon discover that we cannot stop her in this or any other. In other words, she will get out of our hands. In plainer words, if responsibility be granted her to-day to some extent, we must find ourselves prepared to grant it to-morrow to the fullest extent in the logical sequence of developments. We shall not be masters of the time-table. We must find ourselves soon prepared—sooner than one would be happy to imagine—to take our hands off the Indian business. "If responsibility be real, the safeguards must be more or less sham; and if the safeguards be real, responsibility must be to that extent sham."—This showed remarkably clear, long sight. Real responsibility and real safeguards do not go together.

But, again, two questions remained—Is the White Paper really a scheme for achieving the impossible—wedding real responsibility to real safeguard? Are not the safeguards alone in single blessedness real in the scheme? Then, a profounder question—You do not propose to rid India of her short clothes. Or if you do, you propose to enlarge her garments by the mere millionth of an inch in a century while she may be adding an yard to her stature every decade. Will this plan suit her or even you? Will not her stature as it grows burst out of its short clothes if these are not changed suitably to her growth? Can you prevent it? And should you prevent it? The Die-hard myopia comes in when you are faced with these two questions.

### XIII. THE "MYOPIA"

That myopia may be stated in the form of an instructive dilemma. If you do not concede responsibility in view of the existing actual Indian conditions, those conditions will soon gather momentum enough to assume it in spite of you, and you have your "hands off" as you had your hands off in America, or nearly off, as in Ireland. And if you concede responsibility, that will also gather momentum till it becomes full-blooded responsibility which even Mr. Macdonald's Declaration at the plenary session of the R. T. C. set forth as the final objective of British and Indian labours in constitutional reform. And as soon as India attains to that state, you have your hands off again. So the final outcome appears to be the same on either horn of the dilemma. But no. There is a difference in the two alternatives of the dilemma, and also, in the final outcome or conclusion, which is vital: By refusing to concede responsibility, you make the inevitable process of India's assuming it sooner or later—and rather sooner than later—a process involving much needless conflict and consequent, cumulative bitterness between Great Britain and India, which, considering the centuries-old intimacy and

wide intermingling of the interests of the two countries, will operate as a perpetual bar sinister to any future *cordial entente* and helpful co-operation between them. If, on the other hand, Indians and you be comrades now on the road to the attainment of full Indian responsibility, you shall certainly remain with them as comrades when that goal has been reached. You shall not even then find your material interests at variance with those of the Indians.

#### XIV. GOOD GOVERNMENT AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

Besides abstract justice, this consideration has, we daresay, lain at the back of the many pledges and assurances which British Sovereigns and statesmen have from time to time held out to India. It has been the highest mission of British connection with India to make her regain and realize her own complete Self again. After two hundred years of such connection, India has but learnt little of the art of self-governance : so Indian politicians, both moderate and extremist have complained, now and again. The art of self-government is no doubt a difficult art to pick up, yet, many here as also in Great Britain have thought that the process of imparting the lesson and receiving it could possibly have been made a less protracted affair. For, despite her diversity of races, languages, religions and cultures, India was never and never is, an in-apt learner. What China could learn and Turkey could learn, India also could learn. At any rate, the pace of her political education could possibly have been accelerated. If there were reasons for keeping it slow in the past, those reasons do not to the same degree now exist. If the Indian masses are still found more interested in good government than in self-government, it will not be difficult to see the reason why, and emphasise processes and accentuate conditions which shall make that reason vanish. For, it remains true that good government can never be a substitute for self-government, and that this latter can be learnt only in the actual practice thereof.

#### XV. REUTER'S CABLE

So far we have been giving in our own words what we believe to be the crux of the case before the Joint Select Committee. Now we shall let some of the main actors speak for themselves. We referred to the meeting of the United Council of Conservative and Unionist Associations held towards the end of June. In connection with the said meeting, Reuter was good enough to cable to India this precious news : "Young girls in summer frocks were distributing leaflets of Lady Houston denouncing the White Paper as 'stained with the blood of our kith and kin in India and the poor Indians who trusted us'". Just imagine the atmosphere of prejudice that was sought to be created by this sort of propaganda, and fancy young English girls poisoned with hatred against three hundred and fifty millions of their fellow subjects, wallowing in the slough of abject poverty and degradation, because a handful of Indian revolutionary fanatics, whose methods everybody disowned and whose crimes everybody condemned, have shed some English and Indian blood ! Let us, however, pass on. Lord Lloyd, Mr Henry Page Croft, Mr Churchill himself, and some others from the ranks of the "Tory rebels" spoke with their wonted vehemence on the occasion.

The first mentioned speaker believed that he was speaking for "the immense majority of the Conservatives", and he felt convinced "that the supporters of the Government acted out of loyalty more than out of sheer love of the (White Paper) proposals". He wanted the issue to be decided by the application of undiluted Conservative principles. The obvious implication of course was to disown the White Paper policy which had been begotten by the late Socialist Government, (Mr. Henry Page Croft said it in so many words) but which was now being fathered by the so-called National Government—a Government preponderatingly conservative in being but compromiseingly un-Conservative in character. His criticism relating to the increased cost of the proposed new Indian Constitution involving additional taxation inflicted on the poverty-stricken Indian masses, was obviously justified, though some would suspect that pious criticism to be soaked through and through with many ounces of surreptitious crocodile tears. He was also stating the barest fact when he asserted that not a single representative political organisation had accepted the White Paper. But one would like to ask the noble Lord—Was not *representative* political organisation in India itself a contradiction in terms like the square triangle in the opinion of his lordship and those of his way of thinking ?

#### XVI. MR. BALDWIN'S MAJORITY

Mr. Baldwin, who was hailed with singing 'He is a jolly good fellow', was in his own characteristic good sense and sweet reasonableness on the occasion, and scored an easy, sweeping victory. But he scored it by declining to discuss the merits of the White Paper which, he said, was "under semi-judicial consideration". Sir Thomas White's amendment, which merely asked the Conservatives to suspend their judgment till the Select Committee had heard the whole case and reported, was adopted by the meeting by 838 votes to 356.

The majority was of course large; larger, in fact, than could be expected from the nature and volume of "rebel" operations in the Press or on the platform. Yet the minority was not such as could be safely brushed aside as quite negligible. Although compared with the voting figures of the last meeting of the same Council relating to the same topic, the figures of the present meeting proved far less cheering to the Churchillites, yet the probability remained of the tables being turned, and turned sooner than any lover of India would be happy to imagine, and the "rebels" compelling Government to surrender on the Indian question. The "rebels" appeared to form a party with potentialities which seemed likely to increase rather than decrease. Whether the victory which Mr. Baldwin so successfully scored could be set down to the credit of the loyalty alone of the majority of his followers or partly to the credit of their good sense also, it was undeniable that the "rebels" possessed uncommon great powers and good facilities for shaping the kind of materials to be placed before the Joint Select Committee, and, thereby or otherwise, directly and indirectly influencing their final conclusions. The "rebels" were fire-eaters in their public utterances, but their operations were not lacking in strategy and tactics. And it was a part of their strategy to breathe fire out of their mouths and nostrils. The leaflets, for instance, which young girls were distributing at the meeting were not foreign to that strategy.

## XVII. "REBEL" STRATEGY

Mr. Baldwin kept his forces together not by meeting the "rebel" strategy and tactics face to face, but by evading and dodging them. He said "he was reluctant to bring the great imperial issues into the party arena." This was a direct appeal to party loyalty. He would not release his party from their party obligations, and allow them to discuss "the great imperial issues" on their merits. Regardless of rumours to the contrary, he stressed the fact that the Cabinet was of one mind on the Indian issue. Regardless of the future decision of that issue one way or other, he would further ask the Conservative Party to present an united front. He would not like to see the Party torn by domestic quarrels. The actual merits of the issue were under semi-judicial consideration, and it was no use forestalling the conclusions of the Select Committee, which, in order that maximum value might be got out of their labours, had been allowed to work practically with no halters round their necks. They were not committed either to the principles or to the recommendations of the White Paper. They could either advance upon or recede from the position of the White Paper. While we are upon this, we shall do well to allow the chief actor of the drama to speak for himself:

"While expressing regard and respect for his old friend Lord Lloyd, Mr. Baldwin declined to believe that political wisdom died on the day his friend left Bombay. Though it was not true that the Select Committee was packed or lacked weight, he would like to have seen it stronger, and had Mr. Churchill, Lord Lloyd, and Sir Henry Page-Croft served and retained their present opinion at the end, their views would have carried ten-fold their present weight. He doubted the usefulness of discussing the resolution (Lord Lloyd's) which was virtually an instruction to the Conservatives on the Select Committee as regards the line they should take, while the expression "grave anxiety" diplomatically got very near to war. He applauded the decision of the members of the Select Committee not to participate in meetings like this....." We have quoted from Reuter's summary.

## XVIII. "MARKING THE TIME"

While the "loyal" section of the Conservatives were congratulating themselves on the victory which they so easily scored by simply "marking the time", Sir M. O'Dwyer and others were making Herculean efforts to "floor" Sir Samuel Hoare and those who like him supported the White Paper in the Select Committee. The ex-safrap of the Punjab had made certain allegations pertaining to bribery and corruption in that province. Of course he was challenged to substantiate his allegations. And though his attempted substantiation in the teeth of Sir Samuel Hoare's cautious statement and some of the Indian members' scathing cross-examination proved to be devoid of special, solid anti-Indian substance, yet it did not appear that our Die-hard lieutenant was or could be easily muzzled and thrown out. He seemed to stand well the volley of questions levelled at him from the Indian or pro-Indian benches.

## XIX. SIR M. O'DwyER'S EVIDENCE

In his evidence before the Select Committee, Sir M. O'Dwyer was a sturdy champion of the poor Indian masses whose welfare was in the exclusive keeping of Parliament and who were to be saved from the clutchies of the scheming and designing politician. It was his solicitude for the real interest of the dumb masses and for their safety from the clutchies of the scheming and designing politician, that had, for example, impelled him to urge for certain reservations (e. g. Law and Order) being made in the proposed transfer of responsibility. Law and Order was to be reserved in the interest of the masses and also for the purpose of maintaining communal peace. With Law and Order in his hands, the scheming—and designing politician will prove a more potent oppressor of the masses than he now is ; and communal factions may use Law and Order as their entrenched position and mine and magazing of offence.

"Questioned with respect to the prospect of his proposals proving acceptable, Sir M. thought that the masses were still not interested in politics but were more concerned with their day to day welfare and security. He believed that a large body of the intelligentsia were apprehensive of the effects of the White Paper and would be relieved by the disappearance of certain objectionable features, particularly the transfer of law and order". Sir T. B. Sapru asked : "Are you satisfied that any party will work the constitution such as you suggest ?" And also, "If I tell you that no politicians will agree, would you still advise Parliament to proceed" ? Sir M. replied : "Certainly. Parliament is responsible for doing the best it can for the people. I think it is a pity that the interests of the people have hitherto been rather subordinated to political aspirations". Yet Sir M. proposed transferring some departments, and it so happened that those departments more directly affected the poor masses than those that he would reserve. His justification for making any transfer at all was, however, this : "Parliament is committed to the advancement of self-government and must take risk provided it has power to retrieve the situation if it proves disastrous to the masses". So the "risk" which Parliament can or should take must be an "insured" risk, and how could it be insured except by reserving Law and Order in the provinces in addition to Army, Foreign Relations and the substance of Finance at the centre ? When it was pointed to Sir M. that a number of retired administrators did not share his views, he replied that the view point had altered particularly after the war. "Their view point before the war was primarily administration for the benefit of the people. Since then the views of the senior British officers had been largely deflected and they were apt to consider politics, with which they were surrounded, more important than administration." True ; but why had senior British officers allowed their views to be deflected and taken greater notice of the polities which surrounded them after the war ? Had not the situation itself materially changed during and after the war ? Had not the active cooperation and great service of India in the war on the side of the Allies and the Empire itself been one of the potent factors producing a change in the situation and creating a new view-point for looking at things and relations that had existed before or since ? Were senior British officers in

India worse administrators because they would take note of the emergence of new factors and new situations? Let us however pass on. When Lord Salisbury suggested that "one of the advantages of first establishing provincial Government would be the additional time available to consider the form of the central Government and the Federation," Sir M. readily agreed, and referred "to the danger of forcing on the people a system of government they did not understand and which they would eventually repudiate". So the political horoscope of the people had already been set in figures immutable, and was in the iron-safe of Sir M. and the D. I. L. Bank. It is true that even the Simon Commission had recommended transfer of Law and Order in the provinces, but that Commission had "ignored the communal outbreaks in recommending the transfer of Law and Order."

## XX. NOT TYPICAL OF WHOLE OFFICIAL EVIDENCE

We have referred at some length to the evidence of this ex-satrap of the Punjab, because it was typical of a large mass of "official" and "expert" evidence that was tendered before the Select Committee. This so-called "official" evidence was not, however, typical of the entire or even of a preponderating mass of British serving officers' testimony. It was believed that a very considerable section of British serving officers had not been consulted either on the text or on the substance of the memoranda and representations which had been set on their legs to speak for them, and that if and when British serving officers should submit their own views, it would be found that these would to a considerable extent modify what had previously been fastened upon them. The allegations of Indian incompetence, favouritism, nepotism, bribery and corruption had so insistently and persistently been made in the memoranda submitted or by witnesses speaking to those memoranda, that they seemed to be part of the same virulent anti-Indian propaganda of which Miss Mayo's "Mother India" had been the crown of perfection. Whilst there was too much colour and too much manipulation in the picture presented of those evils, the picture was presented as depicting something characteristically peculiar to this "submerged" sub-continent of India. The fact however is that corruption and other evils have proved, and are still proving, the bane of even the most advanced democracies of the world. London Correspondents of Indian papers were, on the other hand, generally, drawing another picture of the "atmosphere" that was sought to be created at the meeting of the Select Committee. "I am in a position to state," wrote the Leader Correspondent, "that the atmosphere of colour prejudice and racial superiority and arrogance that has been created during the proceedings of the Committee, of which some members of the Committee, by reason of their known partisan affiliations and political associations, are believed or expected to be the mouth-pieces, has aroused in an important section of the delegation gravest doubts.....These doubts have been increased by the vigour with which a hostile section of the British Press, voicing the Churchillities and allied views, in a coarse and vulgar way, distorting statements out of their contexts, destroying the perspective beyond recognition, magnifying every hostile comment beyond its proportion and value, and throwing the lime-light of publicity upon certain official

witnesses such as Sir M. O'Dwyer.....whilst maintaining a sedulous silence on any matter that might redound to the credit of India or the capacity or qualification of Indians, has conducted a venomous, unscrupulous and dangerous propaganda."

Whilst this atmosphere of distortion and misrepresentation was felt by many as both stinking and stifling, some felt relieved by the occasional ingress of a breath or two of fresh, pure air that was let in to prevent wholesale asphyxia. Col. Wedgwood's plan; for instance, had not been believed either by himself or by others as meeting the wishes of the people in England or in India, though that gallant gentleman had hoped that, upon closer inspection and scrutiny, his plan would be found to be more generally acceptable in England, and, if the Committee should go out to India and hold parley there as he had suggested, there was also every likelihood of its proving acceptable to Mahatma Gandhi himself. One very salutary and attractive feature of his plan, we may observe, was the autonomous development of rural areas and local bodies and institutions. India lost herself when she lost her autonomous village community.

#### XXI. MR. SINHA'S EVIDENCE

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's evidence, again, was hailed by many as a breath of fresh air, bracing and exhilarating. Of course, those who habitually live and those who thrive in asphyxiating gases would like to have the shutters up to prevent draught, and if they had power, they would certainly have prevented it. But failing in this, they resorted to a plan of operations calculated to produce the effect desired in a less direct but more thorough going manner. Commandeering an influential section of the British Press (*Daily Mail* and *Morning Post*, to boot), they would, firstly, segregate the Select Committee from the circumambient atmosphere of world publicity by systematically suppressing all evidence that might in any way be construed as possibly "redounding to the credit of India", and, secondly, saturate that circumambient atmosphere itself with manufactured poison gases of colossal misrepresentation, so that the only atmosphere for the poor gas-drugged world to live in might be "an atmosphere of colour prejudice and racial superiority and arrogance." In short, the method was to suppress whatever might redound to the credit of India and stress whatever might redound to her discredit.

Mr. Sinha, as it would appear from his evidence, tried to have some of the shutters down, and he pulled hard at them, so hard that they creaked and rattled on their rusted hinges. The same *Leader* Correspondent told us that "he rendered a very useful service by forcing the Committee to realise; as it had never before been obliged to do, that Indian opinion was not interested fundamentally in the domestic quarrels of the Tory party, or in the long, tortuous and antiquated procedure of Parliament. On the contrary, it was concerned with the following fundamental matters. Does Britain recognise the many authoritative declarations, assurances and pledges made by or on her behalf to India regarding the final aim and purpose of British policy in India? If so, does she intend to implement them, in the spirit as well as in the letter? If so, when and how?

The questions were as well framed as could be expected. But could it be claimed on behalf of the National Government in England that their White Paper proposals and their *modus operandi* as to the implementing of those proposals "in the spirit as well as in the letter", gave any encouragement to the hope that they meant to answer those fundamental questions truly, and unequivocally in the affirmative? Mr. Sinha referred to the resolutions passed by the legislative bodies in India on the promise and prospects of the White Paper proposals. Those resolutions had made it abundantly clear that Indian public opinion, even outside the Congress circles, had not set any positive value on those proposals. Their value, if anything, had been calculated as detracting from, and not as adding to, the value, whatever it might have been, possessed by the existing Montford Constitution. Yet Mr. Sinha was no "Congress Brahmin", no extremist agitator. So Lord Salisbury was gaping in wonder when hearing a member of the moderate party describe the White Paper proposals as a "political imposition". As to the point how a man is commonly dubbed moderate or extremist in India, a caustic question asked by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the answer in the affirmative he received, should prove both interesting and instructive : "Is it, is it not, a fact, that in India a person is a moderate so long as he agrees with the Governor and the Government, and he becomes an extremist the moment he differs from them?"

## XXII. MR. JAYAKAR ON THE SELECT COMMITTEE METHODS

Whilst the above may fairly be taken as typical of even moderate nationalist attitude in relation to the White Paper, let us for inner illumination read another cablegram sent us about that time by Reuter. Mr. Jayakar had been one of the prime actors in the drama of abortive peace-making in India ; and he continued to be one of the main actors in the drama of constitution-making which followed, and which was destined to prove, according to his own forebodings, no less abortive than the drama that had preceded it. He said—"An assurance had been given that the agreements reached at the Round Table Conference would be the basis of the proposals to be submitted to Parliament, and if they were rejected it would be regarded as a vote of no-confidence in the Government, but there was no longer an obligation that the Select Committee would be bound by the conclusions of the Round Table Conference.....The White Paper had transferred Law and Order in the provinces, but when the Indian delegation arrived they were asked on the second day to justify the transfer. They were put on the defensive. As he sat day by day at the Select Committee he was reminded of attending a creditors' meeting, and yet India was not insolvent. She had the ability and wanted to manage her own affairs, even if that power meant the right to make mistakes."

But this gallant defence at the bar of British public opinion of the R. T. C. as a valid contracting business, of India as a solvent and rightful party to that contract, of India's right to demand her own terms in the contract even to the extent of making "rightful" mistakes, was, of course, deserving of praise, but it was defence undertaken with a peccable, pierced armour and a battered, bruised shield. It was a defeatist defence. The parties that had contracted as the R. T. C.

were only nominally the parties that now investigated as the Select Committee. The conditions as well as the "sanctions" on the Indian side and the British had changed in the meantime.

On July 6 there was a proposal made in both Houses of Parliament "to empower the Select Committee to appoint one or more sub-committees to take evidence. The evidence taken would be deemed as evidence taken before the Select Committee". As Sir Samuel Hoare explained in the Lower House, "there was nothing more in the proposal than a request that the Select Committee be given power to appoint sub-committees in the interest of speed and efficiency. Those Indian members, he added, who were anxious to leave, might, under the proposed procedure, expedite their arrangements without in any way undermining efficiency. But this procedure was calculated to intensify and not allay suspicions in some quarters that this might be a further step taken in the way of sabotaging the original policy and plan of the R. T. C. Some Indian colleagues had, possibly, ceased to feel that they and some of their British colleagues had still been living in a free and open atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. But let this pass.

### XXIII. FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF WHITE PAPER

On July 7 Reuter cabled a summary of Sir Malcolm Hailey's Memorandum detailing what were called "the financial obstacles" to a speedy inauguration of the New Dispensation. "The expenditure involved in establishing provincial autonomy will be between six and eight crores and the federal centre about two and a half crores"—so we were told. The whole position, according to the Memorandum, was dependent upon world economic recovery, and unless central finances were considerably bettered, there was no possibility of "making any surrender to the provinces" and their being created as autonomous units. Sir Samuel Hoare in presenting this Memorandum made an important speech which, while admitting that the first impression produced by the Memorandum would be rather depressing, asked us "to go on hoping that there would be turn for the better and rely on the fact that.....we were unable to make definite estimates until the last moment and at the last moment there must be an expert enquiry". So the Indian Constitution was on the lap of gods greater than Simla and Whitehall gods ! Though the present and immediate aspect of the situation was not reassuring, Sir Samuel would still point out "as countervailing factors the steady improvement of Indian credit, the fact that India responded quickly to improvement in the economic field, the possibility of further economies particularly in the provinces, and the hope that the deliberations of the Capitation Tribunal might eventuate in some contribution towards the defence of India." No comments are called for except that the devoutly wished for consummation still remains in the region of the nebulae far beyond the galactical system of human ken and comprehension. The countervailing factors would yet prove of little avail in bringing it materially down to the plane of human calculation and contrivance. The whole thing must remain an hypothetical proposition. If the financial conditions permit, and when and to the extent they permit, India will enjoy federal government and provincial autonomy. Thus stated; the proposition would seem to be almost a truism: Even the

Congress could surely not have dispensed with the financial prerequisite and precondition of Purna Swaraj. Of course, it had its own heroic plan of cutting the gordian knot. It would solve the difficulty primarily by immediate or almost immediate drastic economies both at the centre and in the provinces. As regards the Army, for example, which had the lion's share of Indian revenue, the Congress would not be content to feel relieved mainly by the dole which the Capitation Tribunal might see their way to grant. It would proceed forthwith to cut its army coat according to its revenue cloth.

#### XXIV. SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S ANALYSIS

Let us, however, hear what Sir Samuel Hoare had to say analysing and summing up the position. "Three facts emerged, firstly, that there was very little money available; secondly, unless the world position improved there must be a readjustment of views generally to the whole problem of Indian revenue and expenditure; and thirdly, that the main cause of perhaps ten crores deficit was not so much constitutional changes as the system of Indian finance generally.....The wise course would be for the Select Committee to keep facts constantly in mind and to proceed with the constitutional plans." The third fact to which Sir Samuel referred would seem to indicate that Indian finance was something inherently elastic or could be made so. If it were really so, it could be stretched to cover the deficit of ten crores, and constitutional changes could be introduced forthwith. But if it were really not so, there was no immediate prospect of covering a large deficit, and constitutional changes must wait till world recovery and other factors made it possible for Indian finance to get an accession of mass to itself. In the latter case, the introduction of constitutional changes would remain contingent upon the fulfilment of a condition which the mysterious ways of Providence alone controlled. So that India would have to wait for constitutional reforms till the Fates should have decreed them. Till then the Select Committee proposals must have to remain on paper. But if, on the other hand, Indian finance had been or could have been made elastic, we should have set about our business of shifting to a new order of things straightforward. But is Indian finance elastic? Barring additional taxation and borrowing, and in view of the existing world depression, the only logical and feasible way of cutting the coat of Indian expenditure, whether under existing conditions or under the proposed new order, would be to cut it according to the cloth of its actual revenue. Even some liberal allowance must be made for a shrinkage of that "cloth". It is not or should be as large as it looks. India has sometimes to go about half-nude and half-starved to make to order a cloth even as large as this. Indian finance has for some time been an inverted pyramid of top-heavy administration. One of the costliest administrative machineries in the world is pivoted on a plane where economic solvency is reduced as near as possible to the vanishing point. The problem of Indian finance is to make this inverted pyramid rest on an ampler and stabler basis. In other words, the whole structure must be planned and built upon a new basis. The so called financial credit of India, her own Reserve Bank, and even world reeover will not fill empty coffers nor empty stomachs so long as India is not put on her natural and stable and wholesome ration of rational

economics. Only by putting her on a ration like this can we expect to see her grow constitutionally and grow to the fulness of her political and social stature. The question of Indian financial autonomy and that of political autonomy must be tackled together or they will not be tackled at all.

### XXV. ANOTHER SIDE OF OFFICIAL TESTIMONY

As a refreshing set-off against the sort of evidence tendered by Sir M. O. Dwyer before the Select Committee, we had another sort of which Sir Charles Innes' might be taken as a fair sample. Sir Charles is also an Indian ex-Governor. He had been in charge of an important portfolio of the Government of India before that. Now, Sir Charles' Memorandum "stressed the change in the mental outlook of educated Indians and the growth of political consciousness." Sir Charles was of opinion "that if the proposals such as Sir M. O'Dwyer's were substituted for the White Paper they would be bitterly opposed and resented." He gave it also as his considered opinion that the White Paper would on the whole lead to a contented India and "that most Indians would try to work it honestly and well." It was also likely that it would be accepted by the great mass of educated opinion as a great step forward taken on the road to responsible government. He was however reluctant to fix any time-limit for the transitional period. When asked as to what the next great step forward on the road would be, he said that it would not be the elimination of the safeguards, but their falling into disuse by disuse. When, again, he was asked by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as to whether the White Paper endangered the interests of the masses as the Die-hard witnesses had suggested in their evidence, Sir Charles thought that the balance of advantages was decidedly in favour of the White Paper, and that he could say from experience that "the members of the Assembly were sincerely interested in the masses and took a reasoned view of labour questions." When the Archbishop of Canterbury put it to him that his claim that all high administrators who had retired in recent years supported his views might be set down to "the influence, direct or indirect, of the knowledge that the British Government was interesting itself in these matters", Sir Charles replied that as far as he knew that suggestion was entirely untrue. In reply to another question (put by Lord Reading), he bore testimony not only to the unimpeachable loyalty of the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, but to their efficiency and their readiness to take their full responsibility in the decisions. He also informed Sir Austin Chamberlain that under the White Paper proposals there would not be any difficulty in attracting the right Englishmen to the Services. But he hoped that the Secretary of State's control over recruiting for all-India services would be long continued and thought that the Indian delegates would be wise to agree to it.

### XXVI. ITS ANALYSIS

This was typical of such official evidence as was on the side of the White Paper. Analysing all such evidence we find that three points emerge : first, the White Paper proposals mark a stage of advance, and though educated Indians are now criticising them, most of them will settle down to seriously work them when they will be called upon to

do so ; secondly, those proposals cannot stand without the safeguards, nor will they subserve the interests of either India or of Great Britain, and they should not be paper safeguards only so long as the need exists for keeping them ; and thirdly, though India's constitutional journey involves stages and periods and vehicles of transition, it will not be possible to fix those stages and periods and vehicles in advance. At the journey's end the safeguards will fall into disuetude, but till then they must be effective and must be brought into requisition as and when required. Sir Samuel Hoare himself went into the witness box soon later as we shall see. And he submitted to a long examination. But his position was substantially as above stated.

### XXVII. EVIDENCE BEARING ON TERRORISM

An interesting side-light was thrown by the evidence of Sir John Thompson, Sir A. Watson and Mr Villiers. These are well-known names in India. The last two had been targets of murderous attack by the terrorists. Their evidence touching some aspects of terrorism was interesting. Their diagnosis was correct so far as it went, but their prescription was hardly such as could have been meant for effecting a radical cure. They said—"The objective of terrorism was to break down the present system of rule. It was a wildly sentimental movement against the form of rule which they considered had never done them justice. Its adherents were generally intellectual young men who having attained University degrees found no means of livelihood and drifted into a state of despair". It was not thought that terrorism would be eliminated with the grant of responsible government, but its target would be changed.

In our foregoing Introductions we again and again adverted to this hard problem of Indian administration and social life, and gave our understanding and appreciation of the problem for what they were worth. The conditions of terrorism, we may repeat, are economic and political, but they are also social and cultural. Its appearance connotes something going wrong at the sources of our present day social tendencies and cultural inspirations. We must probe deep down to the roots to find whether or not they are still healthy and vital. We must make sure they have not been rendered morbid by the insidious attack of pathogenic foreign parasites, cutting off their sap of life in the soil of the true genius of the spiritual East, and producing toxins manifesting in a variety of unwholesome and unnatural symptoms. With reference to the roots and their sap of life, the problem, evidently, is one of intensive Education of the right type. Coming to the economic and political causes, it behoves us to also note that here the causes of terrorist crime are not likely to vanish with the grant of responsibility. As Sir W. Watson said—its target will vary as also its method perhaps. The world seems to have already moved beyond the old ideology of democracy and responsible government. Nations are already beginning to feel dissatisfied with any kind of make-shift, and democracy is being more and more clearly perceived to be but a make-shift, if not something worse. It is no longer the millennium. The socialist and communist movements with Fascism as their counterblast are already very vital factors in the complex manifold of world conditions. They are increasingly vital factors in the manifold of Indian conditions also. So that

these factors are not likely to vanish but rather gather momentum when India achieves her measure of "responsibility". Responsibility will yet have to be translated into responsibility to the proletariat. And it is just possible that Terrorism in some form or other may persist to claim and have a share in the process. It is true of course that the process, in the sense it is desirable, cannot be really furthered by "red" revolutions, much less by insidious terrorist crimes. Neither is red revolution the right royal road leading to Social Justice nor is terrorism a byelane, dark and tortuous, yet representing the shortest or the surest cut to it. Preachers of the great religions and ethics of the world including Mahatma Gandhi have pointed to cleaner and surer paths. We shall not however linger over this.

### XXVIII. AT POONA

While all this evidence was being placed before the Select Committee, another, and, to many, a far more interesting, phase of the Indian affair was silently maturing at Poona. Arrangements had for some time past been proceeding apace to hold an informal conference of Congress leaders at Poona to take stock of the existing political situation and concert plans for meeting its demands. Civil Disobedience had for several months past been playing admittedly a losing game, and the authority of Government had been more and more plainly reasserting itself. It could no longer have been regarded as merely a drawn battle. Nobody of course would have deluded himself into thinking that the Congress as such had been dead. Even high administrators knew perfectly well that the Congress possessed nobody knew : how many lives. A Congress movement dead to-day may be a Congress movement not only alive but stouter than ever to-morrow. With all this potentiality for good or for evil, the Congress had, however, for the time being, lost. But while it had lost, the Congress had not, apparently, not been of one mind either as regards the factors that had conspired to bring about its set-back, nor, therefore, as regards the lines on which to make an attempt to retrieve its position or withdraw in an honourable retreat. On the 14th. of July we were allowed to have a peep behind the curtains of the informal conference. Mr. Aney, who presided, put the following proposition which was carried by an overwhelming majority : "This conference authorizes Mahatma Gandhi to seek an unconditional interview with the Viceroy with a view to arriving at a settlement with the Government". The adoption of this resolution was regarded in the Congress circles as "an indication that while the delegates were opposed to an unconditional withdrawal of the movement, they were ready for a settlement if such a settlement were possible by negotiation". During the course of its proceedings, the conference had heard member after member advocating withdrawal of the movement on one reason or other, but as Gandhiji said, speaking on the present situation, "he had been left absolutely unconvinced about the advisability of unconditional withdrawal of civil disobedience. On the other hand, the very arguments advanced in favour of withdrawal had confirmed him in his provisional decision, namely, not to withdraw the movement. Unconditional withdrawal, in his opinion, would be nothing short of absolute surrender and the end of their ambitions though he would admit there was scope for an honourable

settlement with the Government." On the point of making an appeal to the Government for settlement and peace, he said that it was his duty as a satyagrahi to take that step and so afford the other party a chance to "right the wrongs", and he did not admit that by taking such a step they would simply be admitting their weakness. "He regarded the talks of weakness and fatigue as not fair to the masses. If individuals were tired they might say so and take rest but should not involve the masses. There was no reason to throw down the arms in despair." Concluding he said—"He would advise the giving up of mass movement and have it in a modified form if an honourable settlement by negotiation was not possible". Pandit Malaviya, who made an important speech on the occasion, said—"that while he did not desire the continuance of the civil disobedience movement and was keen about an honourable settlement, he was in total agreement with Mahatma Gandhi that an unconditional withdrawal would be nothing short of abject surrender on the part of the Congress. This was the more so because of the unbending attitude of the Government." Panditji was, however, opposed to individual civil disobedience which Gandhiji seemed to favour. He strongly recommended to the delegates the seeking by Mahatma Gandhi of an unconditional interview with the Viceroy. Mr. Asaf Ali, who followed, was more uncompromising in his attitude in relation to individual civil disobedience. "It should never be under the auspices of the Congress", he said. "Even if his opposition to this step meant Mahatma Gandhi's withdrawal from the leadership of the Congress, he was prepared to face the consequences." The official statement which was issued at Poona on the 14th. simply informed the public that at the end of anxious questionings, consultations and discussions, the sense of the house was taken on the issues raised, which was to be kept confidential "in public interest."

#### XXIX. THE SENSE OF THE CONFERENCE

The sense of the house had, however, already leaked out, and its repercussion on the mind of nationalist India was not everywhere favourable. On the 15th, the *Leader* of Allahabad came out with a leader—"Pity". Characterising the continuance of the civil disobedience movement as both futile and harmful, it observed: "the proposal to seek an interview with the Viceroy in the face of his (Mahatmaji's) first conclusion (not to withdraw the movement) is no more than an invitation for another answer of discourteous unresponsiveness." According to it, "a decision should be taken from the only point of view of the best interests of the country and without regard to whatever attitude the Government may adopt." Many outside the Moderate circles—those for instance who did not think that "the civil disobedience movement was worse than waste on account of the evils it had brought in its train"—would agree with the view that it would have been better and more dignified had the Poona Conference taken its decision in accordance with its own best lights irrespective of what Government had or had not thought. But Mahatmaji's course of action was determined not so much by considerations of practical statesmanship as by the abstract principles of Satyagraha and an ideal stretching of the conditions which had made possible or justified the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

As was to be expected from the known temper and prevailing outlook at the heights of Simla or at the Whitehall, the Viceroy's reply, which was received at Purnakuti shortly after 2 A.M. on July 18, finally declined Gandhiji's request for an interview for discussing peace.

### XXX. THE TELEGRAMS

The telegram that Mahatma Gandhi had sent to the Viceroy ran thus : "Will his Excellency grant me an interview with a view to exploring the possibilities of peace? Kindly wire." To this the Private Secretary to the Viceroy sent rather a long reply. The concluding portion of that telegram, referring to the Secretary of State's declaration of policy in the House of Commons on April 4, 1932, that there would be no question of making a bargain with the Congress as a condition of its cooperation, said—"If the Congress desires to resume its position as a constitutional party and to put an end to a movement which has brought injury and suffering to the country, the way is open to it as it always has been. It is within the power of the Congress to restore peace by withdrawing on its own initiative the civil disobedience movement. As, however, the Congress is not willing to take that action, an interview with his Excellency would be to no purpose."

The matter did not end here. Gandhiji sent a second telegram and a lengthy one. It said that the Viceroy's telegram had come as a painful surprise to him. "It was not expected that the Government would take official notice of unauthorized publications of the confidential proceedings of the informal conference and on the basis thereof reject the request for an interview. If an interview were granted I could show that the proceedings taken as a whole were calculated to bring about honourable peace. The conference was undoubtedly favourable to peace if it can be obtained without humiliation." Then, after having added a personal note to the effect that his life was regulated by peaceful motives, and that his motive in resorting to non-cooperation had always been to establish true and voluntary cooperation and obedience to laws in place of forced cooperation and forced obedience, Gandhiji concluded his telegram with an expression of hope that his request for an interview would yet be granted. But the Government had made up their minds. The Private Secretary's reply to this second telegram ran thus : "His Excellency had hoped that the position of the Government was plain. It is that civil disobedience is a movement intended to coerce the Government by unlawful activities and that there can be no question of the Government holding conversation with a representative of an association which has not abandoned that movement." It will be hardly necessary to refer to the wide and deep repercussions of these telegrams on the political sense and sensibility here and in England.

### XXXI. C. D.—A MATTER OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE

During the course of the India Office Debate, Sir Samuel Hoare referred (Reuter, July, 17) to the civil disobedience movement and said that it had become a matter of secondary importance in recent months.

He also read in the House the Vieeroy's message to Gandhiji, and, after remarking that there was no question whatever of unconditionally refusing interview, he added that the Vieeroy's telegram had the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government. He did not, however, refer to Gandhiji's reply. Referring to terrorism in Bengal, which he characterized as "one of the most terrible and most shameful plagues that devastated any part of the Empire", he assured the Hon'ble Members that, "with constant and unrelenting pressure, exerted now and in the future, whatever be the constitutional changes", there was every likelihood of that plague being brought effectively under control.

### XXXII. LABOUR OPPOSITION

Mr Lansbury, as Leader of Opposition, spoke to the following effect in the course of the Debate—"Sir Samuel Hoare had taken credit for crushing the Congress. But those Indians who were in London in connection with the Select Committee did not take Sir Samuel's view. The Congress movement had not been crushed." He criticised the refusal to see Mr Gandhi, strongly pleaded for a reconsideration of the matter, and thought that an agreement was possible. He read the communication he had received from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr Jayakar on the matter of Gandhiji's telegram to the Vieeroy, and emphasised the fact that those two men, who had never been extremists, were unanimously of opinion that Sir Samuel Hoare's attitude was wrong. He appealed to the House to treat Mr. Gandhi as, earlier, they had treated Generals Botha and Smuts. When Sir Samuel Hoare suggested that it was open to Mr. Gandhi to deny the statements attributed to him in the Press (that he was opposed to an unconditional withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement), and that in default of any such denial, it must be assumed to be clear that at the Poona Conference Mr. Gandhi had supported civil disobedience, Mr. Lansbury retorted by saying—"It was not for Mr. Gandhi to contradict everything in the newspapers. He should be judged on the contents of his telegram to the Vieeroy." Mr. Churchill, who also spoke, paid a high compliment to Sir Samuel and the Vieeroy for their firm administration of the law, and said that measures that, two years ago, he and his friends had suggested to Mr. Benn were now adopted by the Government.

On July 18 Gandhiji gave the first interview after his fast in the course of which he gave his opinion that the Viceroy's reply involved a dangerous doctrine and created a dangerous precedent. In his opinion, it was, in the first place, a new doctrine that civilised States should refuse to hold conversation with their rebellious subjects for the sake of peace, particularly, as in the present case, with civil resisters who were admittedly non-violent. It was, in the second place, a dangerous precedent for the Head of Government to take notice of "unauthorised press reports of confidential proceedings in answering a simple request for an interview for promoting peace."

### XXXIII. GANDHI ON ANEY STATEMENT

Regarding the future programme of the Congress, Gandhiji referred to Mr. Aney's Statement which advised the country to suspend mass

civil disobedience for the time being and also a cessation of all Congress organisations and secret methods which alone made their functioning possible. "There will, therefore, in effect remain in existence an all-India dictator and provincial dictators and there remains then individual disobedience." As to the actual terms of Mr. Aney's Statement we refer to the Associated Press Telegram (Nagpur, July 22) regarding which, however, Mahatmaji said—"I can say that in some places there is misrepresentation and some material portions have been omitted. I have a copy of his statement in my possession." On the day next there occurred a very sad and unexpected event—the passing away at Ranchi of the great Bengal leader, J. M. Sen Gupta, who had been staying there as a State prisoner. His body was brought down to Calcutta for the offering of civic homage and cremation. The scenes of public emotion witnessed in Calcutta on that occasion were such as to beggar description.

#### XXXIV. ASHRAMA DISBANDED

Two days later Mahatma Gandhi announced his intention to disband his Ashrama on the banks of the river Sabarmati which had been in existence for 18 years. To him and to the members of the Ashrama this, of course, meant an act of sacrificing what was most precious to them. Mahatma Gandhi and they were called upon to make this supreme sacrifice "on the eve of the former's embarking upon what was to him a fresh and sacred mission in life." Later on, Mahatmaji intimated his intentions in regard to the Ashrama to the Bombay Government and made an offer subject to certain conditions. Government merely acknowledged by wire receipt of the said communication. On August 1, Mahatma Gandhi with Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Mahadev Desai and 32 other inmates of the Sabarmati Ashrama were arrested at 1-40 a. m. and taken to jail.

Re : this arrest an official statement was issued from Simla on the same day. It thus stated its reason : "Mr Gandhi has recently engaged himself in active incitements to continuance and intensification of civil disobedience through the action of individuals". And then it proceeded to quote the telegram which Gandhiji had sent to the Government of Bombay : "Hope to vacate Ashrama Tuesday morning and, if free, march with companions...with view to sympathy villages most hit. No desire to invite villagers to mass civil disobedience. But individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of Congress resolution. Will give talks to villagers...In event of my earlier arrest, companions, 32 in number, including 16 women, will take up march". The Government of Bombay arrested Mr. Gandhi under section 3 of Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1932.

#### XXXV. IDEA AT THE BACK

The idea at the back of this step so promptly taken by Government was quite plain. Government were apprehensive of the consequences of the Press propaganda connected with a spectacular action like the proposed march. Such propaganda, they feared, might tend to put strength into the Gandhi movement. Officials thought that Lord Irwin's mistake had been to allow the Dandi march : Lord Willingdon would not do that: As regards Mr Aney's statement dismembering the Con-

gress, it was thought that this was due to Mr. Gandhi's fear that in his absence the Congress might be captured either by the right wing which was against the continuance of civil disobedience or any other form of direct action, or by the left wing which might adopt more aggressive methods not particularly contemplated by the non-violent campaign. The "confidential" Poona Conference had, so it was believed, shown that the sense of the majority of the House had been in favour of an unconditional withdrawal of the movement, and that sense, according to official and some non-official surmises, would have prevailed had not Gandhiji hypnotised the Conference into an acquiescence with the plan put forth by himself. Gandhiji of course did not think that he had in any sense "hypnotised" a House not agreeing with him. But the fact was there that a substantial section of the House, if not the majority, had not taken the view which he had taken on the continuance of the civil disobedience movement. And it was perhaps another idea at the back of the prompt arrest of Mr. Gandhi to encourage these large "right wing" elements in the Congress camp to bestir themselves in the way of their return to the same methods of constitutionalism and cooperation. The Congress might, in this way, be more effectively dismembered than it could have been by the Aney Statement.

### XXXVI. GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON GANDHI ARREST

In the morning of August 4 Mahatma Gandhi was released and served with an order from the district magistrate, Poona, requiring him to remain within the limits of the Poona City. Mahatmaji broke this order forthwith and was re-arrested and tried and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. Gandhiji pleaded guilty to the charge. In the course of a short statement made in the court, he said that it was with him a painful duty to break the orders of constituted authority. His brief spell of freedom had shown him the prevailing atmosphere of fear and demoralisation in the country which affected everybody, "and, being a confirmed believer in non-violence, he sought to take shelter under self-suffering....." As was to be expected, Mahatmaji's arrest and conviction were the occasion for widespread hartals all over the country. The Bombay Government, be it noted, issued a long statement on August 1, giving their reasons for the action they had been compelled to take. It also narrated the incidents starting with the fast of 21 days undertaken by Gandhiji for an object "wholly unconnected with the Government and solely connected with the Harijan movement." In view of the attitude of mind disclosed in this, Government thought it advisable to order his unconditional release. But immediately after his release Gandhiji made it plain that his views about civil disobedience had undergone no change whatever. Then came the Poona Conference. This was followed by the Statement of Mr. Aney suspending mass civil disobedience; and, not only permitting but recommending, individual civil disobedience. "All those who are able and willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from Congress organisations are expected to do so." Then having outlined the next phases in the event (viz. the disbanding of the Ashrama, etc.), the Government Statement proceeded to quote *in extenso* the views of

Mahatmaji on the nature and possibilities of the proposed individual civil disobedience. Be it remembered that Mahatmaji had on July 26 issued a Statement elucidating the Statement that had previously been issued by Mr. Aney. In the course of that Statement he had said that any constitution which was forced upon India and which only registered the British will, unaffected by anything done in or by India... would harden and perpetuate British policy. "It can and will be changed by adequate action taken by India in the face of British repression." Then having referred to the uniqueness of India's case Mahatmaji's Statement claimed that the right route to the goal of Purna Swaraj had already been taken by them in 1920. "We could not have gone nearer the goal by any other method." This, according to Mahatma Gandhi, represented the string of premises which logically led to the continuance of the same method as their conclusion. Now, the Government Statement tried to show by making long quotations from Gandhiji's expressed views that the new move of individual civil disobedience did not, and was not calculated to, differ from mass civil disobedience either in spirit or in potentialities. "It follows that such response if it comes at all must come in the first instance from the intelligentsia. Their example will prove infectious in the long run and pervade the whole nation, resulting in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious. Moreover individuals among the masses can certainly act now.....If these few are true men and women, I am certain they will multiply into millions." Then having alluded to the subsequent action of Mahatma Gaudhi, viz., his declared intention to march with some inmates of his Ashrama to the village Ras, in Kaira district, and comparing this action with his historic march to Dandi in 1930, the Government Statement concluded by saying that as there were reasonable grounds for believing that Mahatma Gandhi had acted, was acting and was about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety and peace, the Governor in Council had no alternative but to order his arrest.

### XXXVII. "IN A CLEFT STICK"

The Government were, of course, perfectly within their rights to arrest Mr. Gandhi and have him convicted as an ordinary law-breaker. Yet this decision of theirs, as we shall presently see, put them "in a cleft stick". It would have proved more convenient to have him in custody as a state prisoner who is kept or let off at pleasure, and whose latitude of jail privileges is more elastic. Once again, inside the Yervada Jail, Gandhiji wanted the same facilities for promoting the Harijan cause as he had been allowed to enjoy on the previous occasion. On August 14, Gandhiji addressed a letter to the Bombay Government in the course of which he said—"The strain of deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If, therefore, I cannot have permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment save water and salt." Then it proceeds—"Life ceases to interest me if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance."

### XXXVIII. HARIJAN WORK FROM JAIL

The new orders of the Government restricting the scope of his Harijan work from inside the jail were regarded by him "as a mani-

fest departure" from the spirit and terms of what he called "the Yervada Pact to which the British Government had also been a consenting party". Government, however, did not admit that the Yervada Pact carried with it a necessary, inalienable permission to carry on the Harijan work, though, as a matter of fact, under the exceptional circumstances then prevailing, he had been permitted as a state prisoner, to carry it on with a rather wide margin of freedom. The fact that he was now an ordinary prisoner convicted on a purely political issue, coupled with the fact that his previous campaign conducted from inside the jail had been a subject of protest and resentment by the orthodox Hindus, would not justify his enjoying any other privileges than those that were given to an "A" Class prisoner. On August 16, however, Mr. Gandhi was informed that he would be given certain special facilities for the purpose of work strictly confined to anti-untouchability. Whilst in the judgment of the Government of India, the facilities afforded were ample, they were inadequate in the opinion of Mr. Gandhi. Government were, however, prepared to release him if he would abandon civil disobedience. Gandhiji declined the offer of conditional release. The fast continued. Mr. C. F. Andrews, during the anxious days of the fast, tried to bring about a settlement between Gandhiji and the Government. On August 22, the Assembly session opened, when replying to a question on the release of Mr. Gandhi, and the reason why he had not been allowed to place facts before the Government such as would be acceptable to them, Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, said, "when Mr. Gandhi was asked to make it clear what definitely he had in mind, he said that he relied on the inspiration of the moment." (Laughter). On the next day, however, Gandhiji was released unconditionally and the sentence on him remitted. In many quarters this was regarded as a tactical defeat on the part of the Government. It was suggested that if Mr. Gandhi's actions were sometimes open to the charge of inconsistency, those of the Government were also not altogether free from it. On recent previous occasions, Mr. Gandhi had been kept in custody as a state prisoner. In the present instance a departure, though technically quite correct, was made. He was dealt with as an ordinary law-breaker. But it was but commonsense to have perceived that a person like Mahatma Gandhi was likely to prove a particularly hard problem on the hands of the Government as an ordinary "A" Class prisoner.

### XXXIX. GANDHIJI'S REJOINDER

Mahatma Gandhi made a long statement (August 25) in the course of an interview to the Press dealing in particular with the Simla representation of his case while he had been undergoing his last fast consequent upon a difference arising between the Government and himself on the question of the facilities to be given him inside the jail for doing the Harijan work. Quoting from actual correspondence that had passed he said that, on the previous occasion, the Government had given him facilities for seeing people, writing letters etc., not because he was a State prisoner then, "but because they recognised that it was justly due to me to give me those facilities if they held me in their custody. If, therefore, the mistake was made by them, it was made at the very first fast." Gandhiji quoted the

letter of the Government dated Nov. 3, 1932 to substantiate his position. That letter was his justification for thinking that his classification as a prisoner in the jail (whether as a State prisoner or not) was wholly irrelevant to the issue. "The sole issue in September, in November was and is to-day this, namely, my life and Harijan work in jail and no Harijan work and my death, and so long as I live that will be the issue that will face me, face the Government and face the public." "One thing more, it has been said on the behalf of the Government that when owing to 21 days' fast I was discharged I gave more attention to political than to Harijan work. I cannot imagine a grosser misrepresentation of facts which are all capable of being proved to-day." Gandhiji characterised the present action of the officials as compared with their treatment of him on the occasion of the previous fast "as the unkindest cut of all." Asked if Mr. Rajagopalachariar, for example, now in jail, who also had been a party to the Poona Pact, could claim the same privilege of doing Harijan work from inside the jail as he had claimed, Gandhiji replied in the negative, and observed that his was a peculiar position on account of the fact that he had gone to the R. T. C. as the sole representative of the Congress and made there the declaration—"I shall resist with my life separate electorates for the depressed classes", and, therefore, it became a matter of sacred obligation to him to conduct this campaign even inside the jail. We need not, however, linger over this controversy.

#### XL. TERRORIST OUTRAGE

On September 2, Mr. B. E. J. Burge, District Magistrate of Midnapore, fell a victim to a terrorist crime. The details of the outrage were told by Mr. Hallet, the Home Secretary, Government of India, in the Upper House of the Indian Legislature. Mahatma Gandhi, the Corporation of Calcutta and other public bodies expressed their condemnation of the outrage, and there could be no doubt that the sense of the nation so generally expressed was deep and sincere. The problem, as before, was to find a radical cure of this grave social distemper, which the reason of the whole nation deplored and the very genius of the Indian race wanted to be rid of. Panicky drastic measures on the one hand and mere sighs of regret or outbursts of indignation on the other were equally unequal to cope with the gravity of the evil. Both the Government and the leaders of the people—including those leaders who had a real hold on the youth of the nation—were called upon to put their heads together and think out a correct diagnosis and a sound course of treatment, surgical or otherwise, as good doctors ought to have done. We have in some of our previous Introductions dealt at some length with the disease and its causes and treatment. We need not repeat our observations here. Another and not an unconnected phase of the same trouble manifesting about this time was the hunger-strike of political prisoners in the Andamans. This too, in our judgment, was a guiding symptom which should have indicated the nature and characteristics of the organic disease. We refrain, however, from making further comments.

### XLI. PANDIT JAWAHARLAL ON THE SITUATION

During the first week of September and for some time later, there was a discussion going on among some of the Congress leaders about the fresh developments of the political situation incidental to Mahatmaji's last fast and unconditional release and some other events. The statements issued by Mr. Aney and Gandhiji had, as we have seen, given a new lease of life to civil disobedience in the shape of individual disobedience. There had, of course, been some response to this new suggestion, and some Congressmen had again passed through the jail gates into their wonted prison cells. But the example had not proved "infectious", and the number of individual civil resisters had not swelled into "millions". Individual civil disobedience had been sporadic rather than epidemic, and the Government had practically but little trouble with it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was one of those who had felt dissatisfied with some aspects of the matter of this latter-day Congress policy and practice, and he was invited by Gandhiji to take the matter over with him. Pandit Jawaharlal's main idea was this. India's problem, though peculiar in one sense, was also, in another sense, the problem common to the whole world. So that there could be no solution for an India in isolation. And the common problem of the world was primarily economic and not political. "We agitators are accused of upsetting the State. But truth is that no agitator has such superhuman powers as to be able to do that. The agitator, though he may temporarily direct the events, merely gives expression to the existing grievances. In India those grievances are agrarian." He characterised the zemindari system as both anachronism and autoocracy, and his plain meaning was that what the world, including India, needed primarily and fundamentally was a plan of social and political foundations laid upon economic justice. The test and the only test of a just and workable constitution in India is that it reduces the cost of administration and brings relief to the masses. So-called political good is no good if it is not accompanied or followed by economic relief and well-being. Judged by this test, the White Paper scheme is wholly unprofitable and unworkable. As Sir Malcolm Hailey has shown, the cost of administration will be increased by several crores under that scheme.

### XLII. GANDHI-JAWAHARLAL CORRESPONDENCE

On September 15, Gandhi-Jawaharlal Correspondence was released for publication. Lengthy letters had passed between them. The central idea running through the letters of both was that the economic programme of the Congress, particularly as expressed in the enunciation of the Fundamental Rights in the Karachi Congress, should be stressed. Thus Mahatmaji wrote to Panditji—"I have no doubt in my mind that our goal can be no less than complete independence. I am also in whole-hearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of the vested interests the condition of the masses can never be improved. As regards the position of the ruling princes, Gandhiji was not prepared to go as far as Panditji would like to go; still he thought that they would have to part with much of their power and become popular representatives of the people over which

they were ruling. He was also in agreement with Panditji that India must not live in isolation but range herself with the progressive forces of the world. "But I know that though there is such an agreement between you and me in the enunciation of the ideals, there are temperamental differences between you and me." Then Gandhiji proceeded to outline those temperamental differences. As regards the definition of the goal he said : "I have concerned myself more with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I know if we can take care of them the attainment of the goal is assured. I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means." As regards Mr. Aney's decision, he observed : "the movement would have collapsed through the growing internal weakness but for those instructions, for Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance....." We need not refer to other points, such as the difference between mass and individual civil disobedience, secret methods etc., raised in those letters.

### XLIII. CONSTITUTIONAL PROSPECTS

Meanwhile the Viceroy had made pronouncements which had indicated that he had not stamped away from dominion status as the natural and inevitable goal of the British policy in India. The reactionaries, evidently, had failed to "frighten him into abjuring the forbidden phrase." Still the White Paper proposals failed to evoke any real public interest and enthusiasm. Sir Samuel Hoare in the witness "box" had tried to make as strong a case for those proposals as could possibly have been made. He had to dodge hard and persistent hits from both the flanks of pro-Indian and anti-Indian forces arrayed in or before the Select Committee. On the one hand, he had to maintain that the reservations and safeguards were not, and must not be treated as, "paper safeguards". They must be both alive and very much kicking during their tenure of service. On the other hand, they were to live only for "a transitional period" after which they would slowly petrify through disuse. Custom and usage would gather strength and increasingly tighten their grip on them. But the transition period must not be defined by statute. Nor should the statute provide constitutional halters round their necks such as might tend to make them less vitally alive and less effectively kicking so long as they must be kept there to render service. With an undefined transition period and unchecked reservations to sandwich the White Paper scheme in between, the constitutional menu catered by Sir Samuel Hoare did not prove an interesting or inviting one. On October 3, however, we find Sir Samuel addressing a letter to his constituents referring to the better feeling that prevailed in India, which he ascribed to the success of the dual policy he had followed. "Let us not meanwhile fight about questions that have not yet been settled and avoid the use of such phrases as abdication and cowardly surrender, which have no connection whatever with the Government proposals." We leave the subject of the White Paper at that. Those who may be interested in a critical scrutiny of this paper may be referred to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's

Memorandum and addresses and articles by several other liberal leaders. We may refer to Mr. J. N. Basu's address in particular.

#### XLIV. BESANT AND PATEL

On September 20, passed away Dr. Besant—a great champion of world freedom and one of its master spirits. And on October 22, passed away V. J. Patel, the great Assembly ex-President and Congress leader, and these were almost the last words on his lips : "Give my blessing to all my countrymen and all friends of India throughout the world. Before I die I am praying for the early attainment of India's freedom."

#### XLV. HINDU MAHASABHA

At Ajmere, Bhai Paramanand, presiding over the deliberations of the 15th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made a strong indictment, not only against the Premier's Communal Award, but also against Mahatmaji's handling of the communal question at the Round Table Conference. "When after the so-called truce between the Government and Malatma Gandhi, the latter went to London, instead of negotiating with the British Government he began to follow the will-o'-the-wisp theory of Hindu-Moslem unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a foregone conclusion the new Conservative Government of England settled with the Muslim leaders and a friendly alliance was established between them. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's wrong attitude and handling. As a result of this the Premier took it upon himself to find out a fresh solution etc." Then he proceeds to observe : "The Communal Award proper aims at creating a number of strong Muslim provinces in India and the supplementary announcement has the definite object of creating a balance of power at the centre among the two communities. To say that the Communal Award was given by the Government after the communities had failed to come to any settlement, is far from true. So far as the allocation of seats in the Assembly goes, this matter was never brought up for public discussion, nor was it ever dreamt of by the Hindus that by a simple stroke of the pen the Secretary of State would reduce the Hindus to the position of an insignificant minority at the centre.....can any one, after all that has happened, believe in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity? We are, as if, at the parting of the ways.....In my view we have reached a stage where the Congress with its theory of Swaraj through Hindu-Muslim unity and civil disobedience goes entirely out of the field." This long quotation shows the deep fissure that had appeared and for some time past been yawning to engulf the whole structure of nationalist solidarity in India. The Poona Pact had attempted in a measure to repair the breach between the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes. That repair had not, however, been a satisfactory one to all the parties concerned. The Bengal Hindus, for instance, at least many of them, would have none of it. So it was a case of cross fissures or compound fracture. The Hindus were divided among themselves on the Poona Pact. They were also divided among themselves on the Communal Award so far as it affected the positions of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in the provinces and at the centre. Finally, the Mahasabhaites and Congressmen

were divided on the theory of Hindu-Muslim unity and on the method and scope of scrapping the Communal Award. In the midst of this "happy" tangle, the British Government and their "allies", the communal Muslims, found it comparatively easy to maintain and ferrocement their positions. The communal Muslims were adamant; the British Government were also adamant; the newly laid cement between the communal Muslims and the nationalist Muslims had slowly but steadily been setting; only Hindu nationalist solidarity was crumbling to pieces. The Mahasabha would, if necessary, have the communal problem in India solved in accordance with the League of Nations formula. Its thirtieth resolution, while appreciating and supporting the moves for unity, urged the Hindus not to sacrifice nationalism for any kind of communal arrangement.

#### XLVI. SOME NEW INTERESTING MOVES

At the close of this Introduction we shall but briefly refer to some important moves in the economic and other fields. The World Economic Conference and the Disarmament Conference had possibly raised some modest expectations in some quarters, but those expectations had not come anywhere near their fulfilment. A very dramatic scene at the latter Conference was the action of Her Hitler's Government insisting on Germany being treated on terms not other than those of equality, and declining a partnership in international understanding on a basis of eternal war guilt and inferiority complex. This self-assertion by Germany threatened to materially shift the centre of gravity in the existing configuration of world powers, and the prospects of disarmament and economic relief and peace were removed even farther than they had been before. On the subject of the World Economic Conference, we do not propose to follow its course, but only note that in July Mr. Neville Chamberlain observed in the House of Commons that "it was part of Britain's currency policy to link sterling with gold on the one hand and with dollar on the other. The Government were continuing to pursue an independent course in the interests of Britain and the Empire. The Government's policy was the same as before the conference. The Government were raising wholesale prices which could be raised to a considerable extent without any sort of effect on the retail prices. That tended to increase the purchasing power of all peoples who were connected with sterling". We shall not go further into the history of W. E. C.

#### XLVII. RESERVE BANK BILL

Coming nearer home we find the Reserve Bank Bill was introduced in the Assembly in the first part of Sept., and Notes on the Clauses of the Bill were also published explaining the purpose of the Bill. On Oct. 23, we find the Reserve Bank Committee still sitting and discussing changes in the Bill. Sir George Schuster defending the Government on the charge that they had been rushing the Bill, said—"This measure is an important step in preparation for constitutional reforms. It is from every point of view most desirable that the Reserve Bank should be set up and have time to find its feet well in advance of the actual inauguration of the constitutional changes". On Nov. 18, we were informed that the Reserve Bank Bill Committee's Report had

been signed and that there was a Minority Report by nine members, besides several other minutes. The minority report favoured the establishment of "an out and out State Bank", and argued that the present Bill denied influence to Indian politicians but confirmed the influence of the Secretary of State who represented politics as much as the future Indian Minister. "But for the fact that we do not want to stand against the grant of responsibility at the centre, we unhesitatingly oppose the Reserve Bank Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee"—so remarked a prominent dissenting member of the Committee. The Bill, while proposing to exclude political influences from currency and other matters connected with the Bank, "ensured the domination of the Secretary of State". Meanwhile, Textile negotiations had been going on between Japan and India. Mr. Sawada, the Japan representative, had been conferring with Sir Joseph Bhore, and they had to steer clear of many a perilous rock on which the negotiations had, on more than one occasion, nearly foundered. The talks centred chiefly round the linking of import piece-goods with the purchase of raw cotton. It proved a long and arduous steering. On Dec. 1, we again find the Osaka cotton spinners reaffirming boycott of Indian cotton, and little was the chance of an early agreement being reached. Though the prospect brightened a little towards the end of the year, yet no finality had been reached when the year closed. The Bombay Lancashire Pact was another interesting episode of the same drama of Indian textile fate.

#### XLVIII. "THE FIVE ESSENTIALS"

The Reserve Bank Bill was passed in the face of strenuous non-official opposition, and so, one of the basic "corner stones" of the would-be Indian constitutional structure was firmly laid. But the plans of the future structure remained still unsettled. Or perhaps, they had already been settled, and there was no unsettling of what had been settled especially in the matter of reservations and safeguards. "The five essentials to meet the situation" enunciated in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Memorandum had little chance of being agreed to by the constitutional builders in the Select Committee. Those essentials were : "That central responsibility with safeguards was necessary in India's interests for a transitional period ; provincial autonomy on similar terms ; reserve subjects should be controlled by the Governor-General for the period of transition, which should not be long or indefinite : adoption of a definite policy to facilitate an early transfer of the reserved departments ; and statutory declaration on India's constitutional position in the British Commonwealth". In the early part of December, a proposal was set on foot by the Servants of India Society to call an All-Parties Conference to build a common platform of policy and action for all nationalists on certain accepted principles. But there was hardly any prospect of that platform being accepted by the high constitutional builders as their scaffolding for their work, nor of the "essentials" of Sir Tej Bahadur being accepted as their materials for construction. On Nov 21, however, the King's Speech in Parliament had, referring to the labours of the Joint Select Committee, concluded with the prayer that "wisdom might inform their judgment". We should say in all devoutness—Amen. (*Specially contributed by Prof. Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya.*)

# THE INDIAN RESERVE BANK BILL

## FULL TEXT OF THE MEASURE

The following is the full text of the Indian Reserve Bank Bill as introduced by Sir George Schuster in the Legislative Assembly on the 8th September and passed on the 22nd December 1933 :—

Whereas it is expedient to constitute a Reserve Bank for India to regulate the issue of bank notes and the keeping of reserves with a view to securing monetary stability in British India and generally to make provisions for matters incidental thereto ;

—And whereas in the present disorganisation of the monetary systems of the world it is not possible to determine what will be suitable as a permanent basis for the Indian monetary system ;

And whereas it is expedient to make temporary provision on the basis of the existing monetary system, and to leave the question of the monetary standard best suited to India to be considered when the international monetary position has become sufficiently clear and stable to make it possible to frame permanent measures ;

It is hereby enacted as follows :

### Chapter I—PRELIMINARY

1. Short title, extent, commencement and duration : (1) This Act may be called the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and the Sonthal Parganas.

(3) This section shall come into force at once, and the remaining provisions of this Act, shall come into force on such date or dates as the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, appoint.

(4) Chapter III shall remain in force for a period of twenty-five years and thereafter until repealed.

2. Definitions : In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context.—

(a) “the Bank” means the Reserve Bank of India constituted by this Act ;

(b) “bank note” means paper money issued by the Bank ,

(c) “the Central Board” means the Central Board of Directors of the Bank ;

(d) “sterling standard country” means the United Kingdom and any country, other than British India, in which any person is entitled by law to obtain sterling on demand from the principal current authority of that country, on payment at a fixed rate in the legal tender currency of that country ;

(e) “provincial co-operative bank” means any society which is registered or deemed to be registered under the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912, or any other law for the time being in force in British India relating to co-operative societies and the sole business and object of which is the financing of the other societies in a province which are or are deemed to be so registered ;

(f) “rupee coin” means silver rupees which are legal tender under the provisions of the Indian Coinage Act, 1906 ; and

(g) “scheduled bank” means a bank included in the Second Schedule.

### Chapter II—SHARE CAPITAL, MANAGEMENT & BUSINESS

3. Establishment and incorporation of Reserve Bank : (1) A Bank to be called the Reserve Bank of India shall be constituted for the purposes of taking over the management of the currency from the Governor General in Council and of carrying on the business of banking in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(2) The Bank shall be a body corporate by the name of the Reserve Bank of India, having perpetual succession and a common seal, and shall by the said name sue and be sued.

4. Share capital, share registers and shareholders : (1) The original share capital of the Bank shall be five crores of rupees divided into shares of five hundred rupees each, which shall be fully paid up.

(2) Separate registers of shareholders shall be maintained at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Rangoon, and a separate issue of shares shall be made in each of the areas served by those registers, as defined in the First Schedule, and shares shall be transferable from the register to another.

(3) A shareholder shall be qualified to be registered as such in any area in which he is ordinarily resident or has his principal place of business in India, but no person shall be registered as a shareholder in more than one register; and no person who is not—

(a) domiciled in India, or

(b) a British subject ordinarily resident in India, or

(c) a company registered under the Indian Companies Act, 1913, or a society registered under the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912, or a scheduled bank, or a corporation or company incorporated by or under an Act of Parliament or any law for the time being in force in any of His Majesty's dominions and having a branch in British India, shall be registered as a share-holder or be entitled to payment of any dividend or any share.

(4) The Central Board may, at its discretion, without giving to any applicant or to register any transfer of shares.

(5) The nominal value of the shares originally assigned to the various registers shall be as follows namely :—

(a) to the Bombay register—one hundred and sixty-five lakhs of rupees;

(b) to the Calcutta register—one hundred and sixty-five lakhs of rupees;

(c) to the Delhi register—eighty lakhs of rupees;

(d) to the Madras register—fifty lakhs of rupees;

(e) to the Rangoon register—forty lakhs of rupees.

Provided that, in the event of the shares assigned to any register not being fully taken up at the first allotment, the Central Board may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council transfer a portion of such shares from that register to another.

(6) In allotting the shares assigned to a register, the Central Board shall, in the first instance, allot two shares to each qualified applicant who has applied for two or more shares; and, if the number of such applicants is greater than half the total number of shares assigned to the register, shall determine by lot the applicants to whom the shares shall be allotted.

If the number of such applicants is less than half the number of shares assigned to the register, the Central Board shall allot the remaining shares to applicants who have applied for more shares than two; and if the number of extra shares so applied far exceeds the number of shares so to be allotted, the Central Board shall allot them among the various applicants in such manner as it may deem fair and equitable, having regard to the desirability of distributing the shares and the voting rights attached to them as widely as possible.

If any shares still remain unallotted, the Central Board shall allot them to applicants who have applied for one share only; and if the number of shares so applied far exceeds the number of shares to be so allotted, the Central Board shall determine by lot the applicants to whom the shares shall be allotted.

If, after all applications have been met in accordance with the provisions of this sub-section, any shares remain unallotted, they shall notwithstanding anything contained in this section, be allotted to and taken up by Government, and shall be sold by the Governor-General-in-Council, at not less than par, as soon as may be.

The Governor-General-in-Council shall have no right to exercise any vote under this Act by reason of any shares so allotted to him.

5. Increase and reduction of share capital: (1) The share capital of the Bank may be increased by the Central Board with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council.

(1) Every such increase shall be fully paid up, and the areas to which such further shares shall be allotted and the price at which they may be issued shall be fixed by the Central Board with the like sanction.

(2) The Central Board may determine the manner in which any increase of share capital shall be effected.

(4) The share capital of the Bank may be refused by the Central Board, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, to such extent and in such manner as may be determined by the Bank in general meeting.

6. Head Office branches and agencies : The Head Office of the Bank shall be established in Bombay, and the Bank shall, as soon as may be, establish branches in Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Rangoon, and establish branches of agencies in any other places in India or, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, elsewhere.

7. Management : The general superintendence of the affairs and business of the Bank shall be entrusted to a Central Board of Directors which may exercise all powers and do all acts and things which may be exercised or done by the Bank and are not by this Act expressly directed or required to be done by the Bank in general meeting.

8. Composition of the Central Board, and term of office of Directors : (1) The Central Board shall consist of the following Directors, namely :—

(a) a Governor and one Deputy Governor or two Deputy Governors, to be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council after consideration of the recommendations made by the Board in that behalf;

(b) four Directors to be nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council ;

(c) eight Directors to be elected on behalf of the shareholders on the various registers in the manner provided in section 9 and in the following numbers namely :—(i) for the Bembay register—two Directors ; (ii) for the Calcutta register—two Directors ; (iii) for the Delhi Register—two Directors (iv) for the Madras register—one Director ; (v) for the Rangoon register—one Director ; and

(d) one government official to be nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(2) The Governor and Deputy Governor shall devote their whole time to the affairs of the Bank and shall receive such salaries and allowances as may be determined by the Central Board, subject to any minimum prescribed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(3) A Deputy Governor and the Director nominated under clause (d) of sub-section (1) may attend any meeting of the Central Board and take part in its deliberations but shall not be entitled to vote ;

Provided that when the Governor is absent a Deputy Governor authorised by him in his behalf in writing may vote for him.

(4) The Governor and a Deputy Governor shall hold office for such term not exceeding five years as the Governor-General-in-Council may fix when appointing them, and shall be eligible for re-apointment.

A Director elected under clause (c) of sub-section (1) shall hold office for five years, or thereafter until his successor shall have been duly elected, and, subject to the provisions of section 10, shall be eligible for re-election.

The Directors nominated under clause (b) and clause (d) of sub-section (1) shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor-General-in-Council.

(5) No act or proceeding of the Board shall be questioned on the ground merely of the existence of any vacancy in, or any defect in, the constitution of the Board.

9. Local Boards, their constitution and functions : (1) A Local Board shall be constituted for each of the five areas specified in the First Schedule and shall consist of—

(a) five members elected from amongst themselves by the shareholders who are registered on the Register for that area and are qualified to vote, and

(b) not more than three members nominated by the Central Board, who may be nominated at any time.

(2) At an election of members of a Local Board for any area, any shareholder who has been registered on the Register for that area, for a period of not less than six months ending with the date of the meeting, as holding two shares shall have one vote, and each shareholder so registered as having more than two shares shall have one vote for each two shares, but subject to a maximum of ten votes.

(3) The members of a Local Board shall hold office until they vacate it under sub-section (5) and subject to the provisions of section 10, shall be eligible for re-election or re-nomination, as the case may be.

(4) At any time within three months of the day on which the Directors representing the shareholders on any register are due to retire under the provisions of this Act, the Central Board shall direct an election to be held of members of the Local Board concerned and such election shall be held forthwith, and the names of the persons elected shall be notified to the Central Board.

(5) On such notification, the Central Board shall proceed to make any nominations permitted by clause (b) of sub-section (1) it may then decide to make, and shall fix the date on which the outgoing members of the Local Board shall vacate office, and the incoming members shall be deemed to have assumed office on that date.

(6) The elected members of a Local Board shall, as soon as may be after they have been elected, elect from amongst themselves one or two persons, as the case may be, to be Directors representing the shareholders on the Register for the area for which the Board is constituted.

(7) A Local Board shall advise the Central Board on such matters as may be generally or specifically referred to it and shall perform such duties as the Board may, by regulations, delegate to it.

10. Qualifications and disqualifications of Directors and members of Local Boards : (1) No person may be a Director or a member of Local Board who is not or has not at some time been—

(a) engaged in the direction of agricultural, commercial, financial or industrial activities, or

(b) a director of any company as defined in clause (2) of section 2 of the Indian Companies Act, 1913, or of a corporation or company, incorporated by or under any law for the time being in force in any place outside British India.

(2) No person may be a Director or a member of a Local Board who—

(a) is a Government official or an official of a State in India, or

(b) is, or at any time has been, adjudicated an insolvent or

(c) is an officer or employee of any bank, or

(d) is a director of any bank, other than a registered society as defined in clause (e) of section 2 of the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912 :

Provided that an official of a State in India (not being a Government official on deputation in the State) may be nominated as a Director or as a member of a Local Board.

(3) Nothing in this section shall apply to the Governor, or to a Deputy Governor or to the Director nominated under clause (d) of sub-section (1) of section 8.

11. Removal from and vacation of office : (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may remove from office the Governor, or a Deputy Governor or any nominated or elected Director :

Provided that in the case of an elected Director this power shall be exercised only on a resolution passed by the Central Board in that behalf by a majority consisting of not less than nine Directors.

(2) A Director nominated or elected under clause (b) or clause (c) of section 8, and any member of a Local Board shall cease to hold office if, at any time after six months from the date of his nomination of election, or eighteen months from the commencement of this Act, whichever is later, he is not registered as a holder of unencumbered shares of the Bank of a nominal value of not less than ten thousand rupees, or if he ceases to hold unencumbered shares of that value.

(3) The Governor-General in Council may remove from office any Director, and the Central Board may remove from office any member of a Local Board, if such Director or member becomes subject to any of the disqualifications specified in sub-section (2) of section 10.

(4) The appointment, nomination or election as Director or member of a Local Board of any person who is a member of the Indian Legislature or of a local Legislature shall be void, unless within one month of the date of his appointment, nomination or election, he ceases to be such member, and, if any Director or member of a Local Board is elected or nominated as a member of any such Legislature, he shall cease to be a Director or member of the Local Board as from the date of such election or nomination, as the case may be.

(5) A Director may resign his office to the Governor-General in Council, and a member of a Local Board may resign his office to the Central Board, and on the acceptance of the resignation the office shall become vacant.

12. Casual vacancies and absences : (1) If the Governor or a Deputy Governor by infirmity or otherwise is rendered incapable of executing his duties or is absent on leave or otherwise in circumstances not involving the vacation of his appointment, the Governor-General in Council may appoint another person to officiate for him, and such person may, notwithstanding anything contained in clause (e) of sub-section (2) of section 10, be an officer of the Bank.

(2) If an elected Director is for any reason unable to attend a particular meeting of the Central Board, the elected members of the Local Board of the area which he represents may elect one of their number to take his place, and for the purposes of that meeting the substitute so elected shall have all the powers of the absent Director.

(3) A casual vacancy in the office of a Director, other than the vacancies provided for in sub-section (1), shall be filled in the manner in which, and by the authority by whom, the nomination of election of the Director vacating office was made; and the Director so nominated or elected shall hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of his predecessor.

(4) Where any casual vacancy in the office of any member of a Local Board occurs, the Central Board may nominate thereto any qualified person recommended by the Local Board and the person so nominated shall hold office for the unexpired period of the term of his predecessor.

#### MEETINGS OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL BOARDS

13. Meetings of the Central Board : (1) Meetings of the Central Board shall be convened by the Governor at least six times in each year and at least once in each quarter. Meetings shall ordinarily be held in Bombay, but at least two meetings of the Central Board shall be held in Calcutta in each year.

(2) The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy Governor authorised by the Governor under the proviso to sub-section (3) of section 8 to vote for him, shall preside at meetings of the Central Board, and in the event of an equality of votes, shall have a second or casting vote.

14. General Meetings : (1) A General meeting (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the annual general meeting) shall be held annually at Bombay within six weeks from the date on which the annual accounts of the Bank are closed and a general meeting may be convened by the Central Board at any other time.

(2) Any shareholder shall be entitled to attend at any general meeting, and each shareholder who has been registered on any Register, for a period of not less than six months ending with the date of the meeting as holding two shares shall have one vote, and each shareholder so registered as having more than two shares shall have one vote for each two shares, but subject to a maximum of ten votes; and such votes may be exercised by proxy.

15. First constitution of the Central Board : (1) The following provisions shall apply to the first constitution of the Central Board, and notwithstanding anything contained in section 8, the Central Board as constituted in accordance therewith shall be deemed to be duly constituted in accordance with this Act.

(2) The first Governor and the first Deputy Governor or Deputy Governors shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council on his own initiative, and shall receive such salaries and allowances as he may determine.

(3) The first eight Directors representing the shareholders on the various Registers shall be nominated by the Governor-General in Council after consultation with the Local Governments concerned.

(4) A Director so nominated to represent shareholders on the Bombay or Calcutta Register shall hold office for two years, and a Director so nominated to represent shareholders on the Delhi, Madras or Rangoon Register shall hold office for four years or thereafter until his successor shall have been duly elected.

16. First constitution of Local Boards : As soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, the Central Board shall direct elections to be held and may make nominations, in order to constitute Local Boards in accordance with the provisions of section 9, and the members of such Local Boards shall hold office up to the date fixed under sub-section (5) of section 9, but shall not exercise any right under sub-section (6) of that section.

17. Business which the Bank may transact : The Bank shall be authorised to carry on and transact the several kinds of business hereinafter specified, namely :—

(1) the accepting of money on deposit without interest from, and the collection of money for, the Secretary of State in Council, the Governor-General in Council, Local Governments, States in India, banks and any other persons;

(2) (a) the purchase, sale and rediscount of bills of exchange and promissory notes, drawn and payable in India and arising out of *bona fide* commercial or trade transactions bearing two or more good signatures, one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank, and maturing within ninety days from the date of such purchase or rediscount, exclusive of days of grace;

(b) the purchase, sale and rediscount of bills of exchange and promissory notes, drawn and payable in India and bearing two or more good signatures, one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank, or a provincial co-operative bank, and drawn or issued for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops, and maturing within six months from the date of such purchase or rediscount, exclusive of days of grace: provided that the total face value of bills or notes so purchased or rediscounted shall not at any time exceed one-fourth of the total face value of all bills and notes purchased or rediscounted by the Bank up to that time;

(c) the purchase, sale and rediscount of bills of exchange and promissory notes drawn and payable in India and bearing the signature of a scheduled bank, and issued or drawn for the purpose of holding or trading in securities of the Government of India or a Local Government, or such securities of States in India as may be specified in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council on the recommendation of the Central Board, and maturing within ninety days from the date of such purchase or rediscount, exclusive of days of grace;

(3) the purchase from and sale to scheduled banks and persons approved by the Central Board, in amounts of not less than the equivalent of one lakh of rupees, of the currencies of such sterling standard countries as may be specified in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council by notification on the Gazette of India, and of bills of exchange (including treasury bills) drawn in or on any place in any such country, and maturing within ninety days from the date of such purchase, exclusive of days of grace; and the keeping of balances with banks in such countries;

(4) the making of loans and advances, repayable on demand or on the expiry of fixed periods not exceeding ninety days, against the security of—

(a) stocks, funds and securities (other than immovable property) in which a trustee is authorised to invest trust money by any Act of Parliament or by any law for the time being in force in British India;

(b) gold coin or bullion or documents of title to the same;

(c) such bills of exchange and promissory notes as are eligible for purchase or rediscount by the Bank; provided that the total of the loans and advances against such securities as are referred to in sub-clause (b) of clause (2) shall not at any time exceed one-fourth of the total loans and advances made by the Bank up to that time.

(d) such bills of exchange as are eligible for purchase by the Bank under clause (3);

(e) promissory notes of any scheduled bank or a provisional co-operative bank, supported by documents evidencing title to goods which have been transferred, assigned, hypothecated or pledged to any such bank as security for a cash credit granted for *bona fide* commercial or trade transactions, or for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops; provided that no loan or advance shall be made on the security of any promissory note such as is referred to in this sub-clause after the expiry of five years from the date on which this section comes into force;

(5) the making of advances to the Governor-General in Council repayable in each case not later than three months after the close of the financial year in respect of which the advance has been made;

(6) the issue of demand drafts and the making, issue and circulation of bank pest bills made payable on its own branches;

(7) the purchase and sale of securities maturing within five years from the date of such purchase, of the Government of any sterling standard country specified in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council by notification in the Gazette of India;

(8) the purchase and sale of securities of the Government of India of any maturity, or of a Local Government or of a local authority in British India

maturing within ten years from the date of purchase, or of such securities of States in India of like maturity as may be specified in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council on the recommendation of the Central Board; provided that the amount of such securities held at any time in the Banking Department shall be so regulated that—

(a) the total value of such securities shall not exceed the aggregate amount of the share capital of the Bank, the Reserve Fund and two-fifths of the liabilities of the Banking Department in respect of deposits;

(b) the value of such securities maturing after six months shall not exceed the aggregate amount of the share capital of the Bank, the Reserve Fund and one-fifth of the liabilities of the Banking Department in respect of deposits;

(c) the value of such securities maturing after one year shall not exceed the aggregate amount of the share capital of the Bank, the Reserve Fund and one-tenth of the liabilities of the Banking Department in respect of deposits; and

(d) the value of such securities maturing after ten years shall not exceed the aggregate amount of the share capital of the Bank and the Reserve Fund;

(9) the custody of monies, securities and other articles of value, and the collection of the proceeds, whether principal, interest or dividends, of any such securities;

(10) the sale and realisation of all property, whether movable or immovable, which may in any way come into the possession of the Bank in satisfaction, or part satisfaction, of any of its claims;

(11) the acting as agent for the Secretary of State in Council, the Governor-General in Council or any Local Government or State in India in the transaction of any of the following kinds of business, namely:—

(a) the purchase and sale of gold or silver;

(b) the purchase, sale, transfer and custody of bills of exchange, securities of shares in any company;

(c) the collection of the proceeds, whether principal, interest or dividends, of any securities or shares;

(d) the remittance of such proceeds, at the risk of the principal, by bills of exchange payable either in India or elsewhere;

(e) the management of public debt;

(12) the purchase and sale of gold coin and bullion;

(13) the opening of an account with, and the acting as agent or correspondent of, any other bank which is the principal currency authority of a sterling standard country under the law for the time being in force in that country;

(14) the borrowing of money for a period not exceeding one month for the purpose of the business of the Bank, and the giving of security for money so borrowed;

Provided that no money shall be borrowed under this clause from any person in India other than a scheduled bank, or from any person outside India other than a bank which is the principal currency authority of any country under the law for the time being in force in that country;

Provided further that the total amount of such borrowings from persons in India shall not at any time exceed the amount of the share capital of the Bank:

(15) the making and issue of bank notes subject to the provisions of this Act; and

(16) generally, the doing of all such matters and things as may be incidental to or consequential upon the exercise of its powers or the discharge of its duties under this Act.

18. Power of direct discount: When, in the opinion of the Central Board, or where the powers and functions of the Central Board under the section have been delegated to the Governor in the opinion of the Governor, it is necessary or expedient that action should be taken under this section for the purpose of regulating credit in the interests of the Indian trade, commerce, industry, and agriculture, the Bank may, notwithstanding any limitation contained in sub-clauses (a) and (b) of clause (2) of section 17, purchase, sell or discount any bills of exchange or promissory notes drawn and payable in India and arising out of bona fide commercial or trade transactions, bearing two or more good signatures and maturing within ninety days from the date of such purchase or discount, exclusive of days of grace.

19. Business which the Banks may not transact: Save as otherwise provided, in sections 17, 18 and 43, the Bank may not—

(1) engage in trade or otherwise have a direct interest in any commercial, industrial, or other undertaking, except such interest as it may in any way acquire in the course of the satisfaction of any of its claims; provided that all such interests shall be disposed of at the earliest possible moment;

(2) purchase its own shares or the shares of any other bank or of any company, or grant loans upon the security of any such shares;

(3) advance money on mortgage of, or otherwise on the security of, immovable property or documents of title relating thereto, or become the owner of immovable property, except so far as is necessary for its own business premises and residences for its officers and servants;

(4) make unsecured loans or advances;

(5) draw or accept bills payable otherwise than on demand;

(6) allow interest on deposits or current accounts.

### CHAPTER III :—CENTRAL BANKING FUNCTIONS

20. Obligation of the Bank to transact Government business: The Bank shall undertake to accept monies for account of the Secretary of State in Council and the Governor-General-in-Council and such Local Governments as may have the custody and management of their own provincial revenues, and to make payments up to the amount standing to the credit of their accounts respectively, and to carry out their exchange, remittance and other banking operations, including the management of the public debt, on such conditions as may be agreed upon.

21. Bank to have the right to transact Government business in India: (1) The Governor-General in Council and such Local Governments as may have the custody and management of their own provincial revenues shall undertake to entrust the Bank, on such conditions as may be agreed upon with all their money, remittances, exchange and banking transactions in India and in particular, to deposit free of interest all their cash balances with the Bank;

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall prevent the Governor-General-in-Council or any Local Government from carrying on money transactions at Government treasuries or sub-treasuries at places where the Bank has no branches or agencies, and the Governor-General-in-Council and Local Governments may hold at such treasuries and sub-treasuries such balances as they may require.

(2) The Governor-General-in-Council and each Local Government shall undertake to entrust the Bank, on such conditions as may be agreed upon, with the management of the public debt and with the issue of any new loans in India.

### ISSUE OF NOTES

22. Right to issue bank notes: (1) The Bank shall have the sole right to issue paper money in British India, and may, for a period of one year from the date on which this Chapter comes into force, issue currency notes of the Government of India supplied to it by the Governor-General-in-Council and the provisions of this Act applicable to bank notes shall, unless a contrary intention appears, apply to all currency notes of the Government of India issued either by the Governor-General-in-Council or by the Bank in like manner as if such currency notes were bank notes, and references in this Act to bank notes shall be construed accordingly.

(2) On and from the aforesaid date the Governor-General-in-Council shall not issue any currency notes or any other kind of paper money.

23. Issue Department: (1) The issue of bank notes shall be conducted by the Bank in an Issue Department which will be separated and kept wholly distinct from the Banking Department, and the assets of the Issue Department shall not be subject to any liability other than the liabilities of the Issue Department as hereinafter defined in Section 34.

(2) The Issue Department shall not issue bank notes to the Banking Department or to any other person except in exchange for other bank notes or for such coin, bullion or securities as are permitted by this Act to form part of the Reserve.

24. Denominations of notes: Bank notes shall be of the denominational values of five rupees, ten rupees, fifty rupees, one hundred rupees, five hundred rupees, one thousand rupees, and ten thousand rupees and of such other denominational values, if any, as may be directed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

25. Form of bank notes: The design, form and material of bank notes shall be such as may be approved by the Governor-General-in-Council.

26. Legal tender character of notes : (1) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), every bank note shall be legal tender at any place in British India in payment or on account for the amount expressed therein, and shall be guaranteed by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(2) The Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, declare that, with effect from such date as may be specified in the notification any series of bank notes of any denomination shall cease to be legal tender save at an office or agency of the Bank.

27. Re-issue of notes : Any bank note re-issued from any office of the Bank shall be sterilized and disinfected before re-issue, and the Bank shall not re-issue bank notes which are torn, defaced or expressively solid.

28. Recovery of notes lost, stolen, mutilated or imperfect : Notwithstanding anything contained in any enactment or rule of law to the contrary, no person shall by right be entitled to recover from the Governor-General-in-Council or the Bank the value of any lost, stolen, mutilated or imperfect currency note of the Government of India or bank note :

Provided that the Bank may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, prescribe the circumstances in and the conditions and limitations subject to which the value of such currency notes or bank notes may be refunded as of grace.

29. Bank exempt from stamp duty or bank notes : The Bank shall not be liable to the payment of any stamp duty under the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, in respect of bank notes issued by it.

30. Powers of Government in respect of note issue and assets of the Bank in certain circumstances : If at any time the Bank fails to comply with any provision of this Chapter or with any other provision of this Act, the Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, declare that the Bank has forfeited the right of note issue and shall thereupon take over the liabilities of the Issue Department, together with such portion of the assets of the Bank as is required to meet such liabilities, and thereafter the business of the Issue Department shall be carried on in the manner prescribed by this Act by such agency as the Governor-General-in-Council may determine.

31. Issue of demand bills and notes : No person in British India other than the Bank or as expressly authorised by this Act, the Governor-General-in-Council shall draw, accept, make or issue any bill of exchange, hundi, promissory note or engagement for the payment of money payable to bearer on demand or borrow, owe or take up any sum or sums of money on the bills, hundis or notes payable to bearer on demand of any such person :

Provided that cheques or drafts payable to bearer on demand or otherwise may be drawn on a person's account with a banker, shroff or agent.

32. Penalty : (1) Any person contravening the provisions of section 31 shall, on conviction by a Presidency Magistrate or a Magistrate of the first class, be punishable with fine equal to the amount of the bill hundi note or engagement in respect whereof the offence is committed.

(2) No prosecution under this section shall be instituted except on complaint made by the Bank.

33. Assets of the Issue Department : (1) The assets of the Issue Department shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion, securities of sterling standard countries, rupee coin and rupee securities to such aggregate amount as is not less than the total of the issue Department as hereinafter defined.

(2) Of the total amount of the assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or securities of sterling standard countries:

Provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than thirty-five crores of rupees in value.

(3) The remainder of the assets shall be held in rupee coin, Government of India rupee securities of any maturity and such bills of exchange and promissory notes drawn and payable in British India as are eligible for purchase by the Bank under sub-clause (a) or sub-clause (b) of clause (2) of section 17 or under section 18 :

Provided that the amount held in Government of India rupee securities shall not at any time exceed one-fourth of the total amount of the assets or fifty crores of rupees, whichever amount is less.

(4) For the purposes of this section, gold coin and gold bullion shall be valued at 8,47512 grains of fine gold per rupee, rupee coin shall be valued at its face value, and securities shall be valued at the market rate for the time being obtaining.

(5) Of the gold coin and gold bullion held as assets, not less than seventeen-twentieths shall be held in British India, and all gold coin and gold bullion held as assets shall be held in the custody of the Bank or its agencies:

Provided that gold belonging to the Bank which is in any other bank or in any mint or treasury or in transit may be reckoned as part of the assets.

(6) For the purposes of this section, the securities of a sterling standard country which may be held as part of the assets shall be securities of any of the following kinds payable in the currency of any of such sterling standard countries as may be specified in this behalf by the Governor-General-in-Council by notification in the Gazette of India, namely:—

(a) balances at the credit of the Issue Department with a bank which is the principal currency authority under the law for the time being in force of such country;

(b) bills of exchange bearing two or more good signatures and drawn on and payable at a place in any such country and having a maturity not exceeding ninety days;

(c) securities maturing within five years of the Government of any sterling standard country specified in this behalf by the Governor-General-in-Council by notification in the Gazette of India;

Provided that, for a period of two years from the date on which this Chapter comes into force, (i) any of such last mentioned securities may be securities maturing after five years and the Bank may, at any time before the expiry of that period, dispose of such securities notwithstanding anything contained in section 17, and (ii) sterling securities of the Government of India may be held as part of the assets.

#### PROVISION FOR CURRENCY RESERVES

34. Liabilities of the Issue Department: (1) The liabilities of the Issue Department shall be an amount equal to the total of the amount of the currency notes of the Government of India and bank notes for the time being in circulation.

(2) For the purposes of this section, any currency note of the Government of India or bank note which has not been pressed for payment within forty years from the 1st day of April following the date of its issue shall be deemed not to be in circulation, and the value thereof shall, notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (2) of section 23 be paid by the Issue Department to the Governor-General-in-Council or the Banking Department, as the case may be; but any such note, if subsequently presented for payment, shall be paid by the Banking Department, and any such payment in the case of a currency note of the Government of India shall be debited to the Governor-General-in-Council.

35. Initial assets and liabilities: On the date on which this Chapter comes into force, the Issue Department shall take over from the Governor-General-in-Council the liability for all the currency notes of the Government of India for the time being in circulation and the Governor-General-in-Council shall transfer to the Issue Department gold coin, gold bullion, securities of sterling standard countries, rupee coin and rupee securities to such aggregate amount as is equal to the total of the amount of the liability so transferred. The coin, bullion and securities shall be transferred in such proportion as to comply with the requirements of section 33:

Provided that the total amount of the gold coin, gold bullion and securities of sterling standard countries so transferred shall not be less than one-half of the whole amount transferred, and that the amount of rupee coin so transferred shall not exceed fifty crores of rupees.

36. Method of dealing with fluctuation in rupee coin assets: (1) After the close of any financial year in which the minimum amount of rupee coin held in the assets, as shown in any of the weekly accounts of the Issue Department for that year prescribed under sub-section (1) of section 49, is greater than fifty crores of rupees or one-tenth of the total amount of the assets as shown in that account, whichever may be the greater, the Bank may deliver to the Governor-General-in-Council rupee coin up to the amount of such excess but not without his consent exceeding five crores of rupees, against payment of legal tender value in the form of bank notes, gold or securities;

Provided that if the Bank so desires and if the amount of gold coin, gold bullion and securities of a sterling standard country in the assets does not at that time exceed one-half of the total assets, a proportion not exceeding two-fifths of such payment shall be in gold coin, gold bullion or such securities of sterling

standard country as may be held as part of the assets under sub-section (6) of Section 33.

(2) After the close of any financial year in which the maximum amount of rupees coin held in the assets, as so shown, is less than fifty crores of rupees or one-tenth of the total amount of the assets as so shown, whichever may be the greater, the Governor-General in Council may deliver to the Bank rupee coin up to the amount of such deficiency, but not without his consent exceeding five crores of rupees, against payment of legal tender value.

37. Suspension of assets requirements : (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing provisions, the Bank may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council for periods not exceeding thirty days in the first instance, which may, with the like sanction, be extended from time to time by periods not exceeding fifteen days, hold as assets gold coin, gold bullion or securities of a sterling standard country of less aggregate amount than that required by sub-section (2) of section 33 and, whilst the holding is so reduced, the proviso to that sub-section shall cease to be operative.

(2) In respect of any period during which the holding of gold coin, gold bullion and securities of a sterling standard country is reduced under sub-section (1) the Bank shall pay to the Governor-General in Council a tax upon the amount by which such holding is reduced below the minimum prescribed by sub-section (2) of section 33 ; and such tax shall be payable at the bank rate for the time being in force, with an addition of one per cent. per annum when such holding exceeds thirty-two and a half per cent. of the total amount of the assets and of a further one and a half per cent per annum in respect of every further decrease of two and a half per cent or part of such decrease ;

Provided that the tax shall not in any event be payable at a rate less than six per cent per annum.

38. Obligations of Government and the Bank in respect of rupee coin : The Governor-General in Council shall undertake not to re-issue any rupee coin delivered under Section 36 nor to put into circulation any new rupees, except through the Bank and as provided in that section ; and the Bank shall undertake not to dispose of rupee coin otherwise than for the purposes of circulation or by delivery to the Governor-General in Council under that section.

39. Obligation to supply different forms of currency : The Bank shall issue rupee coin on demand in exchange for currency notes of the Government of India and shall issue currency notes or bank notes on demand in exchange for coin which is legal tender under the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, and it shall, in exchange for currency notes or bank notes of five rupees or upwards, supply currency notes or bank notes of lower value or rupees or other coins which are legal tender under the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, in such quantities as may, in the opinion of the Bank, be required for circulation ; and the Governor-General in Council shall, subject to the provisions of section 36, supply such rupees or other coins to the Bank on demand. If the Governor-General in Council at any time fails to discharge this duty, the Bank shall be released from its obligations to supply such coins to the public.

40. Obligation to sell sterling : (1) The Bank shall sell to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not below one shilling and five pence and forty-nine sixty-fourths of a penny for a rupee ;

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to buy an amount of sterling less than ten thousand pounds.

41. Obligation to buy sterling : The Bank shall buy, from any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon, sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not higher than one shilling and six pence and three-sixteenths of a penny for a rupee :

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to sell an amount of sterling less than ten thousand pounds.

42. Cash reserves of scheduled banks to be kept with the Bank : (1) Every bank included in the Second Schedule shall maintain a balance with the Reserve Bank the amount of which shall at no time be less than seven and one-half per cent. of the daily average of the demand and two and one-half per cent. of the daily average of the time liabilities of such bank in India,

(2) For the purposes of sub-section (1), the daily average of the amounts of the demand and time liabilities of scheduled bank shall be computed in respect of each period ending on the fifteenth and on the last day of each month.

(3) Every such bank shall send to the Governor-General in Council and to the Bank a monthly return, signed by two responsible officers of such bank, showing—

- (a) the amounts of its demand and time liabilities respectively in India.
- (b) the total amount held in India in currency notes of the Government of India and bank notes.

(c) the amounts held in India in rupee coin and subsidiary coin respectively.

(d) the amounts of advances made and of bills discounted in India respectively, and

(e) the balance held at the Bank, at the close of the month to which the return relates.

(4) Every such return shall be sent not later than fourteen days after the close of the month to which it relates, and shall state whether the bank has during that month maintained with the Reserve Bank the minimum balance required by sub-section (1).

(5) Any bank failing to comply with the provisions of sub-section (3) or sub-section (4) shall be liable, on application made by or on behalf of the Governor-General in Council to the principal Civil Court having jurisdiction in a place where an office of the bank is situated, to a penalty of one hundred rupees for each day during which the failure continues.

(6) When it appears from any such monthly return or from a report of the Central Board that any scheduled bank has failed to maintain the minimum balance required by sub-section (1), the Governor-General-in-Council may call for such further return, or make such inspection of the books and accounts of that bank, as may be necessary to ascertain the amount of the deficiency, if any, and the period during which it has continued; and a bank so in default shall be liable on application made by or on behalf of the Governor-General-in-Council to the principal Civil Court having jurisdiction in a place where an office of the bank is situated, to a penalty at a rate per annum which shall be three per cent above the bank rate on the account of the deficiency for each day during which the default has continued, and shall be raised to five per cent above the bank rate after the first seven days of the deficiency.

(7) The Governor-General in Council shall, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct the inclusion in the Second Schedule of any company, not already so included, which carries on the business of banking in British India and which—

(a) is a company as defined in clause (2) of section 2 of the Indian Companies Act, 1913, or a corporation or company incorporated by or under any law in force in any place outside British India, and

(b) has a paid up capital and reserves of an aggregate value of not less than three lakhs of rupees;

and shall, by a like notification, direct the exclusion from that Schedule of any scheduled bank the aggregate value of whose paid-up capital and reserves at any time becomes less than three lakhs of rupees, or which goes into liquidation or otherwise ceases to carry on banking business.

43. Agreement with the Imperial Bank : The Bank shall enter into an agreement with the Imperial Bank of India which shall be subject to the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council and shall be expressed to come into force on the date on which this Chapter comes into force and to remain in force for twenty-five years, and shall further contain the provisions set forth in the Third Schedule,

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS

44. Allocation of surplus : After making provision for bad and doubtful debts, depreciation in assets, contributions to staff and superannuation funds, and such other contingencies as are usually provided for by bankers and after payment out of the net annual profits of a cumulative dividend at such rate not exceeding five per cent per annum on the share capital as the Governor-General-in-Council may fix at the time of the issue of shares, the surplus shall be allocated as follows :—

(a) one-half to a Reserve Fund, until such Reserve Fund is equal to one-half of the share capital and the remaining one-half to the Governor-General-in-Council,

(b) thereafter, until the Reserve Fund is equal to the share capital one-tenth to the Reserve Fund and the balance to the Governor-General-in-Council ; and

(c) when and for so long as the Reserve Fund is not less than the share capital, a portion to an additional dividend to the shareholders calculated on the scale set forth in the Fourth Schedule, and the balance to the Governor-General-in-Council :

Provided that so long as the Reserve Fund is less than the share capital, not less than fifty lakhs of rupees of the surplus or the whole of the surplus if less than that amount, shall be allocated to the Reserve Fund.

45. Publication of bank rate : The Bank shall make public from time to time the minimum rate at which it is prepared to buy or re-discount bills of exchange or other commercial paper eligible for purchase under this Act.

46. Auditors : Not less than two auditors shall be elected and their remuneration fixed at the annual general meeting. The auditors may be shareholders, but no Director or other officer of the Bank shall be eligible during his continuance in office. Any auditor shall be eligible for re-election on quitting office.

(2) The first auditors of the Bank may be appointed by the Central Board before the first annual general meeting and if so appointed, shall hold office only until that meeting. All auditors elected under this section shall severally be and continue to act, as, auditors until the first annual general meeting after their respective elections ;

Provided that any casual vacancy in the office of any auditor elected under this section may be filled by the Central Board.

47. Appointment of special auditors by Government : Without prejudice to anything contained in section 46, the Governor-General-in-Council may at any time appoint such auditors as he thinks fit to examine and report upon the accounts of the Bank :

48. Powers and duties of auditors : (1) Every auditor shall be supplied with a copy of the annual balance sheet, and it shall be his duty to examine the same, together with the accounts and vouchers relating thereto ; and every auditor shall have a list delivered to him of all books kept by the Bank, and shall at all reasonable times have access to the books, accounts and other documents of the Bank, and may, at the expense of the Bank if appointed by it or at the expense of the Governor-General-in-Council if appointed by him, employ accountants or other persons to assist him in investigating such accounts, and may, in relation to such accounts, examine any Director or officer of the Bank.

(2) The auditors shall make a report to the shareholders or to the Governor-General-in-Council, as the case may be, upon the annual balance sheet and accounts and in every such report they shall state whether, in their opinion, the balance sheet is a full and fair balance sheet containing all necessary particulars and properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Bank's affairs, and, in case they have called for any explanation or information from the Central Board, whether it has been given and whether it is satisfactory. Any such report made to the shareholders shall be read, together with the report of the Central Board, at the annual general meeting.

49. Returns : (1) The Bank shall prepare and transmit to the Governor-General-in-Council a weekly account of the Issue Department in the form set out in the Fifth Schedule or in such other form as the Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, prescribe. The Governor-General-in-Council shall cause these accounts to be published weekly in the Gazette of India.

(2) The Bank shall also, within two months, from the date on which the annual accounts of the Bank are closed, transmit to the Governor-General-in-Council, a copy of the annual accounts signed by the Governor, the Deputy governors and the Chief Accounting Officer of the Banks and certified by the auditors, and the Governor-General-in-Council shall cause such accounts to be published in the Gazette of India.

(3) The Bank shall also, within two months from the date on which the annual accounts of the Bank are closed, transmit to the Governor-General-in-Council a statement showing the name, address and occupation of, and the number of shares held by, each shareholder of the Bank.

50. Power to require declaration as to ownership of registered shares : (1) The Local Board of any area may at any time require any shareholder who is registered on the Register for that area to furnish to the Local Board within a specified time, not being less than thirty days, a declaration, in such form as the Central Board may by regulations prescribe, giving particulars of all shares on the said Register of which he is the owner.

(2) If it appears from such declaration that any shareholder is not the owner of any shares which are registered in his name, the Local Board may amend the Register accordingly.

(3) If any person required to make a declaration under subsection (1) fails to make such a declaration within the specified time, the Local Board may make an entry against his name in the Register recording such failure and directing that he shall have no right to vote, either under section 9 or section 14, by reason of the shares registered in his name on that Register.

(4) Whoever makes a false statement in any declaration furnished by him under subsection (1) shall be deemed to have committed the offence of giving false evidence defined in section 191 of the Indian Penal Code and shall be punishable under the second paragraph of section 192 of that Code.

51. Liquidation of the Bank : (1) Nothing in the Indian Companies Act, 1913, shall apply to the Bank, and the Bank shall not be placed in voluntary or compulsory liquidation save with the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council and in such manner as he may direct.

(2) In such event the Reserve Bank Fund and surplus asset, if any, of the Bank shall be divided between the Governor-General-in-Council and the shareholders in the proportion of seventy-five per cent, and twenty-five per cent, respectively.

#### CENTRAL BOARD'S POWERS TO MAKE REGULATION

52. Power of the Central Board to make regulations : (1) The Central Board may with previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, make regulations consistent with this Act to provide for all matters for which provision is necessary or convenient for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Act.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision, such regulations may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :—

(a) the holding and conduct of elections under this Act, including, if the Central Board thinks fit, provisions for the holding of any elections according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote;

(b) for the final decision of doubts or disputes regarding the qualifications of candidates for election or regarding the validity of elections;

(c) the maintenance of the share registers, the manner in which and the conditions subject to which shares may be held and transferred and, generally, all matters relating to the rights and duties of shareholders;

(d) the manner in which general meetings shall be convened, the procedure to be followed therat and the manner in which votes may be exercised;

(e) the manner in which notices may be served on behalf of the Bank upon shareholders or other persons;

(f) the manner in which the business of the Central Board shall be transacted, and the procedure to be followed at meetings thereof;

(g) the conduct of business of Local Boards and the delegation to such Boards of powers and functions;

(h) the delegation of powers and functions of the Central Board to the Governor or to the Deputy Governors, Directors or officers of the Bank;

(i) the formation of Committees of the Central Board, the delegation of powers and functions of the Central Board to such committees and the conduct of business in such Committees;

(j) the constitution and management of staff and superannuation funds for the officers and servants of the Bank;

(k) the manner and form in which contracts binding on the Bank may be executed;

(l) the provision of an official seal of the Bank and the manner and effect of its use;

(m) the manner and form in which the balance sheet of the Bank shall be drawn up, and in which the accounts shall be maintained;

(n) the circumstances in which, and the conditions and limitations subject to which, the value of any lost, stolen, mutilated or imperfect currency note of the Government of India or bank note may be refunded; and

(o) generally, for the efficient conduct of the business of the Bank.

53. Amendment of the Act III of 1906 : In the Indian Coagee Act, 1906, for Section 11 the following section shall be substituted, namely :—

"11. Demonetisation of sovereign and half-sovereign : Gold coins, coined at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England or at any mint established in pursuance of a proclamation of His Majesty as a branch of His Majesty's Royal Mint shall not be legal tender in British India in payment or on account, but such coins shall be received by the Reserve Bank of India at its offices and agencies in India at the bullion value of such coins calculated at the ratio of 8,47512 grains troy of fine gold per rupee."

54. Repeals : The Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, the Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act, 1923, the Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act, 1925, and the Currency Act, 1927, are hereby repealed.

#### *1st Schedule—AREAS SERVED BY THE VARIOUS SHARE REGISTERS*

I. The Western Area, served by the Bombay Register, shall consist of—the Bombay Presidency including Sind, the Central Provinces, Berar, Hyderabad, Baroda, Khairpur, the Western India States, the Central India States (including Makrai but excluding Rewah and other States of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand), the Gujarat States, Kolhapur and the Deccan States.

II. The Eastern Area, served by the Calcutta Register, shall consist of—the Bengal Presidency, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, Sikkim, Manipur, Cooch-Behar, Tripura, the Eastern States, Rewah and other States of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, and the Khasi States.

III. The Northern Area, served by the Delhi Register, shall consist of—the United Provinces, Delhi, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan, Kashmir, the Punjab States excluding Khairpur, the Simla Hill States, Dujana, Pataudi, Kalsia, Rampur, Tehri-Garhwal, Benares, the Rajputana States including Palanpur and Danta, Gwalior Khaniadhana, Kalat, Las Bela, Hunza, Nagir, Amb, Chitral, Dir, Phulera and Swat.

IV. The Southern Area, served by the Madras Register, shall consist of—the Madras Presidency, Coorg, Mysore and the Madras States.

V. The Burma Area, served by the Rangoon Register, shall consist of—Burma, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Bawlake, Kantarawadi and Kyebogyi.

#### *2nd Schedule—SCHEDULED BANKS*

Ajodhi Bank, Fyzabad. Allahabad Bank. American Express Company Incorporated. Banco Nacional Unnamarino. Bangalore Bank. Bank of Borada, Bank of Behar, Bank of Chettinad, Madras. Bank of Hindustan, Madras Bank of India, Bombay. Bank of Indore. Bank of Mysore. Bank of Taiwan. Bank of Upper Burma. Bari Doab Bank. Lahore. Benares Bank. Bhowanipore Banking Corporation, Calcutta. Bhagwan Das & Co, Dhera Dun. Byopar Sahayak Bank, Meerut. Calicut Bank, Calicut. Canara Bank, Canara. Banking Corporation, Udupi (S. Kanara). Central Bank of India. Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. Chota Nagpur Banking Association. Coimbatore Town Bank. Combatore National d. Hscompte deparis. Estern Bank. Frontier Bank Dera Ismail Khan. Grindlay and Company. Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Imperial Bank of India. Imperial Bank of Persia. Indian Bank, Madras. Industrial Bank of Western India, Ahmedabad. Jalpaiguri Banking and Trading Corporation. Karnali Industrial Bank. Kumbakonam Bank Kumbakonam. Lloyds Bank. Mahaluxmi Bank, Chittagong. Mercantile Bank of India. Mitsui Bank, Bombay. Mussassil Bank, Gorakhpur. Mysore Industrial Bank, Bangalore. Nadar Bank, Tattein. National Bank of India. National City Bank of New York. Nederlandsche Indische Handels Bank. Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij. Nedungadi Bank. Calicut. Oudh Commercial Bank, Udupi, P. and O. Banking Corporation. Punjab and Kashmir Bank, Rawalpandi. Panjab and Sind Bank, Amritsar. Punjab Co-operative Bank, Amritsar. Punjab National Bank, Lahore. Punjab Zamindars' Bank, Lyallpur. Quilon Bank, Travancore. Ralkut Industrial Bank, Jalpaiguri. Simla Banking and Industrial Company. South India Bank, Tinnevelly. Stato Bided Bank of Travancore Alleppy. Thomas Book & Sons. Travancore Commercial Bank, Kottayam. Travancore National Bank, Triuvalla. Union Bank of India Cambay. U. Rai Gyaw Thoo and Co, Akyab. Yokohama Specie Bank.

*The Third Schedule*

Provisions to be contained in the agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India :—

1. The Imperial Bank of India shall be the sole agent of the Reserve Bank of India at all places in British India where, at the commencement of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933, there is a branch of the Imperial Bank of India and no branch of the Banking Department of the Reserve Bank of India.

2. In consideration of the performance by the Imperial Bank of India on behalf of the Reserve Bank of India of the functions which the Imperial Bank of India was performing on behalf of the Governor-General in Council at the places referred to in clause 1 before the coming into force of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933, the Reserve Bank of India shall pay to the Imperial Bank of India a Commission calculated on the total of the receipts and disbursements dealt with annually on account of Government by the Imperial Bank of India on behalf of the Reserve Bank of India. Such commission shall be one-sixteenth of one per cent on the first 250 crores of such total and one-thirty-second of one per cent on the remainder.

3. Subject to the condition that the Imperial Bank of India shall keep open branches not less in number than those existing at the time of the coming into force of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933, the Reserve Bank of India shall allow the following balances to the Imperial Bank of India at the interest rates hereinafter specified, namely :—

- (a) during the first five years from that time—3 crores free of interest ;
- (b) during the next five years—2 crores free of interest and, at the option of the Imperial Bank of India, an amount not exceeding 1 crore at 2 per cent per annum ;
- (c) during the next five years—1 crore free of interest and, at the option of the Imperial Bank of India, an amount not exceeding 2 crores at 2 per cent per annum ; and
- (d) during the next five years—At the option of the Imperial Bank of India, an amount not exceeding 3 crores at 2 per cent per annum.

4. The Imperial Bank of India shall not without the approval of the Reserve Bank of India open any branch in substitution for a branch existing at the time this agreement comes into force.

**SALE OF ADDITIONAL DIVIDEND PAYABLE TO SHAREHOLDERS**

A. If the maximum rate of dividend fixed under Section 44 is five per centum and so long as the share capital of the Bank is five crores of rupees—

- (1) if the surplus does not exceed four crores of rupees—Nil ;
- (2) if the surplus exceeds four crores of rupees—

  - (a) out of such excess up to the first one and a half crores of rupees—fraction equal to one-sixtieth ;
  - (b) out of each successive additional excess up to one and a half crores of rupees—one-half of the fraction payable but of the next previous one and a half crores of excess ;

Provided that the additional dividend shall be a multiple of one-eighth of one per cent on the share capital, the amount of the surplus allocated thereto being rounded up or down to the nearest one-eighth of one per cent on the share capital.

B. If the maximum rate of dividend fixed under section 44 is below five per centum, the said fraction of one sixtieth shall be increased in the ratio of the difference between six and the fixed rate to unity.

C. When the original share capital of the Bank has been increased or reduced, the said fraction of one-sixtieth shall be increased or diminished in proportion to the increase or reduction of the share capital.

**RESERVE BANK OF INDIA**

An Account pursuant to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933, for the week ending on the day of

## ISSUE DEPARTMENT

Liabilities	Rs.
Bank notes held in the Banking Department	...
Bank Notes in circulation	...
Total Bank Notes issued	...
Government of India Notes in circulation	...
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>...</b>
<b>Assets.</b>	<b>Rs.</b>
A. Gold coin and bullion—	...
(a) held in India	...
(b) held outside India	...
Securities of sterling standard countries	...
<b>Total of A</b>	<b>...</b>
B. Rupee Coin	...
Government of India rupee securities	...
Internal bills of exchange and other commercial paper	...
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>...</b>

Ratio of total of A to liabilities, per cent.

Dated the            day of            19.

## BANKING DEPARTMENT

Liabilities	Rs.
Capital paid up	...
Reserve Fund	...
Deposits—	...
(a) Government	...
(b) Banks	...
(c) Others	...
Bills payable	...
Other liabilities	...
<b>Assets.</b>	<b>Rs.</b>
Notes	...
Rupee coin	...
Subsidiary coin	...
Bills discounted—	...
(a) Internal	...
(b) External	...
(c) Government of India Treasury Bills	...
Balances held abroad	...
Loans and advances to the Government	...
Other loans and advances	...
Investments	...
Other assets	...

Dated the            day of            19 .

## STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The object of this Bill is to set up the Reserve Bank for India. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference recommended that "with a view to ensuring confidence in the management of Indian credit and currency.....efforts should be made to establish on sure foundations and free from

any political influence, as early as may be found possible, a Reserve Bank, which will be entrusted with the management of the currency and exchange." The Financial Safeguards Committee of the third Round Table Conference recommended "that steps should be taken to introduce into the Indian Legislature a Reserve Bank Bill conceived on the above lines as soon as possible." In the report of that Committee it was also placed on record that "the Secretary of State undertook that representative Indian opinion would be consulted in the preparation of proposals for the establishment of the Reserve Bank including those relating to the reserve."

2. A representative Committee was set up in order to give effect to that undertaking and a copy of its report is attached as an annexure. The present Bill is drafted in accordance with the recommendations of that Committee.

#### NOTES ON CLAUSES

[In these Notes "Report" means the report of the Committee on Indian Reserve Bank Legislation, 1933, and "1928 Bill" means the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, 1928.]

Preamble.—The wording is intended to give effect to paragraph 19 of the Report. Clause 1 reproduces clause 1 of the 1928 Bill with the following alterations:

(a) In sub-clause (3) the date and the proviso giving dates for postponement have been omitted.

(b) Sub-clause (4) has been drafted in pursuance of the Committee's recommendation relating to this sub-clause, contained in Appendix I to the Report. Their intention was to provide a statutory assurance to the Bank when constituted that the provisions of Chapter III, relating to its central banking functions, would remain in operation for a period of not less than twenty-five years. It is recognised, however, that the sub-clause is inoperative as it cannot bind the Legislature in the future; and it will be for consideration at a later stage whether this assurance would not be more suitably expressed in clause 50, in the form of a limitation on the power of the Governor-General in Council to grant sanction to the liquidation of the Bank.

Clause 2 follows clause 2 of the 1928 Bill. Some of the definitions have been omitted as unnecessary. The only alteration of substance is in sub-clause (d), where the definition of a gold standard country has been replaced by that of a sterling standard country, vide Appendix I of the Report [note on clause 2 (g) of the 1928 Bill].

Clause 4 follows clause 4 of the 1928 Bill with alterations made in accordance with paragraphs 3, 4 and 14 of the Report. In sub-clause (5) the distribution is as indicated in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Report and the Rangoon register has been retained, vide paragraph 2 of the Report. Sub-clause (6) has been drafted with a view to giving effect to the intention of the Report and will require special consideration in the Joint Committee.

Clause 6 has been altered so as to make the establishment of a London branch optional, vide paragraph 8 of the Report.

Clauses 8 to 13 reproduce the proposals for the constitution of the Central Board, the method of election, the qualifications and disqualifications of candidates, the method of filling casual vacancies, and the provision for Local Boards, indicated in paragraphs 5 to 13 of the Report under the general head "The Board of the Bank." The opportunity has also been taken to rearrange clauses 8 to 13 of the 1928 Bill so as to make the arrangement clearer.

Clause 9 is new; it embodies the recommendations regarding Local Boards in paragraph 9 of the Report, and replaces the scheme of electoral colleges contained in clause 10 of the 1928 Bill.

Clause 10 embodies the recommendations in paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Report. It follows clause 8 of the 1928 Bill mutatis mutandis.

Clause 11 is drafted to give effect in a practical form to the intentions of the comments in Appendix I of the Report on clause 11 (1) of the 1928 Bill.

Clause 12.—Sub-clause (2) has been drafted so as to give effect to the recommendation in the last sentence of paragraph 7 of the Report.

The rule-making powers contained in clause 13 of the 1928 Bill have been given to the Central Board and transferred to clause 52, where they appear as clauses (a) and (b) of sub-clause (2) (vide notes in Appendix I of the Report on that clause).

Clause 13.—Sub-clause (2) is new, and fills what appears to have been an omission from the 1928 Bill.

Clause 15 reproduces clause 16 of the 1928 Bill with the necessary modifications to give effect to the recommendations of paragraph 12 of the Report, and the different method for the election of Directors now proposed.

Sub-clause (4) represents an attempt to provide "suitable arrangements.....for retirement by rotation" as recommended in paragraph 12 of the Report.

Clause 17 reproduces clause 17 of the 1928 Bill with the inclusion of the points made in Appendix I of the Report.

Clause 18 reproduces clause 18 of the 1928 Bill with the addition of provision designed to meet the recommendation in the last sentence of paragraph 18 of the Report.

Clause 30 reproduces clause 43 of the 1928 Bill : it is placed here so as to make the arrangement clearer.

Clause 33 reproduces clause 31 of the 1928 Bill with the following alterations :

(a) Sub-clause (2) incorporates the provision regarding gold suggested in paragraph 24 of the Report.

(b) Sub-clause (3)—Holding of Government of India rupee securities.—The provisions of the 1928 Bill have been followed without alteration for the present, but the point raised in paragraph 22 of the Report is reserved for consideration in Joint Committee.

(c) Sub-clause (4).—For the time being gold has been valued on the principle recommended in paragraph 25 of the Report, the question of the allocation of the profits, if any, on realization or revaluation being left for later consideration. This will properly be dealt with in a separate agreement between Government and the Reserve Bank. This point is reserved for consideration at the Committee stage.

(d) Sub-clause (6) (c).—Gold securities have been replaced by sterling securities as recommended in paragraph 23 of the Report.

Clause 34 reproduces clause 32 of the 1928 Bill with the modifications regarding the Rupee Redemption Fund indicated in paragraph 21 of the Report.

Clause 36 is new, replacing clauses 34 and 35 of the 1928 Bill. It embodies the recommendations of the Committee in paragraph 21 regarding the transfer of rupee coin between Government and the Bank.

Clause 37 reproduces clause 41 of the 1928 Bill. It has been transferred here for the purpose recommended in paragraph 26 of the Report.

Clauses 40 and 41 contain the new provisions regarding the purchase and sale of sterling exchange, vide paragraph 19 and 20 of the Report. Clause 40 of course takes the place of clauses 38 and 39 of the 1928 Bill providing for the obligation to sell gold or gold exchange. Clause 40 of the 1928 Bill has been omitted as it would be inoperative.

Clause 42 reproduces clause 44 of the 1928 Bill without alteration, the principle of this clause having been approved in paragraph 28 of the Report. The detailed application of this principle, however, must receive careful consideration as recommended in paragraph 28 and the Committee stage will offer a convenient opportunity for this.

Clause 43 reproduces the old clause 45, vide paragraphs 29 and 31 of the Report. The Second Schedule giving the arrangements to be made with the Imperial Bank has also been left unaltered for the present but will be another matter for consideration in Joint Committee.

Clause 44 reproduces clause 46 of the old Bill but the Fourth Schedule (old Schedule Three) has been modified so as to prove for a maximum 6 per cent. dividend—vide paragraph 27 of the Report : vide also note on the Fourth Schedule.

Clause 50.—This represents a tentative working out of the suggestion contained in the note on clause 15 (2) in Appendix I to the Report. The subject presents serious difficulties which will have to be considered at a latter stage.

Clause 52.—Certain modifications and additions have been made in the regulation-making powers (vide note on the clause 13 of the 1928 Bill ante).

The First Schedule—This has been framed in accordance with the recommendations in paragraph 7 of the Report. Appendix II of the Report has been amplified, in accordance with current distribution and nomenclature.

The Second Schedule.—The First Schedule of the 1928 Bill has been brought up to date in accordance with the latest information available. It may, however, be altered in the light of later information before the Bill comes up for final consideration.

The Fourth Schedule (vide note on clause 44) provides for a maximum dividend of six per cent to be reached by stages diminishing by fifty per cent. successively with a minimum rise of 1-8 per cent. Thus if the fixed minimum divided is five per cent. it will be raised to 5 half per cent. if the distributable surplus rises to 5 half crores, to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent if it rises to 7 crores, and so on. If the fixed minimum is 4 per cent. the stages will be 5 per cent. 5 half per cent. and so on. This follows the provisions of the Third Schedule of the 1928 Bill, except for the fact that the 1928 Schedule provided for a maximum dividend of 7 per cent.

The Fifth Schedule reproduces the Fourth Schedule of the 1928 Bill with the alterations necessitated by the modifications in the body of the Bill.

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The business before the opening day of the Autumn Session of the Council of State held at Simla on the 29th. August 1933, largely consisted of answers to questions.

### FUTURE OF ADEN

On the 31st. August Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, initiating the debate on the future administration of Aden, said that the motion was being moved by him in order to discharge an obligation that the Government of India had incurred when the question of the separation of Aden from India was raised in the House. The Government at that time adopted a policy of neutrality and neither participated in the discussion nor voted on the motion. The Government had now decided to adopt the same attitude during the present discussion. However, he would further explain the Government's position in the matter. The first condition of separation was that India would be relieved of the annual contribution of approximately Rs. 20 lakhs in respect of the civil and military administration of Aden. His Majesty's Government had decided to contribute this sum themselves, in the place of Government of India. He hoped that this statement would satisfy those who pleaded the view point of the people of Aden. The Government members, however, would intervene to clear up such misapprehensions and misstatements as might occur, during the debate.

The President observed that he had received three amendments to the original motion, two of which were contrary in character. He said that Sir Phiroze Sethna's motion was sufficiently comprehensive and asked, if the other two members were prepared not to press their motions, in view of the fact, that their object was covered in Sir Phiroze Sethna's resolution.

They agreed, and Sir Phiroze Sethna moved his resolution in the place of the original motion.

Sir P. Sethna traced the history of the agitation in India about Aden. He referred to his resolution in the Council of State in September 1921, and quoted the views of several interests and of the Government on the subject at the time. It was in 1927, that the Commander-in-Chief, during the budget debate, threw a bombshell and made the staggering statement that it had been decided that the military administration would be definitely transferred to the Home Government. A week later the spokesman of the Bombay Government, Sir Ernest Hotson stated in the Bombay Council, that H. E. the Commander-in-Chief's statement came as a surprise to them as much as to the public. Again in 1929, an assurance was given in the Bombay Council that the question of transfer had long since been abandoned. But in 1931 the administration of Aden was transferred from the control of Bombay to the Central Government. The matter did not rest there, and now they heard of the transfer of Aden to the Colonial Administration.

Proceeding, Sir P. C. Sethna criticised the Government communiqué, and asserted that Aden was more remotely situated from India. He did not dispute the point that in respect of political and military control, Aden might well remain under Imperial authority.

As regards the saving of Rs. 20 lakhs to India, Sir Phiroze Sethna emphasised that by separation, India would lose more than Rs. 10 lakhs in salt, supertax and iucometax, as after transfer these revenues would be taken by the Colonial Office.

As for the administration of justice, people there would be put to greater inconvenience, because their appeals would have to be sent to the Home Government 4,030 miles away, instead of to Bombay. As for the Services, even the small outlet for employment of Indians would be closed. After the experience in many colonies elsewhere, particularly South Africa, they had great apprehension that their interest would suffer under the White race. Indians had gone there even before the British came to the East. They had sunk crores in the rocky lands of Aden. They had sacrificed money, resources and energy more than anybody else. Aden to India was like Gibraltar to Europe. It was the centre of India's trade, worth Rs. 7 crores annually. From there, Indian goods, rice, wheat, etc., found an outlet to Africa and Egypt. If transferred, Indians' trade would suffer much.

Sir P. Sethna's Motion was adopted, without any dissent.

#### LIGHT-HOUSE DUES

Mr. Stewart, Commerce Secretary, then moved that the dues imposed by the order-in-council of His Majesty of 17th December, 1931, in respect of light-houses and buoys specified in the Schedule thereto, be levied in British India. He said that the Government of India under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, agreed to co-operate with the Board of Trade to collect the dues. To legalise the collection, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Indian Legislature. He pointed out that the proposal to collect such dues was not without precedent. It would not involve on the Government of India's Customs administration any disproportionate amount of labour and expense. It had been agreed that the Government of India would be allowed a commission of 7½ per cent on the collections.

The motion was adopted, and the Council adjourned till the 4th. Sept.

#### PRIVILEGES OF FUTURE COUNCILS

**4th. SEPTEMBER :—**Mr. Mahomed Suhrawardy moved a resolution recommending to the Government to take early steps to move His Majesty's Government to provide the Central and Provincial Legislatures in the new constitution with powers to adopt, as their own, the privileges, powers and immunities of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom as in the case of the Dominions, colonies and other parts of the British Empire. He said that the question was brought before the Muddiman Committee, which failed to deal with it satisfactorily. He mentioned in detail the privileges enjoyed by the members of the House of Commons. The speaker also mentioned the immunities enjoyed by the members of the Dominions' Parliaments. He found no such provision in the White Paper and he suggested that a supplementary memorandum be submitted to His Majesty's Government.

In view of the assurance, the mover withdrew the resolution.

#### BETTERING CONDITIONS OF AGRICULTURISTS

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Hussain Imam, which stated that steps should be immediately taken to better the condition of agriculturists, and appoint a representative committee of officials and non-officials of both Houses to find ways and means and advise the Government on this subject. He said that four-fifths of the population of India depended on the prices of agricultural produce. It was within the orbit of the Finance Member to help in raising the price level. The country had to face the *fait accompli* of the eighteen pence ratio which had a great effect on the prices of commodities. Then, there was the question of a depreciated currency, which had seriously affected the agricultural classes. He complained of heavy railway freights. He was not inclined to bind the Government to any definite action, but hoped that they would be more mindful of the needs of agriculturists.

Mr. Mathraprasad Mehrotra said that the subject was of great importance, before which political questions receded to the background. In fact, the condition of the agricultural classes had been exploited by political agitators. Indebtedness of the agriculturists had enormously increased, and created a grave situation. The fall in prices was very serious. He urged a reduction of the canal rates and railway freights.

Sir Iazl-i-Hussain observed that the Government had nothing but admiration for the way in which the poorest section of the agriculturists had been bearing the troubles due to hard times, which unfortunately lasted so long. The outstanding point was that there was produce in plenty. It was almost more than was needed for consumption within India, but the trouble was that the prices were very low.

The income of the agriculturist had dwindled in some cases to the vanishing point, and in almost all cases by 30 to 40 per cent. What could be done to overcome the calamity? In his opinion, no amount of financial jugglery, as was suggested by some member, could save them from woes of this sort, because such a remedy could not possibly last long. Considering all sides of the question, the best policy he could advise was a policy of "Wait and see." He agreed that it was the duty of the Government to do the best, and take such steps as were necessary. In fact, they were trying to adopt a determined effort, but the depression was not limited to a part of India, or even to the whole of India, but was world-wide. What could a committee of both Houses do in such circumstances? Neither officials nor non-officials could do anything substantial to solve this problem. Were it possible to achieve the object by that means, the Government would have been only too pleased to have done so long before.

Mr. Hossain Imam : Have you tried?

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain : It is a pertinent question, but members could not have forgotten that a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs was spent on the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which thoroughly went into the question. The Government of India have since been occupied with giving effect to such of its recommendations as was possible.

There was also the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which was carrying on very useful researches. During the last Delhi session, the Vice-Chairman of the Research Council had a conference with the members of both Houses which had proved very useful. The result of the researches had been found to be effective and more useful than might have been expected. It had been extended over a wide field. The speaker particularly referred to the success achieved by the Research Council, in the Sugar industry. It was expected that within a year or so, India's output of sugar would be as much as India was consuming to-day.

Proceeding, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain maintained that the Government were fully conscious of the troubles of agriculturist, and they were doing their best to overcome them and were keeping in the closest touch with the Provincial Governments. He quoted several figures and facts to show in that in several provinces, large remissions and suspension of revenue had been granted. To mention only a few, in Bombay remission between 12½ to 25 per cent had been granted. In the U. P., remission of over Rs. 1½ crores had been sanctioned, while in the Punjab, besides large remissions the Punjab Government had appointed a committee to enquire into the water rates. He also referred to the tariff protection of sugar and linseed as a result of which in the latter case, exports had enormously increased. The position of cotton and rice was better than last year, though the condition of jute was not the same as before. Concluding, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain assured the House that the Government of India were doing everything possible within their resources to help the agriculturists, and he had the assurance of the Local Governments to the same effect.

The House divided on Mr. Mehrotra's amendment, which was rejected by 21 against 16 votes. The main resolution was not pressed to a division.

#### FREIGHT ON PUNJAB WHEAT

Mr. Mohammad Din Choudhury moved the next resolution of the railway freights on the transport of the Punjab wheat to the extent necessary for securing its sale on reasonable prices in the markets situated in other provinces.

Mr. Mehrotra moved an amendment that reduction of the freight be extended to all agricultural products,

Mr. M. W. Braysay, acting Chief Commissioner for Railways, replying sympathised with the resolution. He said that the Government would have been only too glad to reduce the railway freights, had there been signs of additional traffic to compensate for the loss. Unfortunately, the railway had no large surplus that would help them to contemplate a general reduction in their rates. On the contrary, they were feeling the effects of the depression as much as agriculture, trade and commerce generally. During the last two or three years, they were examining the possibility of increasing their revenue by reducing rates, and had held several discussions with the Agents of Railways, but it had been found that they had reached the stage when all round reduction would only result in serious depletion of earnings. Now, there were 700 special local rates covering all commodities, not only agriculture. Even after actual reduction, they found that they could not attain the result, namely, increased traffic. He could assure the House that the rates were fixed at a level so that they could get the maximum traffic. No further alteration was possible at the moment.

*Mr. Mohammad Din*, while withdrawing the resolution, again appealed to the Railway Member to impress on the Railway Board the advisability of reducing freights. The Council then adjourned.

#### PLEA FOR RELEASE OF POLITICALS

**6th. SEPTEMBER:**—*Mr. Mehrotra* moved a resolution urging the release of political prisoners and detenus not guilty of acts of moral turpitude or violence, in order to create an atmosphere of goodwill for the successful working of the Reforms.

*Mr. Hallett*, Home-Secretary, replying to the debate on behalf of the Government, reiterated the Government's policy by referring to the Secretary of State's statement that the Government must have convincing reasons that the release of prisoners would not be followed by a revival of Civil Disobedience. Two months ago, it might have appeared that there was a chance of Civil Disobedience being abandoned, but after the Poona Conference, *Mr. Aney*, the President of the Conference, made a statement on the 22nd July in which he definitely said that the campaign of Civil Disobedience would not be unconditionally withdrawn in the present circumstances. Therefore, Civil Disobedience still remained the accepted policy of the Congress. Soon after the Poona Conference, people were in a bewilderment. Similarly also the Government could not foresee what change there was going to be in the situation. Could the Government, having regard to past experience, contemplate any relaxation of their effort to stop it as soon as an attempt had been made to revive a particular form of Civil Disobedience which had proved most successful in the past? In the Central provinces, there was a resumption of forest satyagraha, and similarly in every other province the particular form of the movement which appealed to that area most was attempted. The movement was not entirely dead, and was still alive. What was the guarantee, if the prisoners were released, that they would not participate in the movement?

As for the charge of vindictiveness, the Home Secretary said that it was unfounded. Even several months before the Conference, the Government had realised that, though alive, the movement was commanding much less public support. Accordingly, the Government of India, on that assumption, had addressed the Local Governments whether they could not safely effect a reduction of the number of prisoners held in their jails. The Government of India could not decide that question themselves, as it mainly depended upon local conditions.

Proceeding, *Mr. Hallett* quoted figures to show how recently, the total number of prisoners in jails all over India had come down to very small numbers, and considering the population of the provinces of India, the figures worked to an infinitesimal percentage.

*Mr. Mehrotra* asked for the permission of the Chair to delete detenus from the resolution.

*Sir Fazli-Hussain* felt, that while the mover himself had condemned Civil Disobedience in principle and in action, whether mass or individual, he should have been perfectly satisfied with the figures given by the Home Secretary. As soon as the Government felt that the movement had practically failed, it began to consult the Local Governments suggesting the advisability of seeing whether those poor victims of others could not be released without the peace of the country in any way suffering. Something in the neighbourhood of two thousand were released before their time was up.

The authors of the movement, instead of having the courage of their own convictions and dropping or abandoning it, had recourse to the subtlety of suspending the movement temporarily for six weeks. But the Government went on with its policy of premature releases week after week, not in any way of foolish generosity, but of statesmanlike generosity. The mover of the resolution ought to have gone to the other side and cried halt, instead of coming to the Council. Surely, there were two parties and the Government had done their part in seeing that this wretched movement was really once for all buried. The resolution, at this juncture, was just like asking the Government "Please do it, so that I may go to the electorate, and get votes." He asked the House to reject the resolution, and prove its bona fides that in tackling the political problem of India, it was going on the right track.

The resolution was rejected without a division.

## OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

**7th. SEPTEMBER:**—Four official bills were passed at to-day's sitting of the Council.

The Secretary presented the *Cotton Textile Protection Bill* as passed in the Assembly. The four bills passed to-day were all passed in the Assembly. The first of these bills was to amend the *Land Acquisition Act of 1894*, the second was to regulate the possession of wireless telegraphy apparatus, the third was to amend the *Indian Income-tax Act* and the fourth was to amend the *Indian Railways Act*.

The first three bills were passed without much controversy while the Rail-Road Bill evoked some discussion. Mr. Mathraprasad Mehrotra and Mr. Jagdish Banerjee strongly opposed and Mr. Ghose Maulick and Mr. Raghunandan Sinha supported it. Mr. Brayshaw, in reply, assured them that bigger railways would not enter into unfair competition with private owners of buses. The Bill referred only to small railways which felt the competition acutely. The bill was passed.

## PROVINCIAL I. C. S. CADRE

**11th. SEPTEMBER:**—The resolution of Mr. Hussain Imam urging a reduction in the strength of the provincial cadre of the I. C. S. was considered. Mr. Hussain Imam was glad that the Government had already effected a ten per cent reduction in the cadre. By this resolution he did not mean that a reduction of about 250 officers should be effected all at once, but he wanted to impress upon the Government the necessity of such action in the course of a definite period, say within ten years. With this object in view, he would appeal to the Government to take stock of the situation, and gradually reduce the annual recruitment.

Proceeding, the speaker pointed out several differentiations between Europeans and Indians, and even between Indian officers recruited in England and those recruited in India.

Mr. Hallett, Home Secretary, said that it was a highly technical question, and it was not desirable to discuss it in the Council. If the mover wanted further details, he would advise him to go to his office, where he would discuss them. The Government were alive to the several points raised by Mr. Hussain Imam, but the conditions were not the same in all the provinces. Madras followed a different system than that obtaining elsewhere in India. As for the complaint that in Bengal there were an unduly large number of additional District Judges, it was due to the fact that Bengalees were more litigious people. With the new reforms, more Civilians would be needed to undertake special works. The reforms would require many officers to make arrangements for elections. As regards leave reserves, it was true that circumstances had changed owing to the recruitment of a large number of Indians. However, the Government had made enquiries into this point, and were now engaged in working out a reduction as far as possible.

There was a certain misunderstanding regarding the discrimination between Indian and European officers. The Home Secretary pointed out that European officers were granted long leave, in view of the fact they went on leave only once in two or three years. The White Paper proposals did not contemplate any change in the present system of recruitment in the early years of the new constitution. Therefore, the existing system of recruitment of Europeans and Indians on the basis of a fifty-fifty ratio would continue for years to come. The Government were taking up the main question under the existing circumstances, but it was not possible for him to say whether the level of reduction in the cadre achieved would be 100 per cent or more.

The resolution was rejected by 33 against 7 votes.

## ANDAMANS PRISONERS

Mr. V. V. Kalikkar, moving his resolution urging an enquiry into the grievances of the Andaman prisoners and into the causes of the death of three political prisoners, said that the Government's policy now was quite different from that enunciated by Sir William Vincent. He quoted from the reports of the Jails Committees of 1864 and 1920, the last of which had recommended that the penal settlement should be closed. Public feeling to-day was very strong against sending any political prisoner to the Andamans. He drew attention to the fact that the climate of the Andamans was unsuitable, and referred to the death of a prisoner as the

result of hunger strike and of two other from illness. Proceeding, Mr. Kalikkar asked why the names of the hunger-strikers were not published, as non-publication of the same had caused great anxiety among the relatives of prisoners. The speaker read out the names of some prisoners which had appeared in the Press. He also said that some complaint had also appeared in the Press regarding the treatment of political prisoners.

Continuing, Mr. Kalikkar suggested that if the Government persisted in their policy of deportation to the Andamans, they should advise their agent there to take more care of the health of the prisoners etc. In his opinion, the Government committed a blunder in the looking after of the prisoners' grievances, which act of omission had resulted in a tragedy. The Government should know that there was a strong feeling in the country against their Andamans policy, and that there was an insistent demand that the Government should make a thorough enquiry into the unfortunate affair.

*Sir Harry Haig*, Home Member, intervening, at an early stage in the debate, entered into an elaborate defence of the Government's policy. He emphatically denied that any kind of political prisoners who disobeyed the law, in furtherance of Congress activities, had been sent there. Nor had Government the slightest intention of doing so. The prisoners deported to the Andamans were of the terrorist type, who were convicted of violence or in connection with conspiracy in furtherance of the terrorist movement. They were sent there after repeated representations from the Government. It was found that as long as those men remained in the jails of Bengal, there was serious danger of their communicating with the fellow-conspirators and outside. Only recently in the peaceful Presidency of Madras, a dangerous and revolutionary conspiracy had dropped np, and that conspiracy had its origin in the terrorist prisoners who were detained in the jails of Madras. Therefore, it was necessary that these terrorist prisoners should be isolated. In March 1921, the Government announced their decision to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement, but within a short time it was found that the jails in India were overcrowded, and it was necessary to reopen the settlement for the transportation of new prisoners. It had been found that a sufficiently large number of prisoners volunteered to go there. It seemed strange to him that the Andamans was being described as hell on earth. At present, there were 6,537 prisoners. The number of terrorist prisoners there was 112. The history of the hunger-strike had been explained from time to time in Government communiques, and there was little for him to say about it now.

Proceeding, Sir Harry Haig said that when it became apparent that it was impossible to give up the Andamans as a penal settlement, vigorous efforts were made to improve and remedy the conditions as prescribed in the Jails Committee report. His predecessor, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, visited the settlement in 1925, and as a result he took special pains to develop the Andamans and since then, the conditions, particularly the health conditions, had improved. A sum of over Rs. 23 lakhs had been spent in reclaiming the malarial swamps.

Referring to the fears expressed about the Cellular Jails, Sir Harry Haig pointed out that they were entirely unfounded. These jails were constructed in 1910 under modern conditions. They were three storied buildings which, if existing in Bombay, would be monopolised by merchant princes. (Laughter). The sanitary conditions were up to the standard of those of the ordinary jails in India. He could assure the House that the prisoners did receive every kind of attention from the medical staff. Recently, when fifty-three prisoners went on hunger-strike, the Government of India asked the Punjab Government to lend the services of an experienced officer, Col. Barker. The latter officer, at short notice, undertook the tedious journey and according to his report, the medical arrangements were eminently satisfactory. The treatment of the hunger-strikers, he further reported, was humane and sympathetic. It was a matter for congratulation that the small medical staff there cheerfully responded to the great strain caused by the hunger-strike of such a large number of prisoners.

Proceeding, Sir Harry Haig said that in some newspapers it had been stated that the prisoners had abandoned the hunger-strike under certain conditions. The Home Member stated that it was absolutely untrue. The real fact was that they gave up the hunger-strike unconditionally. On their assurance of good behaviour, privileges, of which they had been deprived as a punishment, were restored at the end of August last. Thus discipline having been restored, the Chief Commissioner adopted a more sympathetic policy, with the result that the prisoners were now

receiving some more news-papers and having more interviews, etc. In his opinion, the hunger-strike had been most humanely and skilfully handled.

As regards the policy of sending prisoners to the Andamans, the Government were convinced that it was an essential part of their fight against terrorism.

Concluding Sir Harry Hoig referred to the recent murder of Mr. B. E. J. Burge. He said :—

"We have recently had a tragic reminder that terrorism is still active, continually plotting in secret and watching its opportunity to deal with stealthy blow of the assassin. This Council and the Assembly have given expression to their horror at the murder of Mr. Burge, and have thus faithfully interpreted what I believe to be the general conscience of India. Nevertheless, these assassinations go on, despite the result and unremitting action of the Government. We cannot expect altogether to eliminate them until there is a continuous and active public opinion working terrorism. The task of building up such public opinion must, I admit, be a slow one. But it will inevitably be retarded if contrary influences are at work."

"In the past, there had been not only to a large extent public apathy, but there had been public sympathy; and it is on that sympathy that the terrorist movement has flourished. It was only two and a half years ago that the Indian National Congress passed a resolution which, while professing to disapprove of political violence, recorded its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of three political murderers, who had carried out the assassinations of a young police officer, in circumstances not unlike those of the recent assassination of Mr. Burge, and expressed its indignation at these three murderers being made to pay the penalty of their crime. That resolution was a signal for an outburst of sympathy, with eulogy, of the assassins, while the toll of terrorist murders steadily mounted. Conditions now are happily far different to those of the dark days of 1931. But I cannot forget the resolution about Bhagat Singh and his companions, which acted as such a powerful encouragement to the spirit of terrorism, was drafted by Mr. Gandhi and sponsored by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I hope the spirit of that resolution is now dead, and I should not have thought it necessary to refer to it at the present time had it not been for two recent facts. The first is that Mr. Gaodhi alone, as far as I have observed, among Indian public men, thought fit, while deplored the murder of Mr. Burge, to explain that he called the wrongs committed by Government led to the commission of these crimes. It is a short step, as bitter experience has shown us in the past, from such explanations of the causes of the murder, to sympathy with the murderers. The other fact is that one of the first public acts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after his release from prison, was to include his name among a list of miscellaneous signatures to a manifesto which, whatever may have been its primary object, must have the effect of keeping alive the feeling of sympathy for terrorist prisoners in the Andamans. I hope, what I have said to-day will show the House clearly that there is no occasion for sympathy with these men merely as prisoners. And if that is so, let there be no sympathy for them as terrorists or any attempt to cloak their real character by describing them under the respectable euphemism of political prisoners. I trust that, in view of my full explanation of the real facts, the mover will not feel it necessary to proceed with his resolution, and will agree to withdraw it."

The resolution was withdrawn.

#### CINCHONA CULTIVATION

*Sir N. Choksey* moved the next resolution to institute an enquiry into the feasibility of the cultivation of that particular species of cinchona tree that yielded alkaloids of stable composition for the treatment of malaria, as introduced by the Hygiene Commission of the League of Nations, and included in the British Pharmacopoeia. He said that the only way to increase the productive capacity of the masses was by freeing them from ill-health, disease and death. India had budgeted nearly 46 crores for defence. Let the Government spend ten lakhs more to rehabilitate and recondition the masses, and save them from malaria.

*Major-General Graham* (Public Commissioner) gave the very interesting history of the cultivation of cinchona. He also narrated the work done by the League of Nations in this connection. In his opinion, it was not necessary to change the Government's quinine policy. India had not been slack in keeping a watch over what was happening in other parts of the world. He thought that no useful purpose would be served by an enquiry at this stage. The resolution was withdrawn.

## LAND TAX IN RYOTWARI AREAS

*Mr. V. C. Vellingiri Gounder* then moved the last of the resolutions on the agenda, urging that land tax in ryotwari areas generally was unduly heavy and had reduced the ryots, during these days of economic depression, to very straitened and miserable circumstances, and that a general reduction of the tax be made according to needs and conditions of each province.

*Mr. Gounder* asserted the ryot had actually reached the end of his resources. The money value of his produce had gone down to its lowest depth. At this juncture, it was upto the Government, who were the biggest landlords inasmuch as they took erores as land revenue, to come to his rescue.

Speaking of Madras, the speaker pointed out that the incidence of land tax was higher than in any other province. In some cases, it was more than 100 per cent. Taking advantage of the law-abiding nature of the people of Madras, the Government did not raise their little finger to enquire into their grievances. After great agitation, the Madras Government, in a half-hearted manner, granted suspension of two annas in the rupee in some nine districts. He hoped that at least now they would take immediate steps to improve the economic conditions.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* observed that in every way Madras was more advanced than the rest of India. The people there were highly educated, clever and wealthy.

Proceeding, *Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* said that it would be dangerous to adopt any general poliey in this matter as contemplated in the resolution. If they were to pass that resolution, it would mean that they were casting some reflection on the local Legislature. He himself felt so, as one who had been long in a provincial legislature. In this matter, he could assure the House that the local legislatures and Governments were cognisant of their interests, and in fact had been dealing with the question. They were in hard times, not peculiar to India alone. Some procedure in the direction of a sliding system had been adopted in more than one province. While agreeing with the sentiments of the mover, he could not accept the resolution in the way in which it is understood.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain*, winding up the debate, further emphasised that the Madras system of education had been most beneficial to the province as was seen from the results. Out of the Indianisation of Civil Service, Madrasis took a great share. Even in the Government of India Secretariat, there were a large number of young Madras graduates. While requesting the mover to withdraw the resolution, he assured the House that he would circulate the opinion of the House, as expressed during the debate to all the local Governments.

On this assurance the resolution was withdrawn.

## LEGAL PRACTITIONER'S ACT AMENDING BILL

*Mr. V. V. Kalikkar* moved for the circulation of the Bill to amend the Legal Practitioner's Act. He said that the amendment was necessitated by the tendency of the High Courts to assume jurisdiction over public and private activities of the practitioners unconnected with their professional capacity. His object was to do away with the superintendence and control by the High Court over the non-professional activities of practitioners. He had no objection to the High Courts taking notice of professional malpractices.

The House agreed to eirculation of the Bill and adjourned till the 13th.

## EXPORT DUTY ON GOLD

**13th. SEPTEMBER:**—*Mr. Hossain Imam* moved to-day the first resolution urging Government to place an export duty of about three rupees per ounce on all gold bullion or coins to be exported out of British India, and to make it obligatory on the Currency Department to purchase all gold offered at a price to be fixed by the Government of India, the price being about Rs. 80 per ounce.

The speaker said that the position of gold was rapidly changing, and his only idea was that the price should be fixed in the neighbourhood of Rs. 80. India's finances were not in a flourishing condition. Customs revenue, particularly, was dwindling. Apart from the consideration of revenue, they wanted that the Government should purchase gold at a reasonable price when it was available at their doors. It was high time the Government abandoned policy of strengthening the Gold Reserve.

*The Finance Secretary*, replying, felt a difficulty in understanding the point of the sponsors of the resolution, that Government's revenue should be increased, or

also the Government should acquire gold. Any attempt to discuss a tax in advance or in general terms, would give rise to absurd speculative rumours. Therefore, he was not in a position to say anything as to the revenues. There was a confusion as regards the issue whether it was good or bad that India was parting with gold. If it was good, then obviously, they did not want to hamper it by the imposition of an export duty. But if it was bad, then the duty ought to be prohibitive. In the speech of the mover, there was a reference to the foreign debts of India. These were sterling debts, and for that reason it paid them not to build up useless reserves in India, but to build up reserves in sterling. The liabilities of India were in one currency only, and it obviously paid them to require that when opportunity offered himself.

Proceeding, Mr. Taylor referred to the Reserve Bank Committee report. The Committee were of the opinion that it was a sound course for India to remain on the Sterling standard. If she were to remain on a Sterling standard, then the question of inflation would not arise. They could inflate or contract just as easily against sterling as against gold. The mover had accused the Government of standing out of both the gold and sterling market, which statement was palpably contrary to the public facts, as they had already in the present year purchased over 18 millions, much more than in the past. What was the object in the Government buying at different prices, from day to day, in a wildly fluctuating market, the most speculative commodity, when they had got a plan already laid down, which they could follow simply, and with advantage to the country?

Concluding, the Finance Secretary said: "I do not know why people talk of the flight of gold any more than they talk of the flight of coal or jute or manganese. Gold belongs to private individuals. They are not giving away gold for nothing. They are getting something in exchange, which they obviously prefer to gold. Otherwise they would not sell it. That, I submit, Sir, is of immeasurable advantage to the country."

The speaker continued: It has been argued that a country which is on a gold standard has advantages in comparison with others. "I don't believe that. In France, when they had to float a loan, it meant for them 5½ per cent, though France was bursting with gold, whereas India was able to borrow under four per cent. It was because unlocked hoards of gold which were spreading their fertilising stream round India enabled her to stand up to the unparalleled economic depression." In view of the fact that this question was going to be examined by the legislature in the immediate future in connection with Reserve Bank and also on general merits, the Finance Secretary said that he would ask the House to reject the motion. (Applause).

The resolution was rejected without a division.

#### UNIVERSITY TRAINING

*Mr. Mehrotra* moved the next resolution urging adequate support and ample opportunities for the expansion of the University Training Corps all over India. He said that development of the University Training Corps would build up the character of young men in the country before they entered life. It would in a way help them to keep away from useless and subversive movements. Almost all the Universities in India were in favour of such corps, and several of them were even prepared to meet the expenses from their own funds. Such a development would further enable them to quicken the pace of Indianisation with considerable economy.

The Commander-in-Chief said that the U. T. C. were raised primarily with a view to obtaining recruits for the officer classes in the provincial and urban units of the Indian Territorial Force. The number of these corps was increased as a result of the recommendation of the Shee Committee from eight units in 1925 to eleven now. They were spending five lakhs annually. But as a recruiting ground for officers, it had been found that they had almost entirely failed, and the U. T. C.s were therefore of no direct military value of any kind. Even from the educational point of view, the results achieved had been disappointing. Of the eleven contingents, only one or two ever succeeded in reaching their full authorised strength. The shortage was particularly visible in Calcutta and Madras. Bombay, the United Provinces, Punjab and Delhi had shown better results. On the whole, there seemed to be no spontaneous desire in most parts of India for University Training Corps. Moreover, in the present financial stringency, while they had already reduced army expenditure to the extent of several crores, it was not reasonable to expect them

to spend more money than they were doing at present on a force which was of such doubtful value. However, they in the army, would not stand in the way, if there was an appreciable demand from the public. He would advise the members to get into touch with the Advisory Boards. If any recommendations reached them from local military authorities, then the Government would see what could be done in the matter. But, in their opinion, the present staff was most efficient, but if any complaints were received, they were prepared to consider them. For the last four or five years nothing had happened. Therefore, he did not see any reason to alter the present system. He advised the mover to withdraw the resolution.

The resolution was withdrawn.

#### COTTON PROTECTION BILL

**14th. SEPTEMBER :-**The Council passed to-day the Cotton Textile Industry Protection Act, as passed by the Assembly.

*Mr. Stewart*, Commerce Secretary, moving that the measure be taken into consideration, stated that they were negotiating a fresh trade agreement with Japan. At the same time, a deputation of the Cotton Textile Industry in Japan would be coming to confer with the Indian mill-owners in connection with the present day competition. It would be unwise to give legislative effect to tariff proposals which might require to be seriously altered after the forthcoming negotiations. Therefore, the extension of the present measure of protection till March was sought by the present Bill.

Messrs. Mehrotra and Jagadish Banerjee supported the Bill.

*Mr. Henderson*, of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, said it was an important mile-stone in India's constitutional as well as fiscal development, that for the first time, in the matter of trade relationships, a Sovereign Power was sending an official delegation to confer with the Government of India on terms of complete equality. This conference might also prove to be a turning point in India's position in world trade. The coming conference was for an examination of the trade relations of the future. It might succeed or fail. If the conference did not succeed, then the Government of India should take immediate steps, under the legislation which had been passed unanimously by both Houses, to give the fullest protection necessary to those industries which were already suffering grievously. He hoped that protection would be given promptly. Although India would participate in the conference as a Sovereign Power, she went as a member of the Empire whose delegates had pledged themselves to close co-operation in the matter of tariffs, currencies and price levels. He hoped the conference would succeed.

*Mr. Stewart*, replying to the debate, assured the House that the Government of India had already sent invitations to industrial and commercial bodies in the country to send their representatives to form a panel of advisors during the negotiations.

*Mr. Basu* : What about the cotton-growers ?

*Mr. Stewart* : Cotton-growers also have been asked to send their representatives. The Government would not fail to consult any interests concerned with the question during the negotiations. The Bill was passed.

#### THE RESERVE BANK BILL DEBATE

**16th. SEPTEMBER :-**The Reserve Bank Bill and the consequential Bill amending the Imperial Bank Act, came up before the Council to-day on the motion of Mr. Taylor for reference to a committee of 28 members for report by the 20th. November.

*Mr. Taylor* regretted Sir George Schuster's absence, owing to pre-occupations in the Lower House. He said that it was not intended that the proposed Bank should be a law unto itself, for it would operate within clearly defined lines which would be laid down by the Legislature. But even within these lines, legislation would be useless, unless the administration was effective and responsible. The greatest care should be taken to ensure that the body, which administered currency legislation, was of such a character as to command the confidence of the country. In the matter of currency, it was desirable that there should be a body outside the legislature, which would represent the financial interests of the country and which could make their voice heard, if they considered that any policy was being adopted without due consideration of all the interests involved. The universal experience of all countries was that this check could be made and suitably applied by an institution which represented a wide and influential body of share-holders.

India's credit had improved in a manner which would have been considered entirely impossible twenty-four months ago. They now had sufficient gold and sterling within their grasp to bring within reach the reserve of 50 per cent in external assets, which the proposals of 1927 indicated as sufficient to enable the Reserve Bank to function. Mr. Taylor stressed the urgency of motion, as the Reserve Bank must not only have been set up, but must be working before Federation could be introduced.

*Mr. B. K. Basu* welcomed the debate in the Council, because it had been insinuated in the Assembly that this Council was not fit for the job of joining in the Committee on the Bill. He protested against the insinuation. Referring to the controversy of a State versus Share-holders' Bank, Mr. Basu wanted the Committee to consider the merits of both, before coming to a final conclusion. The State Bank should not be considered as an institution controlled by the Government, for it could be an independent body like the Port Trust. Everything should be done to dispel the suspicion that the Reserve Bank would be controlled by financial interests from England. In order to avoid British influence or political influence from being exercised, it should be laid down that shares could be held only by those who were nationals of the country and not merely those residing in India. Incidentally he suggested the appointment of Mr. C. S. Rangaswami to the Committee in order to give expert advice. Concluding Mr. Basu referred to the Ratio question and hoped the Committee would see that the standard of exchange was of a more permanent character than the Sterling exchange.

*Mr. Henderson*, of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, supported the motion. He said that the establishment of a Reserve Bank would be a turning point in India's financial history, as it would be an Indian institution responsible to the Indian Federal Government. And it was good that at this stage the rupee was linked to sterling, as thereby India stood to gain much. Sterling had the British Government's credit behind it, and London had become once more the financial centre of the world. He, however, desired no change in the present ratio, as it would only lead to unnecessary speculation.

*Mr. Henderson* spoke favouring a shareholders' bank, especially as most of the central banks which were so constituted had given entire satisfaction. Regarding shares, he wanted a provision which would prevent binami holding. Regarding the head office of the Bank, he repeated Sir Leslie Hudson's view, that it should be a moving office like the central office of the Imperial Bank.

*Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee* thought that there should be a limitation of a number of shares that an individual might be allowed to hold. The number of votes of each individual should be limited to five. If there was no limit, then capitalists would raise the share value and purchase almost all the shares. Quoting Sir Purshottamdas, the speaker agreed that the board of management should work as a commercial organisation on the lines laid down by the Indian Legislature.

*Mr. Mehrotra* considered that it did not matter whether the Bank was a State bank or a Shareholders' Bank. What was important was the spirit with which it was worked. It would be a more pious wish that the Bank should be free from political influence, the speaker observed, while the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, being political heads, moulded the entire policy of the Bank.

Pleading the cause of agriculturists, *Mr. Mehrotra* expressed the opinion that the share value should not be more than Rs. 100, as agriculturists were all poor. He opposed making the Imperial Bank the sole agent of the Reserve Bank, and criticised the linking of the rupee to sterling.

*Mr. Mohd. Padsha*, who spoke next, differed from *Mr. Mehrotra*, and said that it was vital that it should be a shareholders' bank, as experience in other countries was in favour of such a scheme. Referring to political influence, he did not see how it could be completely eliminated as the appointment of the Governor and some of the directors would be in the hands of the Governor-General. What, however, they should avoid was the Bank coming under the sway of party politics. He appealed to the Government to reconsider the Ratio.

*Mr. Hossain Imam* wanted an equitable share of the advantages of the agency of the Reserve Bank to be given to all indigenous banks. Incidentally, he pleaded a reservation of seats for Bihar on the directorate. The success of the Bank would be judged not by the manner in which it controlled currency, but by how it promoted material prosperity of the country.

*The Maharaja of Dinajpur*, while agreeing with the suggestion that the directorate should include representatives of the leading commercial bodies, pleaded that

one director should be appointed for each of the five areas to represent the agricultural interests. He did not want the Bank of England to act as the Reservs Bank's agent in England.

The speaker said that despite the speeches of Mr. Taylor on the export of gold, he feared that it would react as a great set-back to the future credit of the country. He deplored that whilo the United States of America were inflating currency, for raising prices, no such action was taken in India.

*Mr. Taylor*, Finance Secretary, complimented the members on the judicious tone maintained in the debate. He assured the House that the interests of the agriculturists would not be lost sight of. As a Governor of the Imperial Bank for six years, ho strongly protested against the various charges levelled against it. Tho present strong position of India in credit was largely due to the stern policy of the Government for the past ten years.

Proceeding, Mr. Taylor wished to make it clear that the Reserve Bank would have no power to alter the Ratio. No Central Bank in the world was allowed to meddle with the exchange of the country. That was entirely the concern of the Government. The Government did not consider that the Ratio issue arose out of the present motion at all. The present legislation was not proposed to be a permanent measure. The fundamental proposition before them was to secure reasonable security during the early years of the new constitution. But they need not think of the date of termination. They would require it to be a reasonably long period, and that period should be left to the joint committee to decide.

As to the question whether it should be a State bank or a shareholders' bank, Mr. Taylor quoted the Finance Member's speech in the Assembly, and held that after great consideration as a sort of compromise they favoured a sharchholders' bank. Concluding, Mr. Taylor appealed to the House to look on the problem as a practical proposition.

The motion was carried.

#### IMPERIAL BANK AMENDMENT BILL

*Mr. Taylor*, moving the resolution on the Imperial Bank Amendment Bill, said that if the Reserve Bank was created, it was obvious that the Government's relationship would be primarily with that Bank and not with the Imperial Bank, and that the work which the Imperial Bank would continue to do on behalf of the Government at those places where there was no branch of the Reserve Bank, should be governed by the agreement not with the Government, but with the Reserve Bank. The only specific power which the Government proposed to retain was that enabling them to call for a direct investigation of the financial affairs of the Bank if they considered it necessary. The original Act was hurriedly drafted and passed in a rnsj immediately after the War, when many problems had to be considered, and when the transformation of the Indian monetary and credit system as n result of War, made it imperative that the old presidency bank system should be replaced by something more modern, comprchensive and efficient. The amendments were intended to effect minor alterations, though they looked somewhat formidable.

The House accepted the select committee motion.

#### MURSHIDABAD ESTATE BILL

18th. SEPTEMBER :—There Bills, namely, the Murshidabad Estate Administration Bill, the Indian Tea Control Bill and the Indian Merchant Shipping Amendment Bill were passed in the Council to-day.

*Mr. Glancy*, moving the Murshidabad Estate Administration Bill, said that the Nawab of Marshidabad had contracted heavy liabilities, and thus reduced the property to a deplorable state. If the Government had not intervened, the creditors might not get a fair deal. Now tho Government had made arrangements to pay off three lakhs annually, and the estate would be free from encumbrances within a few years. The creditors need be under no apprehension of unfair intervention.

*Mr. Jagadish Bannerji* pleaded for similar help and protection to other estates all over India.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, Chaudri Mahomed Din, Mr. Mehrotra and Mr. Mahomed Padeha all gave their whole-hearted support to the Bill.

*Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetti* pointed out that the Madras Govern-  
ment had given financial aid to several such families without distinction,

Mr. Glaney, replying, stated that the estates were situated in Bengal, and a portion in Bihar. The estimated income was Rs. 7½ lakhs yearly. The manager was a distinguished Indian belonging to the I. C. S. and the Nawab had every reason to congratulate himself on the selection.

The motion for consideration was accepted, and the Bill was taken up clause by clause.

The President stated that three amendments had been handed over to him by Mr. Mehrotra just before the meeting of the Council. The Chair would not encourage such practices, as it would not be fair to the Government members as well as to others that they should be called upon to reply on such short notice.

Mr. Mehrotra explained that the Bill was placed on the table on Saturday when the Council sat till 3-30 p. m. Since then, the office had remained closed, and he had no option but to hand over the amendments now.

However, the President disallowed the amendments, and the Bill was passed.

#### TEA CONTROL BILL

Mr. Stewart, Commerce Secretary, moving that the Tea Control Bill be taken into consideration, said that the Indian Industry had given its full approval to the scheme.

Mr. Henderson observed that the Tea License Committee had been functioning since May, and had given universal satisfaction.

Mr. M. D. Devadoss pleaded the cause of the small estates. He said that the small Indian estates in particular were not accustomed to keeping in some cases proper accounts, and the penalties should not be stringent against them.

Mr. Stewart assured the House that there would be proper scrutiny before action was taken. The Bill was passed.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL

The last Bill, namely, the Merchant Shipping Amendment Bill relating to safety of life at sea, moved by Mr. Stewart, was also passed and the House adjourned.

#### THE INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL BILL

**21st SEPTEMBER:**—The Indian Medical Council Bill, passed by the Legislative Assembly yesterday, was moved by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the Council to-day.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain briefly narrated the history of the Bill and pointed out how after the select committee's alterations, the Bill commanded a greater measure of agreement among all sections and it was finally passed without a division in the Lower House. He hoped that it would receive similar treatment in the Council also.

Sir N. Choksy, speaking from his experience of forty years in the Medical profession, supported the Bill, not because it would yield any material advantage to Indian graduates, but in order to remove the injustice and hardship they had been subjected to during the last three-and-a-half years. He hoped that the Medical Council, when established, would recognise for registration, as a matter of pure justice, those university qualifications that were left unrecognised since February 1930.

Mr. Mahruprasad Mehrotra, Mr. Mohammad Padshah, Mr. Jadadish Banerjee and Chaudhury Mohammad Din gave their wholehearted support to the measure.

The Bill was passed and the Council adjourned 'sine die'.

# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

AUTUMN SESSION—SIMLA—22nd, AUGUST to 21st SEPTEMBER 1933.

The Autumn session of the Legislative Assembly opened at Simla on the 22nd, August 1933 with the Hon. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, the President, in the chair. The inaugural address, which used formerly to mark the occasion, was fixed for August 30 to enable the Viceroy to address both the Houses jointly.

## MAHATMA'S FAST AND RELEASE

A series of questions were asked in the Assembly about Mahatmaji's fast, Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, explained why facilities for carrying on "Harijan" work from prison were given to Gandhiji when he was a State prisoner, and put forth the plea of "jail discipline" on the present occasion as regards his similar demands.

Asked by M. Maswood Ahmed if the Government would release him on grounds if his life was in danger, Sir Harry Haig said that he was not prepared to make a statement on what the attitude of the Government would be.

Asked why Mahatmaji had been put in "A" class, as he has no property and has the poorest standard of living, Sir Harry Haig said: "Mr. Gandhi appears to have a traditional claim."

A number of questions were also asked about the last Calcutta Congress session incidents and Pandit Malaviya's allegations, in reply to which the Home Member maintained denying the allegations.

## THE PETROLEUM BILL

After business of a formal nature had been transacted Sir Frank Noyce introduced the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to import, transport, storage, production and refinement of petroleum and other inflammable substances.

The Petroleum Act was passed in 1899, when the use of petroleum, particularly of a dangerous type, was limited and with the great developments of its use in the last thirty years, the old Act has become unsuitable in several ways. As early as 1903, the attention of the Government of India was drawn to the inconvenience arising from the existence in different provinces of separate sets of rules to regulate the importation, possession and transport of petroleum. The Local Government and the interests concerned were consulted on the subject of revising the Act a few years ago, and it was agreed by all the Local Governments that the rule-making power should be transferred to the Central Government. In addition several other changes were proposed in the light of experience. The Bill contained three chapters. The first related to the control of petroleum, the second to its testing, while the third contained the necessary penal provisions.

## INCOME-TAX ACT AMENDING BILL

Mr. A. H. Lloyd introduced the Income-tax Act Third Amendment Bill.

The object of the Income-tax Amendment Bill is to introduce into the permanent income-tax law two sets of provisions, relating to details of assessment which have in the recent past been the subject, from time to time, of *ad hoc* action, taking the form either of entries in the Finance Act of the year or of notification under section 60 of the Indian Income-tax Act. The two sets of provisions concerned relate to (1) reassessment in the following year of tax deducted at the source and the like and (2) a summary procedure for assessment of small incomes. At present when rates are altered, income-tax deducted at the source under the head "salaries" and "interest on securities" during the preceding year, as well as income for that year, both become liable to the revised rates. To avoid the hardship involved in this procedure, it is now sought to lay down definitely in the Income-tax Act itself, that the rates applicable to the assessment of incomes of this kind shall be the rates in force at the time of payment. When the limit of exemption was lowered to Rs. 1,000 from Rs. 2,000 in 1931-32, the provisions of the summary procedure contained in the Income-tax Act of 1918 were

revived, and incorporated from year to year in the Finance Act. The present Bill incorporates this procedure in the present Act.

#### THE MEDICAL COUNCIL BILL

*Mr. G. S. Bajpai* moved that Sir B. B. Ghose, Acting Law Member, be appointed to the select committee on the Bill to establish a Medical Council in India.

The President intervened and said that a similar question arose in the past as to whether when a Law Member was subsequently nominated to the House, it was necessary to make a specific motion. However, the present circumstances were different. On the last occasion as the Law Member was not a member of the Assembly at the time the original motion was made, subsequently a specific motion was necessary to include him on the select committee when he was nominated to the Assembly. But in this particular case, the Law Member was a member of the House when the original motion was discussed, but only the person of the Law Member had changed. Therefore, it was unnecessary to make a specific motion as contemplated by Mr. Bajpai.

#### THE MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL

Further consideration of the select committee motion on the Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act was then taken up.

*Sir Joseph Bhore* said that the "Dufferin" training ship was doing admirable work. Indeed, if Mr. Das had three years' training on the ship, he would be a different man. (Laughter). There were a number of vacancies in the Bengal Pilot Service. Some of these within the next few weeks would be filled up by the "Dufferin" cadets. (Applause). As more cadets passed out, he looked forward with certainty to seeing them appointed in the ports, docks and harbours. The Legislation merely aimed at giving effect to the International Convention to which one of India's delegates was Mr. Master of the Seindia Company.

The House agreed to refer the Bill to a select committee.

#### THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL

*Sir Frank Noyce* moved for consideration of the select committee report on the Workmen's Compensation Bill. He said with one or two exceptions, the Bill was a liberalising measure to bring more workmen within the scope of the Act. For instance, it included drivers of private motors and a large number of employees of Posts and Telegraphs. The Government had gone as far as they reasonably could, but fresh classes of workers would be brought within the Act by notification, and he hoped to notify Forest workers within a few weeks.

*Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury*, author of a dissenting note, maintained that the select committee was wrong in lowering the rates of compensation. He said that the original rates were agreed to by such industrialists as Sir Alexander Murray, Sir Ibrahim Kabimoolah, and Mr. G. D. Birla.

*Mr. Joshi* asked the Government seriously to consider the question of compulsory insurance against risks, with a view to enabling all classes of employees to come into the scheme of compensation. He felt that Sir Frank Noyce was influenced by capitalists in going back on the original scheme of compensation.

*Sir Frank Noyce* protested, and said that he held the scales even, as far as humanly possible. (Cheers).

*Mr. Joshi* said that he (Sir Frank Noyce) had gone back on his original scheme. "If it is not the influence of capitalists, I do not know what other influence induced him to do so", Mr. Joshi remarked.

*Mr. Jog* said that in the select committee, there was a regular scuffle between Messrs. Joshi and Mody. The speaker held that the report of the select committee was extremely satisfactory.

*Mr. Dalal* did not think that hookworm should be included in the list of diseases entitling a worker to compensation. Mr. Ashar Ali supported the motion.

*Sir Frank Noyce*, repudiating the charge that sweeping changes had been made in the scale of compensation.

The select committee's report was taken into consideration.

*Mr. Morgan Jones* moved an amendment that the widowed sister and the widowed daughter be added to the list of dependents. Mr. Navalrai opposed the amendment.

*Sir Frank Noyce* said that the inclusion of any relatives not virtually dependent, would give rise to spurious claims.

*Mr. Joshi* also opposed the amendment, which was rejected.

Mr. Morgan moved another amendment to do away with troops of dependents as classified, but put them under one category. This was also rejected.

Half an hour was spent in the discussion of Mr. Joshi's amendment providing for compensation for disability ensuing a loss of fifty centum or more in earning capacity. The amendment was rejected. The House then adjourned.

**23rd. AUGUST:**—The Assembly met to-day to consider official business and continued debate on the Workmen's Compensation Bill.

Sir Frank Noyce accepted the amendment moved by Mr. Morgan. Under the Bill every employer was required to deposit either one-tenth of the amount payable under an order appealed against or Rs. 100 whichever is less and even if the appeal of the employer succeeded this amount so deposited was liable to be distributed among the dependents of the workers. The proposed amendment removes both these provisions and lays down that the employer must deposit the entire amount payable and if the employer succeeds he forfeits nothing under the order and not one-tenth. Sir Frank Noyce said that this method was far better in the larger interests of labour and the house accepted the amendment.

Several amendments moved by Mr. Joshi to extend the benefits of compensation to clerks and to smaller factories were rejected. The Government amendment substituting a well-defined sub-clause to clause 21 was accepted.

The last amendment by Mr. Joshi relating to the scale of compensation payable to workers receiving various grades of wages was discussed at length. Several non-official members supported it while the Government and Mr. Morgan of the European group opposed. Finally, the amendment was rejected by 19 against 50 votes. The third reading of the Bill was taken on the next official day.

#### Mahatma Gandhi's Fast—Adj. Motion

The adjournment motion of Mr. S. C. Mitra over Mr. Gandhi's fast was talked out when Mr. Azahar Ali was on his legs. Mr. Azahar Ali read a telegram, reporting the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. The news was greeted with cheers.

Before Mr. S. C. Mitra commenced moving the adjournment of the House over the "unsatisfactory answers of the Home Member regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast," the Countess of Willingdon was present in the Viceregal Box, and Mr. Hallett, Home Secretary in the Officers' Box. Mr. Mitra confessed at the outset that non-official attendance was not encouraging enough and that the Government might win if the motion was pressed to a division. But irrespective of the results, he felt the duty to move the proposition, not actuated by a desire to pass a vote of censure on the Government, but to give expression to public feeling on the question. There was no justification for the Government in restricting the liberties of Mr. Gandhi doing Harijan work and thereby compelling him to undertake a fast unto death. Empires might come and go, but Mr. Gaudbi's name would live for ever. "Great empires and little minds go ill together," he said. He appreciated the Government notion in releasing Mrs. Gandhi to attend on him (Mr. Gandhi) during the fast, but Mr. Mitra asked: "Is not Mr. Gandhi an extraordinary man? Where was the need for pin-pricks like only three letters and two visitors a day? The Government gave him complete facilities on the last occasion. Why not now and what harm if he was afforded all necessary facilities? Remember, Mr. Gandhi is always true to his word, and a man of strict and strong principles. With him non-violence is everything." Civil disobedience, Mr. Mitra said, was not an offence, unless it was aimed at subverting the Government. At any rate, individual civil disobedience could never be regarded as unconstitutional. Yet, Mr. Gandhi had been offered release, to do Harijan work, provided he would not engage himself in civil disobedience. Ths best interests of the country required that at this psychological hour the Government could give him freedom to carry on Harijan work without conditions. He was an asset both to the country and the Government.

Pandit S. N. Sen opposed Mr. Mitra's motion. He said that facilities to carry on an unholy propaganda should not have been given to Mr. Gandhi at all for Harijan work and the Government should have remained absolutely neutral in the matter. He had great sympathy for the man who, out of a mistaken ideal, was about to commit suicide. The "Guru" to which Mr. Gandhi pinned his faith, condemned such a fast as undertaken by him. Probably, Mr. Gandhi was under an evil influence and could not distinguish right from wrong.

*Mr. M. C. Rajah*, representing the depressed classes, congratulated the Government for having given unlimited facilities to Mr. Gandhi on the former occasion to work for the uplift of the unfortunate people. He rejected the attacks of Pandit Sen as belonging to the 18th century. The *raison-d'être* of the British rule in India was "securing equal status of the different classes." Therefore, they ought to welcome a movement, as initiated by Mr. Gandhi in the Hindu community to reform. Did not Mr. Gandhi interview the Viceroy and the King-Emperor on behalf of the naked? The Government also gave him facilities to uplift the Harijans, or God's children, while a State prisoner. Then, why not allow the same facilities now also? It was Lord Willingdon himself, who inaugurated a similar movement in the Madras Presidency while he was Governor.

*Sardar Sant Singh* charged the Government with inconsistency regarding their treatment to Mr. Gandhi. Having once treated him as an extraordinary person in jail, they should go to the logical conclusion of affording him all necessary facilities for conducting after all only Harijan work. The death in jail of Mr. Gandhi over this issue would mean crucifixion of another world personality. The Government must, therefore, be either prepared to meet all the demands of Mr. Gandhi or face the consequences of his death.

*Mr. Jadav* questioned the Government's decision to try Mr. Gandhi and convict him as an ordinary prisoner. Mr. Gandhi last time never broke his word and confined himself to the Harijan movement. The speaker knew from experience in Bombay how Mr. Gandhi had kept the movement on non-violent lines, and he shuddered to think of the consequences if Mr. Gandhi succumbed to the fast. His death would be a greater loss to the Government than the society, for he was their best policeman (a voice:-unpaid). Thanks to Mr. Gandhi, the work of secret police was unnecessary and Mr. Gandhi's methods made even ordinance rule unnecessary.

*Sir Harry Haig* was cheered when he rose to reply. A number of members in the lobbies walked in to hear the Home Member. He said that the charge of illegality need not be answered at length, as the majority of the members supported Government action in giving Mr. Gandhi facilities to which ordinarily prisoners are not entitled. As regards the charge whether the Government action was politic, the Home Member recalled how, when Mr. Gandhi was a State prisoner, the movement was launched in dramatic conditions and Mr. Gandhi was given all possible facilities. When Mr. Gandhi was released unconditionally, he was devoting himself entirely to these social movements and was undertaking in that connection twenty-four days' fast. Sir Harry Haig continued: "When Mr. Gandhi recovered from the fast he threw himself actively in politics and during the time between recovery from the fast and re-imprisonment there was no sign, I could observe, that the Harijan movement was occupying his mind to a degree to which it appears to occupy when he is in jail." "He has now deliberately courted imprisonment on a political issue and at once it appears that life seems to interest him unless he can do Harijan work, just as if he were a free man. It appears to me that Mr. Gandhi wishes to combine simultaneously two incompatible processes, deliberate self-incarceration and complete freedom to carry on social work as an ordinary man. I would never suppose that those two processes were incompatible, much less eliminating as an indefeasible right that 'I should be allowed to do both at the same time.' Let me remind the House what facilities were previously granted unmounted to, it is argued, that they had not encouraged civil disobedience. I concede it, but they had a very undesirable effect on the administration and discipline in the jail and were fundamentally inconsistent with the position of a prisoner. Mr. Gandhi was allowed to interview as many visitors as he liked. The number of persons who came averaged, for over a long period, 64 a week. At the same time, he was conducting intensive correspondence and was giving interviews to the Press. Our view was that facilities of that kind were really not consistent with the position of Mr. Gandhi as a prisoner. At the same time Government felt, particularly in view of what they had done before, that they should not stand in the way of social reform, which they had been in sympathy with".

Continuing, Sir Harry Haig said that they fully considered Mr. Gandhi's request and allowed the maximum facilities consistent with jail discipline. "What was the effect of that offer? Mr. Gandhi rejected it, we are told, of standing on certain trivial points. If the difference between our terms and Mr. Gandhi's terms is so small, then it is Mr. Gandhi and not the Government, who is standing on a trivial point (cheers). Mr. Gandhi really refuses to accept for himself the normal companion of imprisonment, and in fact is eliminating the dietetic terms of imprisonment.

Continuing, Sir Harry Haig said, that Mr. Gandhi had declared that this was not a coercive fast. This was not an interpretation of public opinion, which was unmistakable. "These fasts are intended to and, at any rate, they do create sympathy and a certain feeling of horror at the possibility of Mr. Gandhi's death and under the influence of those feelings, it appears, people are deprived of their judgment. We all know what happened at the time of the Poona Pact. People are carried away by feeling in such a manner. They judge public questions, not whether they are right or wrong, but whether it is necessary to take a certain action in order to save Mr. Gandhi's life. Government in no country of the world can be carried on these principles (loud cheers). A year ago when Mr. Gandhi launched on the first fast I ventured to warn the House of the implication of a fast of that kind. I said that the country, if it accepted these methods, would be subjecting itself to dictatorship of a novel kind. I do think that facts of last year have borne out that warning. I admit it is difficult to follow the working of Mr. Gandhi's mind and what processes are thought of, or what he would perhaps claim. inspirations lead him to the conclusion that whichever he is so convinced of are right and that he feels justified in employing the most extreme means to force them on other people. I hope, sir, the Government will have the support of the House in the action they have taken in making a stand against these methods.

Mr. Jagannath Agarwall re-called the record of the history on the incarceration of Napoleon in St. Helena, and said when the history of Mr. Gandhi's fast came to be written, a different tale would be told from what Sir Harry Haig had mentioned. The Government was extremely illogical. If Mr. Gandhi was really fighting on trivialities, why not grant them to him, for, after all, Mr. Gandhi was an extraordinary personality, for whom jail rules and jail discipline had no meaning. Let the game of hide and seek be given up and let there be some imagination and not jail manuals. Let the British Government in India not forget the world opinion, not only in Europe but America. If the Government found it difficult to place him in any category of the jail rules, then surely Mr. Gandhi was an extraordinary person, who should be released.

Mr. Azhar Ali was reading a lengthy telegram about Mr. Gandhi's state of health and the various statements of the Government, or otherwise, when Mr. Vydyasagar Pandya asked the Home Member whether the Press report that Mr. Gandhi had been released unconditionally was true.

Sir Harry Haig denied any knowledge, and said that it was a news to him. Amidst great acclamation and cheers Mr. Azhar Ali a little later read out a telegram that Mr. Gandhi was released at 3.45 P. M. unconditionally, and that he was in Purnakuti, though weak. It being already 6 P. M. the President adjourned the House. The motion was thus talked out.

### THE TEMPLE-ENTRY BILL

**24th. AUGUST :—**The discussion was resumed to-day on the Temple-Entry Bill.

Mr. Ramkrishna Jha's amendment for circulation for opinion of all except those who have no faith in Temple worship having already been moved, Pandit Satyendranath Sen moved that the Bill be circulated amongst the temple-going Hindus for opinion by June 30 next.

Mr. Neogy asked whether such restricted circulation was permissible under Standing Order 39.

The President pointed out that the Standing Order was silent on the point and hence it was left to the Chair to decide. The chair decided in favour of Pandit S. Sen's motion, though it was open to the chair to put to vote a motion which was found to be more comprehensive.

Pandit S. Sen, moving the amendment, referred to the Queen's Proclamation on religious neutrality and said that he must oppose any attempt to infringe on the law of the Hindus relating to temple worship. He did not want this House, consisting of all sorts of elements including non-Hindus, to decide the matter. The Bill was actually sponsored by Mr. Gandhi. He (Sen) was not opposed to any movement for the uplift of the so-called Depressed Classes in matters, hygienic, educational and vocational. But temple entry was not a part of the amelioration of their condition.

Mr. R. S. Sarma moved an amendment that the Bill be circulated by the end of June 1934. In his opinion the previous amendment by Pandit S. Sen restricting circulation to temple-going Hindus was not only absurd but also impracticable.

*Mr. D. K. Lahiri Choudhury* feared that the Bill if passed would infringe the rights over temples which were not public. There would be difficulties in conducting the management of temples and there would be unnecessary interference in carrying on the essential obligations. He at length criticised the Poona Pact, particularly its effect as regards Bengal.

*Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah* on the other hand traced elaborately the history of the depressed classes. He quoted several authorities to prove how the Aryans co-operated with the Dravidians and later on gradually usurped their religious rights. He further quoted numerous instances from the scriptures and Puranas how the deities easily mingled with the lowest of the people. He instance the case of Nanda in Chidambaram and Haridas in Bengal. Concluding, he hoped that earlier this disability was removed it would be better for the salvation of the entire Hindu race.

*Mr. Amarnath Dutt* strongly criticised the Poona Pact. It would be a negation of democracy if the legislature were allowed to interfere with social customs and manners, while there were more important legislations awaiting their attention. It was a sort of vendetta they were carrying on against the orthodox community, and it was a sheer waste of time wrangling over a question over which the orthodox community would never compromise.

*Sir Harry Haig* on behalf of Government explained that their support to the motion for circulation of the Bill should in no way be construed as implying support to its provisions. It was true that the Government sympathised for the depressed classes and were anxious to do what they could for their social and economic improvement. He quoted from the communiqué issued in January last, wherein the Government's view was fully explained. In his opinion, circulation by the end of June was a fair and reasonable time to secure the widest possible circulation.

As regards the limit of circulation to temple-going Hindus, Sir Harry Haig said from the practical view point that it would really hardly be possible to impose the restriction as proposed. The Government wanted the matter to be fully discussed by all classes of Hindus and were therefore prepared to give their support to the amendment of Mr. Sarma.

After Mr. Jadhav had supported the Bill, closure was moved and the House accepted Mr. Sarma's motion for circulation of the Bill by the end of June 1934.

#### THE CR. P. C. AMENDING BILL

The House next took up further consideration of *Sardar Sant Singh's* Bill amending sections 30, 34, 103-167, 205, 386, 412 to 415 of the Cr. P. C. He held that the sections were either anomalous or that the power thereunder had been abused.

*Mr. Navalrai* supported the Bill and gave his personal experience of how the changes proposed would make for good law. The House then adjourned till the 28th.

#### TEXTILE INDUSTRIES PROTECTION BILL\*

28th. AUGUST :—When Sir Joseph Bhore sought permission to-day to introduce the Textile Industry Protection Bill, Mr. B. Das asked why the Commerce Member had gone back on the promise to consider the Tariff Board report and place the Government conclusions before the House.

\*The objects and reasons state : By the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Act, 1930, protective duties imposed on cotton piece-goods for a period of three years in order to give the cotton mill industry in India a temporary shelter against foreign competition. By the same Act the operation of the duty imposed by the Indian Tariff (Cotton Yarn Amendment) Act, 1927, was extended for a further period of three years on account of the unfair competition arising from the prevalence of inferior labour conditions in China. These duties were due to expire on March 31, 1933, but were extended up to October 31 by the Cotton Textile Industry Protection (Amendment) Act, 1933 pending the formulation of the decision of the Government of India on the Tariff Board's report regarding continued protection to the cotton mill industry.

As a result of the denunciation by India of the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1904 in April last the question of the conclusion of a new commercial agreement between India and Japan has arisen and the representatives of the Government of Japan are shortly expected in India to initiate discussions with the Government of India in this matter. In view of these impending discussions, the Government of India are of opinion that they should not proceed to give legislative effect in the

Sir Joseph Bhore asked if the Member was opposing the Bill.

Mr. B. Das : Yes, I am opposing it.

The President reminded Mr. Das that he must be brief.

Mr. Das said that a proper Bill should have been introduced. Why was the Government sitting tight on the Board's report?

Sir Joseph Bhore hoped that the House would not support Mr. Das, as it was quite impossible for the Government to come forward with a specific proposition when negotiations with Japan were in sight. The Bill was introduced.

#### THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL

Sir Frank Noyce moved that the Workmen's Compensation Act Amendment Bill be passed.

Mr. Matin Chowdhury appreciated the improvements effected, though the Government did not go as far as the members wanted.

Sir Frank Noyce replied that he had tried to hold the scales even. In some cases, the scale was in favour of Labour. The Bill was passed.

#### THE STATES PROTECTION BILL\*\*

Sir H. Haig introduced the States Protection Bill\*\*. Leave was granted, a voice objecting.

present session to their conclusions with regard to the Tariff Board's report on the textile industry since they may require a radical alteration in the light of any agreement which may be eventually reached.

The Bill accordingly proposes to continue the existing protection granted to the industry by the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Act, 1930, as subsequently amended, for a further period up to March 31 1934.

\*The statement of objects and reasons, appended to the Bill said :—"Experience of recent years has shown that ordinary law is not adequate to afford the States in India protection they may reasonably expect against activities, which may be carried on in British India with the object of subverting or exciting disaffection towards, or interfering with the administration of such States. The forthcoming constitutional changes, moreover, were making it desirable that the authorities in British India should have the power to protect units of the Federation from agitation directed against them from British India. Such agitation may involve (a) attacks in the Press (b) organisation of activities directed against a State authority ; and, (c) organisation of movements for entry, into a State, of bodies of persons from British India. The Bill amends section 12-A of Indian Penal Code to include States, and applies the provisions of the Press Emergency Act to States and defines powers to prohibit assemblies to issue directions prohibiting certain Acts, and provides penalty for disobeying orders.

The following is the text of the Bill :—(1) This Act may be called the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1933.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and Sonthal Parganas.

(3) This section and sections 23 and 4 shall come into force at once; the remaining sections of this Act shall come into force in any district or area only when and for such time as the local Government by notification in the local official Gazette directs.

2. After section 15 of the Indian Penal Code, the Act XLV of 1860, the following section shall be inserted, namely,

15-A. The word "India" denotes British India, together with the territories of any Indian Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of the Queen exercised through the Governor-General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India.

3. In section 121 A of the Indian Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) after the words "Or any Local Government" the words "Or the administration of any State in India" shall be inserted.

4. The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act (Act XXIII of 1932) as amended by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932, shall be interpreted (a) as if in subsection (1) of section 4 of the Act after clause (1) the following word and clause were inserted, namely, "or (i) to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection towards the administration established in any State in India" and (b) As

## RAILWAY ACT AMENDING BILL

Sir Joseph Bhore moved that the Indian Railway Act Amendment Bill be taken into consideration.

Mr. De Souza moved for its re-circulation, and said that the solution proposed by the Bill to meet alleged unfair competition provided no machinery to ensure that the counter-competition would be run on fair lines. If the Government meant a fight to the finish, the motor bus service would go to the wall. Without fair decision by an unbiased referee, the Bill would kill the motor bus service in Madras.

Sir Joseph Bhore, interrupting, said that as both the Railways in Madras were company-managed the Bill would not affect Madras, as it related to State Railways only.

Mr. Neogy asked whether there was an intention to extend the measure to company lines by Parliamentary action in London.

Sir Joseph Bhore said that this was not in his mind at all. He gave an absolute assurance that it was not the Government's intention to extend the operation of the Act to other than State railways.

if in explanation 2 and explanation 3 to the said sub-section after the word "Government" the words "Or Administration" and after the letter and brackets "(d)" the words, letter and bracket or clause (j)" were inserted, and any power which might by reason of such insertions but not otherwise be exercised by the local Government under that Act, if so altered, may also be exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council; and for the purpose of enabling the Governor-General-in-Council to exercise such powers the Act shall be interpreted as if references to the local Government were references to the Governor-General-in-Council.

5 (1) When a District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate is of opinion that there is in his jurisdiction a movement for the promotion of assemblies of persons for the purpose of proceeding from British India into the territory of a State in India and that the entry of such persons into the said territory or their presence therein is likely or will tend to cause interference with the administration of the said State or danger to human life or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquility or a riot or an affray within the said territory, he may by order in writing stating the material facts of the case prohibit within the area specified in the order the assembly of five or more persons in furtherance of the said movement.

(2) When an order under sub-section (1) has been made and for so long as it remains in force, any assembly of five or more persons held in contravention of the order shall be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of section 141 of the Indian Penal Code and the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Indian Penal Code and of Chapter IX of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply accordingly.

(3) An order under sub-section (1) shall be notified by proclamation published in the specified area in such places and in such manner as the Magistrate may think fit and a copy of such order shall be forwarded to the local Government.

(4) No order under sub-section (1) shall remain in force for more than two months from the making thereof unless the local Government by notification in the local official Gazette otherwise directs.

6 (1) Where in the opinion of a District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate there is sufficient ground for proceedings under this section such Magistrate may by written order stating the material facts of the case served in the manner provided by section 134 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, direct any person to abstain from a certain act if such Magistrate considers that such direction is likely to prevent or tends to prevent interference with the administration of a State in India or danger to human life or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquility or a riot or an affray within the said State.

(2) An order under sub-section (1) may in cases of emergency or in cases where the circumstances do not admit of the serving in due time of a notice upon the person against whom the order is directed be passed ex parte.

(3) An order under sub-section (1) may be directed to a particular individual or to the public generally.

(4) A District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate may either on his own motion or on the application of any person aggrieved rescind or alter any order made under sub-section (1) by himself or by his predecessor in office.

(5) Where such an application is received the Magistrate shall afford to the applicant an early opportunity of appearing before him either in person or by plea-

Mr. Ramkrishna Reddy pointed out that the Bill had undergone a complete metamorphosis in the Select Committee, and the Government would do well to send it back to the country for opinion. He considered that the Bill was premature and it was like putting the cart before the horse. Quoting extracts from the proceedings of the Rail-Road Conference, Mr. Reddy contended that the solution lay in the collaborative efforts of the Central and Provincial Governments and not in legislation of this sort. He moved an amendment that, while recirculating the Bill, the opinions of District Boards and Automobile Associations be also elicited.

Mr. James opposed recirculation, but supported passage of the Bill. He pleaded that all railways, whether State-owned or company-managed, should be treated on the same basis. He asked for an assurance both from Sir Frank Noyce and Sir Joseph Bhore that effects would be immediately made for co-ordinated efforts in the Provinces, as well as in the Centre to safeguard against cut-throat competition.

Mr. Sadiq Hasan warned the Assembly against playing into the hands of railway companies. Railways, he said, had a monopoly and they would not allow any parallel line to be run. Now, they also wanted to wipe out private ownership and playing of motor buses. He feared that such a monopoly would ruin the small bus-owners and also shop-keepers dealing in motor goods.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed, as a member of the Select Committee, thought that no useful purpose would be served by either circulation or by recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Mr. G. P. Singh opposed the Bill, as public opinion was decidedly against it.

Haji Wajihuddin contended that the fall in earnings was partly due to the unsympathetic treatment of railways to third class passengers.

Mr. Hoon supported the Bill as a timely measure, and held that the railways were giving the public the comfort they expected.

Mr. Agarwal was opposed to the principle underlying the Bill. The railways were already enjoying a monopoly in their track, and now they wanted privileges for unfair competition on the King's highway, which had been always open to all kinds of traffic. Railways had been continuously losing. The speaker was opposed to the Bill also, because it involved unequal competition with private bus owners. Why, he asked, should the Government deprive the public of an alternative route for travel and why should not the Government show regard to bus owners who had contributed Rs. 830 lakhs to the public revenues, and provided employment to a lakh of people?

The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

#### CR. P. C. AMENDMENT BILL

**29th. AUGUST:**—Non-official Bills were considered to-day by the Assembly. Mr. A. K. Cox (Madras official) speaking from thirty-one years' Magisterial experience, criticised the Bill and said that at a time when the magistracy was more manned by Indians than before, such a piece of legislation would result in lack of confidence in the Indian magistracy, which would be a pity. He referred to the new provisions regarding remand proceedings and recalled how once he was out of camp when in the evening a police Sergeant brought a European, charged under the Sea Customs Act. He asked both the prospective prosecutor and the prospective accused to dine with the prospective Magistrate and asked the European to waive his rights as a European and be tried by an Indian magistrate. The Bill proposed such radical changes in the Criminal Procedure Code as the House should not endorse.

Mr. A. Das, supporting, declared that the Bill was brought before the House at the right moment. Replying to the criticism that the Bill involved a lack of confi-

der and showing cause against the order, and if the Magistrate rejects the application wholly or in part he shall record in writing his reasons for so doing.

(6) No order under sub-section (1) shall remain in force for more than two months from the making thereof unless the local Government by notification in the local official Gazette otherwise directs.

7. (1) Whoever disobeys or neglects to comply with any direction contained in an order as altered under sub-section (4) of that section shall be punishable with imprisonment, which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

(2) An offence under this section shall be an offence for which a police officer may arrest without warrant.

denee in the Executive, Mr. Das said that he did not think that this was its object. He said that the Bill should be considered by the House after it emerged out of the Select Committee.

*Sir B. B. Ghose*, in course of a maiden speech, opposed the motion, explaining the defects in each clause. Indeed, he found it difficult to trace the principle of the measure among so many clauses. He protested against the opinion of certain members that any section of the law in the Punjab was marked with the badge of inferiority. Regarding the conferment of special powers to Magistrates in Bengal by the local Government, the Law Member pointed out that the question of uniformity in administering justice did not arise in this matter. He felt that the House should consider whether it was right to deprive the local Governments of the power of granting powers to Magistrates in certain disturbed areas. Proceeding, the Law Member criticised several clauses and said that no useful purpose would be served to give the right of appeal in trivial cases.

The House divided and the Select Committee motion was defeated by 49 to 27.

#### WIDOWS' MAINTENANCE BILL

*Mr. Harbilas Sarda* moved that the Bill to fix the amount of maintenance to which Hindu widows are entitled be referred to a Select Committee. He said that any attempt at circulation would only delay the measure. Moreover, orthodox members like Mr. Ramkrishna Jha had themselves tabled motions for the same purpose. The House at this stage adjourned.

#### H. E. The Viceroy's Speech

30th AUGUST :—Addressing a joint sitting of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature to-day His Excellency the Viceroy gave a comprehensive review of current affairs. The following is the full text of His Excellency's speech :

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to meet you, the members of the Indian Legislature, once again and to welcome you to the labours of another session. May I, in the first place, congratulate both my old friends Sir Maneckji Dadaboy and Sir Shanmukham Chetty upon their elevation to the very important offices which they now occupy? As this is the first occasion upon which I have addressed you since their election as presidents of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, respectively, I offer them both my best wishes in the execution of their functions and responsibilities.

It is now my duty to give you an account of the current affairs since last we met in Delhi and in doing so it will not be necessary for me to keep you from your parliamentary labours for so great a length of time as I have done on previous occasions, for I am glad to say that I think I can fairly claim that the general conditions in India to-day are more satisfactory in many ways than they have been for a considerable period and consequently there are fewer matters of a controversial nature for me to bring to your notice and I should like very sincerely to thank you for your share in bringing this about not only by the sound and steady judgment which you have generally shown in the debates which have taken place in both Houses but also by your votes on the many important matters which have come before you. Criticism there certainly has been, criticism there should be; fair criticism is of value to any Government and I am sure I can rely on my Government receiving from you that same fair and helpful criticism during the present session as they have received in the past, thereby assisting them to work for our common purpose—the increasing welfare of your country.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In regard to foreign affairs, I am happy to be able to inform you that cordial relations continue to be maintained with all our neighbours. You will, however, regret to learn that a rebellion which broke out this spring in the Sinkiang province in China against Chinese rule, has resulted in the murder of a number of British Indian subjects and of certain loss in property. Much though I deplore this loss of life I am glad to be able to record that the presence of His Majesty's representative at Kashghar has been of considerable effect in minimising the danger to British Indian subjects and that he is making every endeavour to bring about the arrest and punishment of the perpetrators of these crimes.

The long-standing disputes between the Afghan and the British tribes on the Kurram border have recently been satisfactorily settled through a joint Indo-Afghan commission, the result of which will, I trust, ensure the peace of this portion of the border for a considerable time to come.

#### EVENTS ON NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

I must now refer to certain events on the North-West Frontier Province which have recently been creating a considerable amount of interest. I wish from the outset to emphasise that we as a Government are responsible for maintaining friendly relations with our neighbours and for preserving law and order within the confines of India. In view of the recent constitutional changes in the North-West Frontier Province and the coming changes in India as a whole it is particularly important that these responsibilities should be faithfully discharged. In the particular case to which I refer the Government of India received information that certain ill-disposed persons had arrived in Bajaur who were likely to prove not only disturbers of the peace within our frontier but also a source of grave embarrassment to our neighbours across the border. We have already had experience of the extent of trouble such agitators are capable of causing by events which occurred in Khost earlier in the year and it was clearly the bounden duty of my Government to take every and every step to prevent the recurrence of such incidents. In the meantime, for motives of their own and egged on by hostile agitators the Upper Mohmands made a sudden and provoked attack from their semi-independent territory on one of our most loyal tribes, the Halimzai. Whether the action of the Upper Mohmands was in any way connected with the activities of the agitators in Bajaur, it is impossible to say, but realising that this particular portion of the frontier holds many firebrands, whose main occupation in life is to flout all recognised forms of law and order and knowing the pace at which infection is likely to spread on the frontier, I in consultation with my Government decided that immediate action was imperative. This action was not forced upon us by any overt rebellion against our own authority, but it was our obvious duty to support our assurred clans against unwarranted aggression and for this reason a column was despatched into the Halimzai country to support the Halimzai and to afford them some measure of protection. The column was received with professions of gratitude and has had precisely the effect desired. The loyal elements among our clans have been encouraged and fortified and the hostile Lashkars have now dispersed and disappeared.

The problem in Bajaur was not so simple, for owing to the inaccessibility of the villages, in which the agitators had taken up their abode, direct action of the nature mentioned above within a reasonable time was impracticable, in fact impossible, owing to the destruction by floods of the bridge over the Panjkorn river. Again, after full consideration, we decided in the first instance to issue notices to certain individual Khans who were known to be harbouring the offenders, demanding their surrender. We even went so far as to offer a reward for their surrender and to intimation that no action would be taken against them beyond removing them to a safe distance from the frontier. On the other hand, we made it clear that failing compliance with our orders the Government would take such action as they considered necessary. These notices produced no effect and it is then and only then, after considering the alternatives open to us, that air action was instituted against a single small and remote village called Kokkai in which it was known that the principal offender was being harboured.

In view of the criticism which this decision has evoked during the past few weeks without a full knowledge of the facts, I wish to make it quite clear that our action has in no way infringed the canons of international law or the dictates of humanity. Air action of this type has been taken on many occasions in the past 12 years without exciting comment or protest. It is not directed against the inhabitants of the villages, much less against women and children. It is never undertaken without the express authority of the Government of India and without due warning and it seldom results in the destruction of human lives. On the present occasion no loss of human life occurred and as far as we know only one man was injured. Its effect lies in the economic loss inflicted by the destruction of dwellings and by the inconvenience and disturbance caused to normal life.

I can assure you once more that our sole object is to maintain those conditions of peace and good relations on the frontier which are essential to the ordered progress of the country as a whole. Although internal disturbances have, I am glad to say, been less frequent than in the preceding two years, there have been occa-

sions on which the aid of troops has had to be invoked by the civil power. The promptness and efficiency with which the army and the royal air force have met all calls upon them, command my admiration and should, I venture to suggest, be a matter of congratulations to us all.

Heavy retrenchments have been made in the defence estimates and the search for further economies has by no means been abandoned. Special attention is being paid to certain suggestions that were made by hon. members in the last budget debates, but it is becoming increasingly clear that further savings cannot be secured on a scale to compare with the very large retrenchment of the past two years.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has continued to do useful work in the promotion of agricultural research. Since its conception it has been able to allocate funds aggregating Rs. 43 lakhs to at least than 49 research schemes, most of which extend over a five-year period. There is evidence of an increasing appreciation of the Council's efforts to supplement the work which is already being carried on by the Agricultural and Veterinary departments of the various provinces and at the Central Research Institutes at Pusa and Muktesar. Though in common with other beneficial activities the work of the Research Council has had to be curtailed during the present period of financial stringency, the existence of its research fund, which was created in 1929 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and with your approval, has saved much useful work from interruption. Though my Government has not yet been able to restore the council's annual research grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, it was found possible, again with your approval, to make a supplementary grant of Rs. 5 lakhs to it last March. This enabled the council to start a number of useful schemes which were awaiting the provision of funds. It is only four years since the Research Council was established and less than three years since its first research schemes came into operation, so that it is too early to expect results. But I was interested to observe that the recent sugar conference convened by the Government of India several provincial Ministers for Agriculture and Industries spoke appreciatively of the work done by the sugar technologists and by the sugar committee of the council. The council has recently taken on responsibilities in connection with the development and utilisation of the tariff preferences on agricultural products secured to India by the Ottawa trade agreement and rightly so, for unless Indian agricultural produce is as well handled and graded and of as good a quality as that of our principal competitors, the full advantage of these important preference in the United Kingdom will not be realised.

As you are aware, the Whitley Commission made a number of suggestions for the revision of the Factories Act. These have now been examined in detail by the public, by the local Governments and by my Government and we shall shortly place before you our proposals in the form of a New Factories Bill designed to replace the Act of 1911 and the various amending acts passed since that date.

Another measure that you will have to consider is the question of affording protection to Indian States against activities in British India which tend to subvert or to excite disaffection towards their administration. It has been represented to my Government that the existing law is inadequate for the purpose and my Government feel that the Indian States are entitled to a similar measure of protection against unfair and subversive activities in British India as the present law affords to British Indian provinces. The Indian States have invariably co-operated with the British Government in suppressing activities in their States subversive to the administration of British India and I feel there is little need for me to stress the desirability of what I may best characterise as reciprocity in this matter, especially when we envisage the proposed federal constitution of which States and provinces will alike be units.

When I addressed the Legislative Assembly last January I made a brief reference to certain matters relating to Indians overseas. The hope, which I am expressed, that our representations to the Union Government on the subject of Indian unemployment in Natal would prove fruitful, has been realised. Relief to unemployed Indians is now being given in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The commission to enquire into the occupation of proclaimed land by Indians in the Transvaal continues its labours. Our agent and his staff have been assisting the Indians in the Transvaal to place their views before the commission.

Two recent events in East Africa may be of interest to hon. members. The Indian community in Uganda has long been desirous to see its representation on the Legislative Council of this territory increased. His Majesty's Secretary of State

for the Colonies has announced that a second Indian member will shortly be nominated to the Council. Members are appointed to the Council not to represent communities but by reason of their fitness to serve the general interests of the country. Indians in Uganda will, I feel sure, justify the choice which will now fall on one of them by using this opportunity to promote the welfare and prosperity of Uganda.

In Kenya Indians have decided without prejudice to their preference for the principle of a common electoral roll to enter the Legislative Council. The Government of India consider this a wise decision and hope that by the contribution which this will enable them to make to the common weal of that territory complete harmony among the different communities may be rapidly established.

#### ABROGATION OF INDO-JAPANESE TRADE CONVENTION

It will be remembered that towards the end of the last session of the Legislature the Government of India were compelled to ask His Majesty's Government that formal notice should be given of their desire to terminate the Indo-Japanese Trade Convention. This serious step was taken with the utmost reluctance and only under the threat of grave injury to many of the indigenous industries of India. Our action was conceived in no spirit of hostility or aggression, it was purely a measure of self-defence and it is regrettable that in certain quarters it has been otherwise construed. The problem with which we were confronted was a difficult one. The depreciation of the currency of Japan relatively to the rupee had given to that country advantage in Indian markets which rendered competition impossible. Our choice lay between inaction which spelt ruin to many of our industries and the denunciation of the convention, which had governed the friendly trade relations of India and Japan for so many years. No other practical solution offered itself and notice of denunciation of the convention was therefore given and the convention will expire on Oct. 10 next.

Though by the denunciation of the convention and by the passing of the Safeguarding of Industries Act we have taken power to protect our own interests, we have nevertheless been ready at all times to consider any alternative solution that might be put forward.

#### DELEGATION FROM JAPAN

We ourselves were fully conscious of the disadvantages of a discontinuity in our treaty relations with Japan and I am happy to say that as a result of preliminary conversations a delegation from Japan will shortly arrive in India with a view to the negotiation of a fresh trade agreement. I take this opportunity of welcoming the representatives of Japan now on their way and of expressing the earnest hope that a solution may be found satisfactory to all the parties whose interests are involved. The fact that these negotiations will take place in Simla between the Government of India and the Government of Japan, is one of great significance for India.

Of significance too is the fact that India is to be the scene of a tripartite conference between the textile industrialists of India, Lancashire and Japan. In this conference the Government of India will not take part, but they would welcome any, agreement consonant with the welfare and interests of India as a whole.

#### AGREEMENT BETWEEN TEA GROWERS

You will be invited to give legislative sanction to the agreement that has been reached between the tea growers of India, Ceylon and the Netherlands' East Indies. The restriction scheme which they have themselves evolved, is as yet in its initial stages and it is perhaps too early to proclaim it a success, but it has already engendered in the trade a very welcome feeling of buoyancy and confidence.

#### FINANCE

I now turn to the question of finance about which in these times of unparalleled uncertainty it is necessary to speak with caution. I think it is fair to say that on all sides there is a feeling of greater confidence and that it is possible to detect signs of definite improvement in many directions.

The World Economic Conference, though it failed to produce any agreed plan of co-operation, has at least done much to clear the air, while the discussions between the European countries in which India's representatives took a prominent part, led to a declaration of a monetary policy which justifies the hope of an improvement in the sterling prices and therefore also in the rupee prices of commodities.

nal history of this country, for it was at that conference that the conception of bringing this great continent within the embraco of an all-India federation was first brought within the range of practical politics. That ideal we have since held consistently before us. It is now the corner-stone on which we have built. Each of the two succeeding conferences made its own particular contribution to the completion of our task and the intervals were occupied with expert enquiries into one aspect or another of the many difficult problems inherent in so great a constitutional change.

When I look back over this period of preparation my confidence in the future is stimulated by the encouragement I derive from that splendid spirit of common endeavour which has throughout inspired the free exchange of views between the representatives, on the one side, of His Majesty's Government, and on the other side, of British Indian and the Indian States. Compressed within the pages of the White Paper there lie the evidence of this collaboration, in which, by the help so readily given, the Indian representatives have played so notable a part while the Joint Parliamentary Committee has been at work in London.

But without prejudice to its conclusions my Government has set up a committee of officials and non-officials to consider the administrative problems relative to the separation of Orissa. It is intended also to set up a similar committee for Sind to assemble and start work early in the coming cold weather.

The White Paper is now in the hands of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Its terms of reference charge the committee with the momentous responsibility of considering the future government of India and in particular of examining and reporting upon the proposals in the White Paper. We have all followed with close attention the reports appearing in the press of the committee's proceedings, and conscious of what Indian cooperation has achieved in the past, I rejoice to think that Indian opinion is again given the fullest opportunity to make itself felt at this last and formative stage when the work that has been done comes finally before Parliament for decisions to be taken. No part of the committee's proceedings has given me greater pleasure than the generous acknowledgments by Indian delegates of the great contribution made to the discussions by the Secretary of State, who in the course of his evidence displayed a grasp of these great constitutional issues which evoked tributes from representatives of all sections of opinion in the committee. Early in October the committee will re-assemble and resume its labours. I would ask hon. members to join with me in wishing the committee and its collaborators an early and successful conclusion to their great work of investigation, scrutiny and review before the committee places its own recommendations before Parliament for consideration.

In conclusion, let me turn for a moment to the future. If we are to ensure the rapid progress which we all desire in the way of constitutional reforms we must create the atmosphere in which that progress can develop. Little can be done by Government alone. An equal responsibility must lie upon hon. members themselves and the leaders of political thought in India, to whom we must look to use their influence, by their speeches, by public meetings and propaganda, to see that the electorates of the future are made fully aware of the great advance we are striving to achieve through the White Paper proposals. I appeal to you, therefore, with all the sincerity at my command to take up this responsibility with courage and energy so as to help your country forward to the attainment of her ultimate goal as an equal partner in the shaping of the destinies of the British Empire.

#### RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT BILL

On the House re-assembling after the Viceroy's speech, discussion was resumed on two amendments of the Railway Act Amendment Bill, namely, (1) that the bill be circulated for eliciting opinion and (2) for recommending it to the select committee.

Mr. Thampan, the first speaker, remarked that if the bill was passed 90 million people would be unemployed. Referring to the objection that railways were encouraging public roads, Mr. Thampan pointed out that it was not all railways which were invested with the right to conduct motor services but only light railways. As a matter of fact no scheme could be launched without the permission of the local Government. Mr. Thampan, proceeding, said that he had his own doubts about the utility of the bill and said that nothing good would result if the bill was re-circulated.

Mr. Neogy contended that a measure of this nature could not be supported by any legislature and observed that if the former bill was a blank cheque the present

bill had emerged from the select committee none the better. The problem should be shelved in all its aspects as it was comprehensive and it was not right to find a partial solution by piecemeal legislation. Proceeding, Mr. Neogy questioned whether the spirit of the series of resolutions passed at the Rail Road Conference held in April were carried out and alluded to the Mitchell-Kirkness Report, which he characterised as based on the assumption that many cases of private road services were run at uneconomic rates. Proceeding, Mr. Neogy maintained that unless and until feeder roads were developed for feeder transport they would not be justified in placing one particular party, namely, the railways, in an advantageous position.

Mr. Joshi contended that the difficulties in the transport system were due to lack of fore-thought, coordination in management and in placing it on a competitive basis. In his opinion, transport should be owned and maintained publicly for the benefit of the public. Competition could never be carried on the basis of fairness.

Mr. Jadhav said that the best course for the railways was to construct more feeder lines and not to enter into competition with motor services. He pointed out that railway buses would not be able to compete favourably with private buses, which could be run much more cheaply than those of railways.

Sir Joseph Bhore, Commerce Member, replying to the debate, emphasised that most, if not all the changes that had been made in the select committee have been made in order to meet the criticism which was elicited during the first circulation and during the discussion on the measure in the House. Now it was wholly unreasonable that the changes which have been made as a result of circulation should themselves be circulated again. He could say with authority that the report of the Rail-Road Conference, at which the Ministers and other representatives of all the provincial Governments were present, and the Mitchell-Kirkness Report were in favour of the bill before the House. He personally did not intend to initiate any further action at present until this legislation had been in force for a sufficiently long time to enable them to gauge correctly the consequences of it to all the interests involved. For one thing it would give them a most invaluable experience in dealing with the very wider problem that would come before them.

Proceeding, the Commerce Member agreed with Mr. Neogy that an Act of this nature could not by itself save the railways. In the present case the bill merely removed a disability, the removal of which would be of considerable relief and advantage. Replying to the specific question what action was being taken with regard to the other resolutions passed at the Rail-Road Conference, Sir Joseph Bhore assured the House that they were receiving the closest and the most careful consideration of the Government of India in consultation with the provincial Governments. As for the argument that the railways would not be able to compete with private buses, he maintained that railway buses would provide a safer, more comfortable and reliable service than private services. Concluding, the Commerce Member said:—"I have gone very far in the select committee to meet the critics: In fact, I have gone so far beyond which nothing can be done without scrapping the bill. I again maintain that the bill in its present form meets all reasonable objections that have been taken and I ask the House to accord their approval to it.

The President then put to the House all the amendments, which were defeated without a division and the consideration of the bill approved without dissent.

Mr. Ramkrishna Reddy, moving an amendment to the bill, said that it sought to restrict the right of railway companies to run motor services on parallel lines. The point of view of the Government, he observed, was that they were afraid of the uneconomic competition of motor services running parallel to railway lines. This fact, Mr. Reddy contended, was emphasised in the Rail-Road Conference held recently in Simla.

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to Mr. Reddy, declared that the Conference had considered Mr. Reddy's view-point in the select committee and had come to the conclusion that in all probability it would serve no good purpose.

The discussion on Mr. A. Das's amendment that to sub-section (1), clause (2), of the bill the following proviso be added: 'Provided the scheme does not involve any preferential treatment or create a monopoly against private enterprise,' was not concluded when the House adjourned.

#### ENHANCEMENT OF DUTY ON JAPANESE CLOTH

31st. AUGUST.—The Assembly met to-day to discuss non-official resolutions.

Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon moved: "In view of the recent enhancement in the

duty on Japanese cloth resulting in the immediate boycott of Indian cotton by the Japanese this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council either to raise the duty on all foreign cotton imports in India so as to extend better protection to cotton growers in India and give rise to the consumption of Indian cotton or to introduce without delay legislation prohibiting the imports of foreign cotton into India altogether.

Mr. Haroon said the figures he had collected showed that within the last three years foreign cotton had been imported enormously. In 1930-31 they imported 58,000 tons and from September 2, 1931 the Government had put a duty of six pice per pound for revenue but despite that duty, cotton imported in 1931-32 was 179,000 tons and in 1932-33 84,000 tons. In 1929-30 we exported 7,26,000 tons of cotton, in 1930-31 17,01,300 tons and in 1931-32, the figure was 4,23,000 tons. It might be said that this import is of long staple cotton but the speaker did not agree with that as the Punjab and Sind were producing that cotton but they got little support from the millowners in India. If a higher duty were put on foreign cotton the millowners would purchase Indian long staple cotton. Continuing, Haji Abdulla Haroon said the Government policy had been unsympathetic towards the agriculturists, not only in the matter of cotton but also regarding railway freights. He said Mr. B. Das had always pleaded for Indianisation and Mr. Joshi for labour. The increased railway expenditure which was put on the shoulders of cultivators and the cotton and wheat freights were high. The speaker gave instances of how wheat was selling at Rs. 1-4 but as a result of the imposition of an import duty the prices of wheat went up to Rs. 3. To-day the price of cotton was less than in 1913-14 while the railway freight had doubled. Besides this foreign countries were purchasing less Indian cotton. If this continues the zemindars would be unable to pay my revenues to the Government and Government would go to pieces. His resolution helped the Treasury by giving them more revenue out of which they would spend something in improving the quality and quantity of cotton in the Punjab, Sind and other places.

Mr. Ranga Iyer pleaded that indigenous industries should be encouraged so that the present depression might pass off. Mr. Navalrai backed Haji Abdulla Haroon who was an expert on the subject and had given convincing figures.

Mr. Ramkrishna Reddy, representing agricultural interests and territory where cotton was grown, asked the Government to accept the resolution. He confessed that when previously he objected to a higher duty on foreign cotton he did not realize the grave injury that might be done by larger imports of foreign cotton which had occurred. Mr. Raghubir Singh supported the resolution.

Sir Leslie Hudson gave figures showing that while in 1931-32, Indian mills used 24 lakhs bales of Indian cotton and five lakhs of imported cotton they in eleven months of 1932-33 used 22 lakhs of Indian cotton and only 2½ lakhs of foreign cotton. These figures proved that the statement made that Indian mills were using more foreign cotton was not correct. As regards exports to Japan these had increased this year to double the quantity of last year. The resolution was not happily worded and he said no one was made out for higher duty on the import of foreign cotton.

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, also wished that the resolution could easily have been worded in a form acceptable to the House. He did not wish to refer to the boycott of Indian cotton by Japan as owing to the impending negotiations he would not like to say anything with a view to remove misapprehension or correct misrepresentation which might stir up resentment. However, figures would tell their own tale about the boycott. Not only exports to Japan had doubled this year but from July 1 till Aug. 10 of this year 57,000 bales had been exported from Bombay to Japan against only 5,000 bales during the corresponding period last year. Similarly from Karachi exports to Japan during this period had increased to 47,000 bales as compared to 18,000 bales last year. Sir Joseph Bhore added:—I will say no more on the subject of boycott. (Applause)

Sir Joseph Bhore next dealt with the proposal of prohibitory duty on foreign cotton. He gave figures showing that of cotton used in mills in India 83 centum was Indian cotton. As for the remaining 17 centum nine centum represented long staple cotton from Egypt and Africa which was longer than any produced in this country. Sir Joseph Bhore added:—There was no greater use to Indian cotton growers by prohibiting the import of this cotton than by prohibiting the import of musical instruments. (Applause) As regards the remaining eight centum it came from America and certainly competed with Indian long staple cotton. But those who charged Indian mills of having increased the use of this foreign cotton had an

effective answer in that American cotton imported into India during the year July 1931 to August 1932 was 2,80,000 bales which during the same period in 1932-33 it fell down to 175,000 bales. Similarly the total foreign cotton which entered Bombay during this period was only 2,39,000 bales compared to 5,35,000 bales of the previous year. Sir Joseph Bhore claimed that out of his analysis three points emerged. Firstly, foreign cotton competing with Indian cotton was infinitely small in proportion. Secondly that the total cost of about one and one-tenth anna per pound on foreign cotton was substantial protection to Indian long staple cotton. Thirdly, one effect of the entire exclusion of foreign cotton which was the only course administratively possible would be to reduce the use of short staple cotton which was woven along with long staple cotton imported from foreign countries. Sir Joseph Bhore made it clear that his arguments should not be understood to mean either that the Government would not increase the duty on foreign cotton even for revenue purposes or that in altered circumstances the Government would not give serious consideration to the question of further protective duty. All he wanted the House to feel was that the Government was giving every possible help to the Indian cotton grower and instance the effect of the Ottawa agreement which had already increased this year to 1,63,000 bales the export of Indian cotton to the United Kingdom compared to 99,000 bales of the previous year. They did not wish to take a step which would have an adverse effect upon the cotton grower himself and would certainly encourage the growth of long staple cotton. "If the resolution were altered to suggest that the Government of India should do all in their power to assist the cotton grower and try to obtain wider markets for Indian cotton and that in fixing the level of duties or in coming to a trade agreement with others the interests of cotton growers be placed as high as the industrial interests of this country the Government would have no hesitation in accepting that resolution. I hope my hon. friend will withdraw his motion."

Mr. Haroon confessed that he gave notice of the resolution in the heat of excitement when he found Japan boycotting Indian cotton and accepting the assurance of Sir Joseph Bhore withdrew the resolution.

#### CUTTING OF CURRENCY NOTES

Muazzam Sahib moved a resolution recommending for reconsideration of the present policy of the Government of discouraging and for that purpose penalising the cutting of currency notes into halves for facility of transmission by post as such transaction is considered by the business world to be required in the interests of the business world. He said that the Government of India recognised this long standing practice and referred to the Indian Currency Act which gave reserve powers to the Governor-General in Council with a view to see that the interests of businessmen in these matters were safeguarded. Proceeding, the speaker remarked that most part of the business carried in banks was done through cut currency notes. He deplored that the number of treasury offices in India which was 200 was very limited. The present facilities offered by those banks were poor and much delay was caused by treasury offices in identifying cut currency notes. This process had ruined many merchants and as the practice of insuring cut currency notes had been deep-rooted it was inadvisable to discourage the practice. He gave an instance where a missing cut currency note was not valued whereas the value of the other half was recognised by the treasury authorities.

Mr. Rajakrishna Reddy moved an amendment that at the end of the resolution the following be added:—"And to amend the rules with retrospective effect in such manner as to secure the following objects: (1) When the owner of currency notes has received payment of half value being able to produce one-half of the notes the other halves being lost, he should be able, either on immediate proof of his ownership after due public notice or on non-production, or non-presentation of the other halves within a period, to obtain payment of the value of the lost half; (2) when the second halves of currency notes are presented for payment after half their value has been paid on presentation of one half of those notes, payment should not be made to such presenter without notice to the person who has received previous payment and except on proof that he had a preferential title of the currency notes; (3) when the owner of a currency note having received payment of half value being able to produce one half of the cut note which bears complete undivided serial letter and number produces the other half of the cut notice which has been cut in such a way that the serial letter and number have been divided but when both halves are put together and are identifiable as parts of the same note and its serial letters and

numbers are clearly identifiable he should be able to obtain payment of value of the other half.

*Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya* gave experience of the losses incurred by a bank and the difficulties caused by the rule. *Mr. S. C. Sen* asked the Finance Member to have a broader outlook in view of the fact that India was an agricultural country. *Mr. Navalrai* backed *Mr. Pandya's* suggestion. *Mr. S. C. Mitra* held that India had not so advanced as other countries in the matter of banking facilities.

*Sir George Schuster*, replying to the debate, said that the rule had been in force for six and a half years. This was the first time he heard any serious grievance relating to them. He asked the House to remember that no country in the world permitted mutilation of its currency notes. This practice was unique in India while in Australia such mutilation was even a penal offence. There were some serious objections to the practice. Firstly, it put undue temptation in the way of postmen and made it difficult for the post office to detect fraud. Secondly, at a time when a reserve bank was being inaugurated the Government felt that they could not possibly put on the shoulder of a private institution the burden of maintaining the old practice. He added, 'I would go further. We feel we cannot put on the reserve bank the burden of maintaining the position as it is required by the present rules. Sir George Schuster said that the Government's real purpose was definitely to discourage the old practice and the result had been achieved because whereas formerly about 70 centum hundred-rupee notes were cut now they were between 30 to 40 centum. He held that the occasion had arrived to review the whole position and hinted that the select committee on the Reserve Bank Bill should suggest the appointment of a small expert committee to determine, firstly, what should be the nature of the rules regarding the use of cut notes; secondly, whether other facilities for remitting money were sufficient; if not, what action the Government could take to increase those facilities. Possibly, one of the methods might be to reduce postal insurance charges with a view to encourage the banking habit. As regards losses incurred by people through cut currency, the Government did not benefit as they could not take credit for them for another 30 or 40 years. However, if as a result of the expert committee's decision clearer and more restricted rules were devised he would be willing to look into hard cases. He suggested that in view of his assurance the mover should withdraw the resolution.

*Miazzam Saheb* agreed and the resolution was withdrawn. The House adjourned.

#### THE RAIL-ROAD BILL PASSED

**1st SEPTEMBER:**—Brisk business was transacted to-day and most of the official Bills were either passed or circulated or referred to Select Committees.

During further discussion of the Rail-Road Bill, *Sir Joseph Bhore* assured the House that the railways concerned would maintain a separate account of the motor-service carried on by them. *Mr. Latchand Navalari*, at the third reading, raised a legal objection. *Sir Lancelot Graham* explained that there was no ground for such a fear. The President overruled the objection. The Bill was then passed.

#### INCOME TAX 2ND. AMEND. BILL

*Sir George Schuster*, Finance Member, moved the Income Tax Act Second (Amendment) Bill, as it had emerged from the Select Committee, which aimed at combating certain evasions. *Mr. Navalrai* supported the principles of the Bill. After several consequential amendments made to the Bill on the motion of *Sir Lancelot Graham*, the Bill was passed.

#### THE PETROLEUM BILL

*Sir Frank Noyce* moved circulation of the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the import and transport of storage, production and refinement of petroleum and other inflammable substances. He said that the original Act was passed in 1899 and that it was now out of date. According to the original Act, certain rules rested with the local Governments. The present Act aimed at transferring these to the Central Government. The local Governments were agreeable to such a proposal. Certain other changes were also proposed in the Bill. The circulation motion was adopted.

#### INCOME TAX 3RD. AMEND. BILL

The Finance Member then moved that the Income Tax Act (Third Amendment) Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The present amending Bill is to avoid the

hardship involved in the collections chargeable under the heads "salaries and interest on securities". The Select Committee motion was adopted.

#### WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY BILL

Sir Frank Noyce, moving consideration of the Indian Wireless Telegraphy Bill, dwelt at length on the vast improvement made by the Broadcasting Service in India. He said that in 1931-32 140,000 wireless sets were imported into India, whereas in the succeeding year the number increased to 355,000 and recently there had been a steady improvement in the service. Mr. G. P. Singh was in full accord with all the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. F. E. James moved an amendment which provided that the fine adjudged by the court should be paid to the local broadcasting services wherever these existed provided that these were recognized by the Government. He wanted the House not to have extravagant hopes regarding the income derivable from this Bill. He suggested a conference of the provincial people who were doing excellent work in this line with a view to using one of the greatest benefits which humanity had ever received.

Sir Frank Noyce, replying, accepted Mr. James' amendment and said that the suggestion to call experts would be considered. As regards the suggestion for an excise duty, it would be examined when the occasion arose, though there would be difficulties in the way of adopting it. The Bill was passed.

#### LAND ACQUISITION AMEND. BILL

The House also passed without amendment Sir Frank Noyce's Bill amending the Land Acquisition Act with a view to enable land being acquired for the housing of industrial labour.

#### MURSHIDBAD PROPERTIES BILL

Mr. Glancy, Political Secretary, moved consideration of the Bill providing the appointment of a manager, on behalf of the Secretary of State, of the property of the Nawab of Murshidabad. He said that the Act of 1891 empowered the Secretary of State to enter upon the property of the Nawab. That necessity had arisen owing to the fact that the Nawab had contracted very heavy debts and had allowed the property to come to a most deplorable state. But the Act of 1891 did not provide for a satisfactory machinery for the proper control of the State. The present Bill was aimed at remedying that deficiency. The Nawab himself belonged to an ancient and highly respected family and was greatly respected by the Muslims of Bengal and other communities as well. It would be most deplorable if he was insulted or put into prison. The Political Secretary, therefore, wished to impress on the House that the matter was one of very considerable urgency.

Mr. K. C. Neogy's motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was accepted by the House. The Assembly then adjourned till the 4th, September.

#### MURDER OF MIDNAPUR MAGISTRATE

4th: SEPTEMBER.—The horror caused by the Midnapur outrage found expression in talks among the members of the Assembly just before they met to-day.

Mr. F. E. James asked for information relating to the Midnapur outrage. Sir Harry Haig read a statement in identical terms to that made by Mr. Hallet in the Council of State. Mr. James asked whether two district magistrates of Midnapore had been previously murdered and whether the Government would make suitable provision for the dependents of Mr. Burge. Sir Harry Haig replied that two district magistrates had been previously murdered during the past three years and this was the third. He assured that suitable provision would be made for the dependents of Mr. Burge.

On Sir Cowasji Jehangir's request, the President allowed the House to express an opinion on the outrage. Sir Cowasji Jehangir associated himself with the remarks of the Home Member and said these outrages would cause a definite setback to their constitutional progress towards Dominion Status. They regretted it not for that reason, alone, but also for the loss to the country by the death of a distinguished officer.

Mr. Ranga Iyer said revolutionary crime could no descend lower than this. He asked the members to do propaganda to fight this unseemly atmosphere and wished ample provision to be made for the dependents of Mr. Burge. Mr. Neogy expressed abhor-

rence at the dastardly crime. Mr. *Sharma* expressed feelings of horror and sympathy. Sir *Leslie Hudson* associated himself with the Home Member's remarks. Mr. *Talib Mehdi* asked for drastic action to protect the life of officers. Sir *Abdullah Suhrawardy* and Mr. *A. N. Dutt* and Major *Nawab Ahmed Navaz Khan*, also, spoke associating themselves with the previous speakers. The President said:—'I wish to associate the Chair with the expressions of regret and sorrow at the assassination of a faithful public servant. I have no doubt that what has fallen from the leaders of various parties will show to India and the outside world in most unmistakable terms the unequivocal condemnation of such acts by the better minds of India as expressed in this House.'

#### COTTON INDUSTRY PROTECTION BILL

The bill to amend the Cotton Industry Protection Act 1930 by extending protection till March 1934, was moved for consideration by Sir Joseph Bhore, who said it was a prudent course to limit the duration of protection in view of the impending negotiations which might result in a new commercial agreement between India and Japan. Giving of notice to Japan of the abrogation of the 1904 convention or this bill extending the protection were not intended to prejudice the forthcoming discussions. In fact the invitation was extended on the Government of India's behalf to the Japanese ambassador inviting Japan for negotiation. Thus Government of India took the initiative and it was not their fault if negotiations did not begin at once. Sir Joseph Bhore affirmed the Government of India's action in giving notice under the convention or raising the duties was not inspired by any authority or interests outside this country. Both were done on the Government of India's own initiative and in what they believed to be the interests of India. Speaking on the threshold of the negotiations with the Japanese delegation, Sir Joseph Bhore hoped they would be successful in arriving at a solution of their trade problems. He hoped the House would join in giving a warm welcome to the Japanese delegation. (Cheers.) As for the Government of India they were seized of the ease of all interests including the agriculturists. Japan was the largest buyer of India's short-staple cotton. Sir Joseph Bhore hoped the results of the negotiations with the delegation would be such as would continue the traditional feeling of regard and friendship which existed between Japan and India. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. *Sita Ram Raju* espoused the cause of the hand-loom industry. At the outset he drew attention to the Viceroy's speech and mentioned the tripartite conference and asked what was meant by the statement that the Government would not take part but would welcome an agreement at that conference.

Sir Joseph Bhore explained that the negotiations with Japan would be official as between the representatives of the Government of India and the representatives of the Government of Japan. At the same time there would be entirely unofficial conversations between the representatives of the Indian commercial and industrial interests with those of Japan and Manchester. But the Government of India had no direct connection with it. At the same time they would be in touch with the trend of this conference and would be greatly interested in any conclusions that they might reach.

"Mr. *Raju* asked: What about agricultural interests?

Sir Joseph Bhore replied that all interests would be safeguarded. He hoped to attach an unofficial adviser of agricultural interests to the official conference with Japan. He quoted the communiqué issued by the Madras Government, which observed that the mills benefitted by tariffs whose effect was detrimental to the hand-loom industry and that large articulate interests benefitted at the expense of the inarticulate community and so the legislation needed revision.

Mr. *Raju* pressed for the publication of the Tariff Board's report, the withholding of which was unfair.

Mr. *Ramsay Scott* supported the bill because the industry needed protection badly, but the bill was inadequate and was, in no way adapted to the specific needs of the industry to-day. It was, however, typical of the Government of India's attitude of "wait and see the Japanese policy". Mr. Scott was cheered when he objected to the delay in publishing the report of the Tariff Board. He asked why Government should sit over such reports for over a year. Surely the industry must know its fate. Moreover, until the report was published it was impossible for the Government to protect the hosiery industry, which was in a parlous state. The delay of six months had already meant great strain and a further six months' delay would spell ruin and many would be thrown out of employment. Concluding, Mr. *Ramsay*,

Seott urged the Government of India to take a leaf out of South Africa's book in the matter of quick action and : "If the Indo-Japanese negotiations concluded by Oct. 10, I would suggest that the treaty should be allowed to lapse and that the Protection of Industries Act should come into force at once".

*Mr. B. Das* opposed the consideration of the bill on behalf of the Democratic party. He reminded the House that Japan had retaliated recently by prohibiting import of Indian rice and pig iron. Mr. B. Das referred to the serious loss to India as a result of Japan's retaliatory policy and said that under the five-year plan Japan would grow all the cotton she needed. Meanwhile, what was the exact position of the industry ? Why delay the publication of the facts collected by the Tariff Board ? He asked why the Bombay millowners should buy American cotton or Natal coal. Mr. Das suggested that the consideration of the bill should be postponed till the Tariff Board report was published. In the meantime the Anti-Dumping Act gave the Government powers to act in an emergency. He pleaded for the protection of the hand-loom industry, the cotton growers, the consumers and labourers.

*Mr. Joshi* recalled that during the last session he had urged the Government to try the method of conference before resorting to the method of war and urged the association of a labour adviser with the Government delegation in the forthcoming negotiations. Mr. Joshi held before the Government the example of President Roosevelt, who had insisted on raising the wages of industrial labour by 25 centum and reducing the hours of work. That was the only way to improve the condition of the industry. Finally, he regretted that nothing had been done to give effect to the recommendations of Sir Arthur Salter.

*Sir Joseph Bhore* :—The Government of India did not spend a penny towards the expense of Sir Arthur Salter.

*Mr. Joshi* :—That does not alter my case.

*Mr. Lahiri Chaudhuri* supported the objection taken by the previous speaker and asked why similar protection was not being given to the hand-loom industry.

#### AIR BOMBING OF KOTKAI

As this stage the clock struck four and the House proceeded to discuss Mr. Shafi Daudi's adjournment motion relating to the aerial bombing of Kotkai. Mr. Shafi Daudi said that he wished to remonstrate with the Government that they had no justification for taking any action against Kotkai, much less for resorting to bombing. The consequences of the Government action were quite clear. It had set the whole tribal area ablaze. He asked whether the Bajauris were British subjects or not.

*Mr. Tottenham* :—Bajaur is part of India.

Mr. Daudi said that the Government might have at least refrained from air action during the duration of the Disarmament Conference. Surely the Empire was not in danger. Moreover, if they were policing the Frontier, then the duty of the police was merely to keep watch. Mr. Daudi placed the aerial bombardment of Kotkai in the same category as the action of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh.

*Mr. Sadiq Hasan* said that instead of appreciating the noble sentiments of the Frontier people the Government were trying to punish them. It was clear that this was a mere pretence for their forward policy especially as the Government was using the occasion for making a new road.

*Mr. Tottenham*, Army Secretary, expressed surprise that air bombing had never been objected in the past. The Assembly itself had passed the bill constituting the Indian Air Force. As far as world opinion was concerned, the British and Indian Governments were ready to abolish military aviation, but they could not be expected to give up an efficient, economical and humane method in anticipation of any decision at the Disarmament Conference. The speaker assured the House that there was no such thing as indiscriminate bombing. The target was carefully selected and a photo was taken when a bomb was thrown. His previous opinion that air bombing was more accurate than artillery required modification. When an aeroplane flew sufficiently low its accuracy was very great. It was also a remarkable fact that the annual cost of operations on the Frontier had fallen enormously since the introduction of air bombing. The casualties, too, were very small compared with the pre-war period. Thus, in all air operations during nine years the total casualties on our side were 11 against hundreds before the War. He concluded :—'While armed forces must retain the frame-work of our Frontier defences, I maintain that careful and judicious use of the air arm in cooperation with the ground forces is

in special circumstances not only justifiable but is also a very effective way of carrying out our arduous responsibility in a way of which we have no reason whatever to be ashamed.' (Applause.)

Mr. Puri, commenting on the Army Secretary's statement that if bombing had not been resorted to the consequences would have been serious, said that such an argument was always used to cover up a political blunder of great magnitude. If the Government wanted the correct verdict of the House let all the facts be placed before them. He asked under what law a civilised or an uncivilised Government demanded the surrender of people who were not their subjects. Mr. James held that air action was certainly humane, but the question remained whether this form of operation achieved the ultimate object. Mr. Maswood Ahmed said that India was not prepared to spend any money for the benefit of other countries. Mr. S. C. Mitra did not admit the Government's claim that their action had achieved the object. Syed Murtaza Saheb wondered if the offending parties were Europeans. He could only characterise the Government action as barbarous. Mr. Lahiri Choudhury thought that air action was taken to satisfy the hobby of military people.

The clock at this stage struck six and the motion was talked out. The House then adjourned.

#### MAINTENANCE TO HINDU WIDOWS

**5th SEPTEMBER:**—Discussion was resumed to-day on the motion for a select committee on the bill introduced by Devan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda intended to fix the amount of maintenance to which Hindu widows are entitled. According to Mr. Sarda's bill the maintenance is not fixed or regulated by any rules having the force of law, but depends mostly upon the pleasure of her husband's relatives. The condition of widows, is, therefore, deplorable. Hence, it is necessary to secure to widows reasonable and proper maintenance in accordance with certain broad principles without altering the Hindu law of inheritance.

Sir B. B. Ghosh, Law Member, moved the circulation of the bill in order to elicit opinion by Dec 1, this year. Though not an orthodox person himself, he shared the conservatism of lawyers. He explained the defects in the bill in respect of many clauses and asked questions like, "what would happen if a widow remarries"? Certain other clauses were unnecessary.

Mr. Raju did not like even circulation as the country had already expressed itself on the subject. He preferred not piecemeal legislation like this, but codification of the entire Hindu law as was attempted in the Travancore State.

Mr. Sarda, interrupting, stated that the bill did not touch any principle of Hindu law.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt, Mr. S. C. Sen and Mr. Brij Kishore supported circulation, the last named member emphasizing that widows should enjoy maintenance only so long as they did not marry. Nobody to whom Mithakshara give any right could be disinherited by the bill.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, claiming himself to be a member of a joint Hindu family, deplored that Western influences were disturbing the harmony. He favoured circulation as the question of fixing the amount should be considered by the public.

Devan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, replying, observed that the bill would certainly prevent a Hindu person denying a widow any claim to inheritance and to that extent it would do away with the testamentary rights of the husband.

Mr. Raju enquired : What about self-acquired property of the husband?

Mr. Sarda warmed up and said :—"When a woman marries a man she has the right of co-ownership of his property. Has not a widow the right to live in the world? Why should you be cruel to women (widows in the present instance), when you allow the husband to provide for survivors, and even reversoners? This is a mentality against which all right-minded persons should protest and I warn that so long as this mentality persists India will remain in perpetual political subordination (Cheers). At present a widow has no legal right for maintenance, and that position I want to remedy. Any defects in the bill might be amended in the select committee which is the proper forum". The House accepted the Government motion for circulation of Mr. Sarda's bill.

#### KHADDAR PROTECTION BILL

Mr. G. P. Singh moved for a select committee on his Khadi Protection Bill. He claimed that the bill through circulation had received general support. Among the supporters were the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Bengal

Chamber of Commerce, and the Madras Government. The majority of the commercial associations of the country backed it, though some local Governments took a hostile view. This was, he thought, due to political bias against Khaddar. He particularly commented on the opposition from the Bombay Millowners' Association and said :—"I am not surprised, for the bill aims at protecting people from dishonest manufacturers of spurious cloth, and those who indulge in shady transactions and play on the patriotism of the people are bound to oppose the bill (Laughter and cheers). These gentlemen when it touches their pockets come before us here and in the lobbies on bended knees. (Laughter). Our attitude on the Cotton Industry Protection Bill will depend on their attitude to this bill".

Mr. H. P. Mody rose amidst cheers to reply to Mr. G. P. Singh's attack. He said that the term 'khadi' had been used to denote mill cloth in official documents since the cotton industry began. Yet the Bombay millowners, voluntarily and out of regard to public sentiment, decided not to fix this label on any of their cloth. His objection to the bill was serious : firstly, it would hit the hand-loom industry to the extent that it used mill yarn to produce coarser cloth ; secondly, if such legislation was allowed now there would be a revived attempt made to legislate for depriving mills of their right to manufacture coarse cloth. The bill would also lead to fraudulent evasions and as pointed out by the Bombay Government the bill was entirely against the spirit of the Marks Act. The Punjab Chamber of Commerce and several other bodies had taken the same view as the Bombay millowners. If there were dishonest millowners they must be in the territory from where Mr. G. P. Singh hailed.

Mr. Ranga Iyer said that Mr. Mody had given the whole case away by stating that his association had already done what the bill wanted to do. The country today was wide awake and the Assembly must not oppose the bill and condemn itself as a purely capitalist body.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir thought that there was no occasion for such enthusiastic statements on either side. There was no doubt that ignorant people had been deceived in some cases by dealers passing off mill khadi as hand-woven and hand-spun khadi. At the same time, if people, knowing that it was mill-made khadi, preferred it for its cheapness, they should have the right to do so. He was sure that no one wished to raise a finger against the textile industry, which had stood loyally by the country, and he favoured the bill going to the select committee provided some attempt was made to secure the mill's right to manufacture coarse cloth with a proper stamp so that people would not be deceived.

Sir Joseph Bhore, replying on behalf of the Government, said that the opinion elicited was conflicting. Only two provincial Governments were in favour of the bill. There was no general agreement either about the application on the term of the bill in all provinces. The U. P. Government had said that it would be definitely harmful to the handloom industry which used mill-made yarn and claimed that their product was superior. He agreed with the Punjab Government's view that legislation would do very little harm and very little good. However, faced as they were with divergent views, the Government of India found some difficulty in deciding upon the course that they should adopt. They did not want to assume an attitude of hostility. On the other hand, they felt that, in view of the fact that conditions did not appear to be the same in all provinces, it would not be advisable to have an uniform piece of legislation for the whole of India without the consent of the local Governments concerned. He, therefore, made it clear that the Government would not oppose legislation if a provision was inserted making its application to the provinces dependent on prior notification by the local Government concerned.

Mr. B. Das protested that millowners were misusing the name 'khadi'. He asserted that khadi was a name associated with the sacred name of Mahatma Gandhi and handspun cloth. He deplored Mr. Mody's attitude in trying to hit Mahatma Gandhi behind his back, taking advantage of his present position.

Mr. Jadhav, while supporting the bill, expressed some doubts regarding the correct application of the word 'khadi' to hand-made and mill-made cloth.

Mr. S. C. Sen stated that Bengalis understood by 'khadi' only hand-made cloth. It was legitimate, at any rate, for Bengal to be saved from the misuse of the name 'khadi' to mill-made cloth also.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, replying, said he was gratified to note that there was a sufficiently large measure of support to his bill in the Assembly, and particularly thanked the Commerce Member for the Government's support, though with modifica-

tion. He assured Mr. Mody that he never meant hostility to the mill industry. He proposed Sir Cowasji Jehangir to be included in the select committee.

The House adopted the motion for a select committee.

#### BILL RELATING TO WOMEN'S SUCCESSION RIGHTS

The House then quickly disposed of Mr. Amarnath Dutt's bill to remove doubts about the application of the doctrine of representation in case of succession to stridhan under Dayabhag by accepting the Law Member's amendment to have it circulated for opinion by December.

#### JUVENILE SMOKING BILL

Even more quickly the House passed, the Government remaining neutral, the bill of Mr. Harbilas Sarda for extending to Ajmer-Merwara and the Central Provinces the Juvenile Smoking Act of 1929. Mr. Amarnath Dutt was the only speaker against it as he preferred the hookah.

#### ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY BILL

The Assembly next proceeded to discuss the Anti-Untouchability Bill on the motion of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah who suggested a select committee. The operative part of the bill provides that, notwithstanding anything contained in any existing enactment, regulation or order and notwithstanding any custom or usage or interpretation of the law, no penalty, disadvantage or disability shall be imposed upon, or any discrimination made, or recognised against, any subject of the State on the ground that such person belongs to an untouchable caste or class among Hindus and no civil or criminal court shall recognise any custom of untouchability or base its adjudication on such custom. The mover appreciated the great and welcome change that had come over the Indian mind on this question. Although he was for immediate enactment of the measure, he had no objection to a select committee because he hoped that, as a result of its efforts, the intolerable wrong which untouchables suffered would soon be removed.

Pandit Sen raised a point of order quoting the Queen's Proclamation and said that the bill was *ultra vires* of the Indian legislature.

The President asked under what section of the Government of India Act the bill was *ultra vires*.

Pandit Sen referred to sec. 65, Government of India Act, wherein it was said that the Indian legislature had no power to make any law affecting the authority of Parliament or any part of the unwritten laws or the constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown. He claimed that orthodox Hindus owed their allegiance substantially on the ground that their religion and caste was to be protected by the Crown.

The President ruled that the relevant portion of the section did not apply in the present case. If Pandit Sen wanted to take shelter under the provision relating to allegiance to the Crown he must point out that the bill contravened some law or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on which depended allegiance to the Crown. The Queen's Proclamation was not a part of the written or unwritten law of Great Britain and Ireland and therefore it was not covered by the section to which Pandit Sen had drawn the attention of the Chair. The Chair, therefore, held the bill quite *intra vires* of this legislature. (Cheers).

Mr. R. S. Sarma moved the circulation of the bill for opinion by the end of June, 1934.

Pandit Sen who had himself tabled a motion for circulation, opposed Mr. Sarma's motion as it was general and was not confined to Hindus, who alone were concerned. He exhaustively quoted Sastras and other books against the bill. The House then adjourned.

#### COTTON TEXTILE PROTECTION BILL

6th. SEPTEMBER:—The Assembly resumed discussion on the Cotton Textile Protection Bill. Mr. Mody, who caused cheers by claiming to speak on behalf of the agricultural and handloom interests of the country, in warmly supporting the bill said he would never ask for the interest he represented to benefit at the expense of others. The handloom industry had held its own for centuries, but it was suffering because of cheap import of foreign cloth. Already a large number of Indian mills which used to concentrate on the production of yarn for the handloom industry

were switching themselves off to producing cloth. If this continued the handloom industry would be left entirely at the mercy of foreign yarn. Replying to Mr. B. Das's speech, Mr. Mody said that if Japan was going to grow her own cotton during the next five years then India's answer should be clear, but he hoped the negotiations that were about to start would lead to a satisfactory result. Mr. Mody also wished that the report of the Tariff Board had been published because it would give a positive lie to the statements made regarding the mismanagement of mills. If the bill was not passed Government would be forced to publish their conclusions on the Tariff Board which they could not do in view of the impending negotiations. The other alternative was to leave the industry to the tender mercy of foreigners. He was sure that every member realized his responsibility in the matter and would whole-heartedly support the bill.

*Lala Hari Raj Swarup*, as a land-holder and cotton grower, whole-heartedly supported the bill which was in no way injurious to the interests of the agriculturists. He feared that those who opposed the bill were playing too much into the hands of the Japanese who had already sent their men round the cotton growing area to incite the growers to opposition to a protective bill. They should be able to tell the Japanese delegates that India was not afraid of their tactics.

*Mr. Thampan*, speaking as a land-holder, sympathized with the agriculturists and demanded protection of the handloom weavers. He criticized the managing agency system and urged its modification. As a consumer he protested against the bill and asked the millowners to improve the efficiency of their mills to the extent of the Japanese mills, otherwise it was not known how long protection would be found necessary to Indian industry.

*Mr. A. Hoon* thought the arguments of inefficiency of Indian mills or the labourers' interest were irrelevant in connection with the present bill which was only a temporary extension of the protection until the Indo-Japanese negotiations concluded. While urging Indian interests to be safeguarded Mr. Hoon wished the success of the forthcoming negotiations.

*Sir Joseph Bhore*, summing up the debate, said Government could not without sufficient reason depart from the invariable practice of publishing the Tariff Board's reports along with the Government's conclusions whenever these could be reached. At the same time as a help to the Assembly he informed that the Tariff Board had recommended the continuance of the principle of protection. He was surprised that despite the stream of beneficent labour legislation there had been statements that the claims of labour had been ignored. At the same time Government expected the industries, particularly those receiving protection to treat their labour well. Regarding the argument that the consumer should be protected, Sir Joseph Bhore quoted statistics to show that in the matter of grey shirting and white shirts, the prices during the last two and a half years had shown a downward tendency while the prices of raw cotton, cereals and pulses had a slightly upward scale. Concluding, Sir Joseph Bhore emphasized the advisability of marking time and awaiting the results of the forthcoming negotiations with the Japanese, and meanwhile as Mr. Hoon had suggested they should close up their ranks. (Cheers.)

The motion for consideration was passed without division and so also the bill itself amidst cheers.

#### THE STATES' PROTECTION BILL

The Indian States' Protection Bill providing against attacks in the British India press against the rulers of Indian States and also against organization and movement of Jathas against States was then taken up. *Sir Harry Haig* moved that the bill be referred to a select committee.

*Mr. Lahiri Choudhry* on a point of order wanted a ruling from the Chair whether considering the language of sec. 65, of the Government of India Act, this House could discuss the bill whose object as the title showed was to protect the administration of States in India which are under the sovereignty of His Majesty from activities which intend to subvert or to excite disaffection towards or to interfere with such administration. Moreover, clause 2 of the bill showed that the jurisdiction of the bill was extended beyond the confines of British India.

*Sir Harry Haig* explained that though the Bill was intended to protect the State the action to be taken under the bill would be confined to activities within British India.

The President ruled that 'under such circumstances the bill is in order.'

*Sir Harry Haig* delivered a lengthy speech justifying the measure. At the outset he made it clear that Government had no intention to rush the bill through in the present session. All they wanted was a select committee to be appointed now, but that it could sit in the course of the special session to be held in Delhi in November and December and submit the report which could be taken into consideration in the budget session early in 1934. Proceeding, Sir Harry Haig advised the Assembly to view India as a whole, including in it Indian States with different types and forms of government. The Government of India had accepted the principle of reciprocal obligation of preventing unconstitutional agitation against Government. If there was an agitation against British India then they in British India were entitled to protection from the States. Similarly they (the Indian states) deserved protection from unconstitutional agitation against them in British India. It might be argued that conditions in some of the Indian States were not as they should be and that it was difficult to organize a constitutional movement for reform in the States and so agitation had to be engineered outside the State in British India. Sir Harry Haig did not accept that generalization as correct. Even assuming that to be correct, Sir Harry Haig conceded that the bill was not unfair, for it did not interfere with any legitimate or constitutional activities directed towards reformation in the States but only with any unconstitutional activities.

So far as the press was concerned comments expressing disapprobation of measures in the Indian States were not penalised, but only those attacks which were calculated to bring the administration of the States into contempt or excite disaffection. All that the bill penalised was co-operation to overthrow the administration of a State by criminal force and organisation of Jathas with the object of entering the States and interfering with their administration. There might be in some States conditions which might be scandalous or intolerable. But the Paramount Power was there to deal with such situations. Sir Harry Haig proceeding referred to the Princes' Protection Act of 1922 and also the 1933 Act and said that the bill merely extended the protection enjoyed by the Princes or States from 1910 to 1922 when the old Press Act was abolished. In recent years it had been brought home that mere prosecution of an editor was not satisfactory, as besides cases being prolonged the offending publication merely got advertisement. And so when the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was placed before the Assembly it included a provision for the States. Then it was argued that it was better to deal with the State separately, if necessary. Accordingly, he came before the Assembly now to make that provision and that on the basis of reciprocal obligations. Recently there was a case of organizing Jathas against an Indian State and the Governor-General was obliged to issue a special ordinance. The Government wanted some power that was a part of the general regular law. Concluding, the Home Member advised the Assembly to look at the position of India as a whole desirous of constitutional growth on federal lines. Let British India at the outset show that it was not entering the federation with the States with a feeling of fundamental hostility to the form of government that prevailed in the States. Let there be general acknowledgment in British India that there were forms of government within India other than democratic, but which were deep-rooted in the tradition, sentiments and facts of the history and which claimed protection against attempts to overthrow their administration or interfere with them or bring them into hatred or contempt. They could not build federation on the basis of intolerance and the Home Member hoped the House would by accepting his motion endorse the general desire for constitutional growth on federal lines.

Mr. H. P. Mody raised a point of order that under clause 3 of the bill, as it stood, it seemed to him that British courts would be competent to deal with offences of conspiracies committed by residents of Indian States against the administration of that State in the State itself.

The Home Member, replying, made it clear that the intention of the bill was to deal with such activities within British India directed against Indian States. If the section as drafted went beyond that it could be amended in the select committee.

The President remarked that the objection taken by Mr. Mody was that the section as drafted would cover offences committed against Indian States within the territory of those States and he doubted whether the legislature had such power.

*Sir Lancelot Graham* said that even if it was contended that the section as drafted went beyond the object enunciated by the Home Member it did not go beyond the jurisdiction of the Government of India Act as expressed in section 65 of the Government of India Act.

Now followed a discussion in the form of questions by the Chair and answers by Sir Lancelot Graham with a view to elucidate the exact power of legislature as conferred by the Government of India Act. A quarter of an hour was spent on that. The President wanted to know whether British courts could punish an offence committed by Indian State's subjects in the Indian States. Sir Lancelot Graham contended that the class of persons punishable under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code would remain exactly the same as at present.

Mr. Puri asked whether the Chair had not already held the clause *ultra vires*.

The President :—I have not said that.

Mr. Mody suggested that as he had sprung the point on all unprepared, a ruling might be postponed till tomorrow.

The President said this should not interfere with further discussion of the bill as the Chair if satisfied that the clause was *ultra vires* would refuse to put it to the House.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed asked how a bill which was *vitra vires* could be sent to a select committee.

The President.—The bill is not *ultra vires*.

Mr. B. Das then continued the discussion on the bill. Mr. B. Das, moving for circulation for eliciting opinion by Jan. 17, doubted the wisdom of the present legislation which according to the Home Member was intended to help federation. He asked whether the Home Member could say when federation was coming. Would it be in 1939? So far as he had not read any single statement on behalf of the Indian States which gave any idea that the States had accepted federation. He was surprised that the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act was being applied for protection of the Indian princes. He specially emphasised that the opinions of the Indian princes, ex-political agents who still remained in certain Indian States and other public bodies like States' subjects' associations, etc., should be elicited.

Mr. Das had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned.

#### PROPRIETARY RIGHTS IN LAND

7th SEPTEMBER :—Non-official resolutions were discussed in the Assembly today. Mr. Brijkishore moved a resolution urging the Government to take steps to get incorporated in the new constitution a provision to the effect that proprietary rights of any citizen in land should not be taken away for any reason whatsoever without payment of an adequate compensation.

Mr. Brijkishore said that a variety of circumstances had thrown the country into the political melting pot. Revolutionary changes in the constitution and government of the country were in the air. It was right that the undeniable position of proprietary rights sanctified by a series of promises be secured by statutory provision especially in view of the Bolshevik doctrine of confiscation of private property. Moreover, in the future constitution, land revenue would be a transferred subject and their position could be easily attacked unless there was a statutory safeguard. His resolution provided that wherever the exigencies of the State demanded that proprietary rights should be taken away there must be an adequate compensation. The joint conference of the United Provinces Landholders' Association had passed a resolution in terms of his motion and he urged the Government that if they wanted to avoid a revolution they should support the landlords.

Mr. Lahiri Chaudhry supported the resolution. He wished the safeguard to be in the constitution instead of by royal proclamation.

Kunwar Raghbir Singh supported the resolution and thought that Government had not given any reward for the services rendered by the landholders in fighting during the Great War and the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir felt provoked by the extraordinary remarks of Mr. Joshi to intervene in the debate. He said Mr. Joshi was advocating Communism which meant confiscation while the speaker wished that the country should not go beyond socialism which meant parting with a share of the wealth for the good of the community. That way England was the most advanced Socialist country in the world. He hoped now that Mr. Joshi had raised the cry of Communism, the House would pass the resolution unanimously.

Mr. Bajpai said the question had been previously discussed by the Assembly and the Government of India had recommended protection to proprietary rights in the Constitution Act. The White Paper in para 75 proposed to give such statutory protection. Mr. James had already represented eloquently the dangers of Bolshevism and Fascism and the inherent futility of mere paper safeguards. It was leadership

of the landlords in a spirit of service which alone would ensure protection of the position they claim. (Applause). Mr. Bajpai promised to forward the debate to the Joint Select Committee.

*Lala Hariraj Sarup*, while admitting that the relations between the zamindars and tenants were not so cordial as before, pointed out that the zamindars never lagged behind in protecting the rights of tenants whenever opportunity arose.

Mr. Brij Kishore, replying, thanked Government for the sympathetic attitude and also promise to forward the debate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He hoped the resolution would be carried unanimously.

The House accepted the resolution without division.

#### ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMY

Mr. B. N. Misra moved the next resolution that steps be taken to increase the number of admissions to the Military Academy both by direct examination as well as by selection from the ranks and that if this be not found practicable at present steps be taken to increase the number of admissions by selection from the ranks and especially from Y cadets before they pass the age limit. He said with the building up of a new political structure the defence of India would be the increasing concern of Indians themselves.

Capt. Sher Muhammad Khan felt that the standard of education imparted by the Jhelum Jullunder and Ajmere military schools was not high compared to the education of those who competed with the boys of these schools and suggested both on grounds of economy and efficiency the employment of civilian teachers in these schools. Their second grievance was that the sons of Indian officers were not given preferential consideration in filling vacancies open for competitive examination.

Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, said so far as the first portion of the resolution was concerned the intake for the Military was calculated on the basis of the programme of Indianization and could not be increased without changing that policy. If the present scheme succeeded there would be a definite increase in Indianization. He warned the members against undue optimism in assuming that because a person passed in the entrance examination he would make a very good military officer. The speaker had received disquieting reports from the commandant of the Military Academy. Brigadier Collins was very sympathetic towards Indian aspirations, but he reported that between those who came at the top and those at the bottom there was a difference and the latter were finding it difficult to keep pace with the top men. Some of them had dropped and some had been put back. In fact the present entrance examination to the Academy was on a low side and the standard might have to be raised.

As regards the second part of the resolution it would be most unfair to decrease the number of those who were taken by the open competitive examination. Cadets were those who, though they did not pass the examination, caught the eye of the Board of Examiners as likely to prove good officers. They were given no promise whatever and in the letter of appointment were distinctly told that they could join the ranks as ordinary sepoys and take their chance of admission into the Army Academy in fair field and without favour. He reminded the House that educated men were joining as ordinary sepoys and the competition would be keen. Some of these cadets had already left service and some had been admitted into the Military Academy. As for the rest Government had recently asked the commanding officer for a report on them so that such of them as were found unsuitable could be informed that they had no chance of admission into the Military Academy and could if they chose leave military service, while others if they kept patience would have a good chance of getting into the Military Academy. Mr. Tottenham informed Capt Sher Muhammed Khan that boys from Jullundur and the other two schools were holding their own with the other boys and that suggestions made by Capt. Sher Muhammed Khan regarding improvement in education would be considered.

Mr. Misra withdrew the resolution.

#### Ry. PASSENGERS' GRIEVANCES

Mr. Gopika Mohan Roy moved the next resolution that immediate and adequate steps be taken by the Railway Board to redress various grievances of the general travelling public and particularly the public travelling by the Assam-Bengal Railway. He at length related the innumerable grievances, and had not concluded when the House adjourned.

## THE RESERVE BANK BILL

**8th. SEPTEMBER:**— The Reserve Bank Bill was introduced in the Assembly today. The President before calling upon Sir George Schuster to introduce the Reserve Bank Bill said that owing to the special importance of the bill he proposed to allow Sir George Schuster a longer statement than conventions allowed on such occasions.

Sir George Schuster was cheered as he rose to explain briefly the object of the Bill. He said he was impressed with the full sense of responsibility in making what was perhaps the most important motion which had fallen to him as Finance Member. Sir George Schuster appealed to the members to set aside personal or party considerations and act as a body united in the common purpose of promoting the security and stability of Indian finance in the future. He assured the House that Government was not proceeding with undue speed, at the same time the setting up of the bank was an important step towards the new constitution and Government were most anxious to take this opportunity to demonstrate in a practical manner that the Government of India were determined to do all that was possible to prepare the way for making the constitution a reality. Sir George Schuster explained why it was held that the only satisfactory way to frame the White Paper proposals was to do so on the assumption that an independent Reserve Bank would be in being when the time came for setting up the new constitution. In preparing the bill they had two things to work on, the bill of 1928 and the London Committee's Report. The committee proposed certain definite changes and recommended that several important points whereon it was unable to make final recommendations should receive further consideration in India. The definite proposals of the committee had been incorporated in the bill. As regards the points which were to receive further consideration in India (and these included some points which were not subjects for legislation in the bill which would have to be dealt with in subsidiary agreements) he had not had time since his return to give them full consideration which they deserved and moreover Government desired to consider them in consultation with representatives of the Indian legislature before Government could commit themselves finally to definite proposals. When the time came Government would be ready to assist the joint committee with definite proposals. All clauses of the bill including those which were based on the London Committee's recommendations would be open for discussion in the committee. He hoped that members would enter the discussion with a strong disposition to accept the committee's recommendations reached after prolonged, careful and representative discussions in London. Sir George Schuster finally mentioned that the House would carry the responsibility of shaping the destinies of India under the new constitution. Strictly speaking, the wording of the bill would have to be appropriate to the existing constitution, but as the Secretary of State said they were desirous that the present legislation should be so framed as to be appropriate with the minimum change to conditions which would prevail under the new constitution. He appealed to the unofficial parties to elect such members to the joint committee who were best qualified to give valuable counsel. The matter was attracting wide attention outside India and the eyes of many countries would be on these proceedings. As one who is proud to be a member of this legislature, I would appeal to my fellow members to demonstrate once again how the Indian Legislature can rise to its responsibilities.

The Reserve Bank Bill was introduced.

## STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The following is the statement of objects and reasons attached to the Bill:—

The object of this bill is to set up a Reserve Bank for India. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference recommended that with a view to ensuring confidence in the management of Indian credit and currency efforts should be made to establish on sure foundations and free from any political influence, as early as may be found possible, a Reserve Bank which will be entrusted with the management of the currency and exchange.

The financial safeguards Committee of the third Round Table Conference recommended that steps should be taken to introduce into the Indian legislature a Reserve Bank Bill conceived on the above lines as soon as possible. In the report of that committee it was also placed on record that the Secretary of State undertook that representative Indian opinion would be consulted in the preparation of proposals for

the establishment of Reserve Bank including those relating to reserves. A representative committee was set up to give effect to that undertaking and a copy of its report is attached as an annexe. The present bill is drafted in accordance with the recommendations of that committee. Notes are appended explaining the provisions of the bill. A number of points had been left for discussion by the Joint Select Committee.

The third schedule of the Reserve Bank Bill states that the following provisions are to be contained in an agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India.

1. The Imperial Bank of India shall be the sole agent of the Reserve Bank of India at all places in British India where at the commencement of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1933, there is a branch of the banking department of the Reserve Bank of India.

2. In consideration of the performance by the Imperial Bank of India on behalf of the Reserve Bank of India of the functions which the Imperial Bank of India was performing on behalf of the Governor-General in Council at places referred to in clause I, before the coming into force of the Reserve Bank of India Act 1933, the Reserve Bank of India shall pay to the Imperial Bank of India a commission calculated on the total receipt and disbursements dealt with annually on account of the Government by the Imperial Bank of India on behalf of the Reserve Bank of India. Such commission shall be one-sixteenth of one per cent on the first 250 crores of such total and one-thirty-second of one per cent on the remainder.

3. Subject to the condition that the Imperial Bank of India shall keep open branches not less in number than those existing at the time of coming into force of the Reserve Bank of India Act 1933, the Reserve Bank of India shall allow the following balances to the Imperial Bank of India at interest rates hereinafter specified, namely, (a) during the first five years from that time 3 crores free of interest (b) during the next five years 2 crores free of interest and at the option of the Imperial Bank of India an amount not exceeding 1 crore at 2 per cent. per annum, (c) during the next five years 1 crore free of interest and at the option of the Imperial Bank of India an amount not exceeding 2 crores at 2 per cent. per annum and (d) during the next five years at the option of the Imperial Bank of India an amount not exceeding 3 crores at 2 per cent. per annum.

4. The Imperial Bank of India shall not without approval of the Reserve Bank of India open any branch in substitution for a branch existing at the time this agreement comes into force.

**Additional Dividends:**—The Reserve Bank Bill also lays down the following scale of additional dividends payable to the shareholders of the Reserve Bank:

(a) If the maximum rate of dividend fixed under sec. 44 is five per cent. and so long as the share capital of the bank is five crores of rupees, (1) if the surplus loss not exceed four crores of rupees, nil ; (2) if the surplus exceeds four crores of rupees (a) out of such excess up to the first one and a half crores of rupees a fraction equal to one-sixtieth ; (b) out of each successive additional excess up to one and a half crores of rupees one-half of the fraction payable out of the next previous one and a half crores of the excess ; provided that the additional dividend shall be a multiple of one-eighth of one per cent. on the share capital, the amount of the surplus allocated thereto being rounded up or down to the nearest one-eighth of one per cent. on the share capital.

(b) If the maximum rate of dividend fixed under sec. 44 is below five per cent. the said fraction of one-sixtieth shall be increased in the ratio of the difference between six and the fixed rate to unity.

(c) When the original share capital of the bank has been increased or reduced the said fraction of one-sixtieth shall be increased or diminished in proportion to the increase or reduction of the share capital.

#### NOTES ON CLAUSES

The following are notes on the clauses of the bill explaining the purpose of the bill :—

In these notes "report" means the report of the committee on the Indian Reserve Bank legislation 1933 and "1928 Bill" means the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, 1928.

Clause I reproduces clause 1 of the 1928 Bill with the following alterations :—(a) been omitted ; (b) sub-clause (4) has been drafted in pursuance of the committee's

recommendation relating to this sub-clause contained in appendix 1 to the report. Their intention was to provide a statutory assurance to the bank when constituted that the provisions to chapter 11 relating to its central banking functions would remain in operation for a period of not less than 25 years. It is recognised, however, that the sub-clause is inoperative as it cannot bind the legislature in the future and it will be for consideration at a later stage whether this assurance would not be more suitably expressed in clause 56 in the form of a limitation on the power of the Governor-General in Council to grant sanction to the liquidation of the bank.

Clause 2 follows clause 2 of the 1928 Bill. Some of the definitions have been omitted as unnecessary. The only alteration of substance is in sub-clause (d) where the definition of a good standard country has been replaced by that of a sterling standard country *vide* appendix 1 of the report (note on clause 2 (g) of the 1928 Bill).

Clause 4 follows clause 4 of the 1928 Bill with alterations made in accordance with paragraphs 3, 4 and 14 of the report. In sub-clause (5) the distribution is as indicated in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the report and the Rangoon register has been retained *vide* paragraph 2 of the report. Sub-clause (6) has been drafted with a view to giving effect of the intention of the report and will require special consideration in the joint committee.

Clause 6 has been altered so as to make the establishment of a London branch optional *vide* paragraph 8 of the report.

Clauses 8 to 13 reproduce the proposals for the constitution of the Central Board, the method of election, the qualifications and the disqualifications of candidates, the method of filling casual vacancies and the provision for local boards indicated in paragraphs 5 to 13 of the report.

Under the general head "the board of the bank", the opportunity has also been taken to rearrange clauses 8 to 13 of the 1928 Bill so as to make the arrangement clearer.

Clause 9 is new. It embodies the recommendations regarding local boards in paragraph 9 of the report and replaces the scheme of electoral colleges contained in clause 10 of the 1928 Bill.

Clause 10 embodies the recommendations in paragraphs 10 and 11 of the report. It follows clause 8 of the 1928 Bill *mutatis mutandis*.

Clause 11 is drafted to give effect in a practical form to the intentions of the comments in appendix 1 of the report on clause 11 (1) of the 1928 Bill.

Clause 12, sub-clause (2), has been drafted so as to give effect to the recommendation in the last sentence of paragraph 7 of the report.

The rule-making powers contained in clause 13 of the 1928 Bill have been given to the central board and transferred to clause 52 where they appear as clauses (a) and (b) of sub-clause (2) (*vide* notes in appendix 1 of the report on that clause). Clause 13, sub-clause (2), is new and fills what appears to have been an omission from the 1928 Bill.

Clause 15 reproduces 16 of the 1928 Bill with the necessary modifications to give effect to the recommendations of paragraph 12 of the report and the different method for the election of directors now proposed. Sub-clause (4) represents an attempt to provide "suitable arrangements for retirement by rotation" as recommended in paragraph 12 of the report.

Clause 17 reproduces 17 of the 1928 Bill with the inclusion of the points made in appendix 1 of the report.

Clause 18 reproduces clause 18 of 1928 Bill with the addition of a provision designed to meet the recommendation in the last sentence of paragraph 18 of the report.

Clause 30 reproduces clause 43 of the 1928 Bill. It is placed here so as to make the arrangement clearer.

Clause 33 reproduces clause 31 of the 1928 Bill with the following alteration :—(a) sub-clause (2) incorporates the provision regarding gold suggested in paragraph 24 of the report ; (b) sub-clause (3) holding of Government of India rupee securities, the provisions of the 1928 Bill, have been followed without alteration for the present, but the point raised in paragraph 22 of the report is reserved for consideration in the joint committee ; (c) sub-clause (4) for the time being gold has been valued on the principle recommended in paragraph 25 of the report, the question of the allegation of the profits, if any, on realization or revaluation being left for later consideration.

This will properly be dealt with in a separate agreement between the Government and the Reserve Bank. This point is reserved for consideration at the committee stage; (d) sub-clause (6) (c) gold securities have been replaced by sterling securities as recommended in paragraph 23 of the report.

Clause 34 reproduces 32 of the 1928 Bill with the modifications regarding the Rupee Redemption Fund indicated in paragraph 21 of report.

Clause 36 is now replacing clauses 34 and 35 of the 1928 Bill. It embodies the recommendations of the committee in paragraph 21 regarding the transfer of rupee coin between the Government and the bank.

Clause (?) reproduces clause 41 of the 1928 Bill. It has been transferred here for the purpose recommended in paragraph 26 of the report.

Clauses 40 and 41 contain the new provision regarding the purchase and sale of sterling exchange *vide* paragraphs 19 and 20 of the report. Clause 40 of course takes the place of clauses 38 and 39 of the 1928 Bill providing for the obligation to sell gold or gold exchange. Clause 40 of the 1928 Bill has been omitted as it would be inoperative.

Clause 42 reproduces clause 44 of the 1928 Bill without alteration, the principle of this clause having been approved in paragraph 28 of the report. The detailed application of this principle, however, must receive careful consideration as recommended in paragraph 28 and the committee stage will offer a convenient opportunity for this.

Clause 43 reproduces the old clause 45 *vide* paragraphs 29 and 31 of the report. The second schedule giving the arrangements to be made with the Imperial Bank has also been left unaltered for the present, but will be another matter for consideration in the joint committee.

Clause 44 reproduces clause 46 of the old Bill but the fourth schedule (old schedule three) has been modified so as to provide for a maximum 6 per cent dividend *vide* paragraph 27 of the report *vide* also note on the fourth schedule.

Clause 50. This represents a tentative working out of the suggestion contained in the note on clause 115 (2) in appendix I to the report. The subject presents serious difficulties which will have to be considered at a later stage.

Clause 52. Certain modifications and additions have been made in the regulation-making powers *vide* note on clause 13 of the 1928 Bill and the first schedule. This has been framed in accordance with the recommendations in paragraph 7 of the report. Appendix 11 of the report has been amplified in accordance with current distribution and nomenclature. The second schedule, the first schedule of the second 1928 Bill, has been brought up to date in accordance with the latest information available. It may, however, be altered in the light of later information before the bill comes up for final consideration.

The fourth schedule *vide* note on clause 44 provided for a maximum dividend of 6 per cent to be reached by stages diminishing by 50 per cent successively with a minimum rise of 1-8 per cent. Thus if the fixed minimum dividend is 5 per cent it will be raised to 5½ per cent if the distributable surplus rises to five and half crores to five and three-fourth per cent if it rises to 7 crores and so on. If the fixed minimum is 4 per cent, the stages will be 5 per cent, 5½ and so on. This follows the provisions of the third schedule of the 1928 Bill except for the fact that the 1928 schedule provided for a maximum dividend of 7 per cent.

The fifth schedule reproduces the fourth schedule of the 1928 Bill with the alterations necessitated by the modifications in the body of the Bill.

#### INDIAN FACTORIES BILL

*Sir Frank Noyce* next introduced the Indian Factories Bill. He suggested that the select committee should not meet until January, 1934, and said two experts with knowledge of factories would assist the members of the committee in their deliberations. He was not in favour of circulating the bill.

The statement of objects and reasons says: 'The Royal Commission on Labour made a number of recommendations for the amendment of the Factories Act. These were published with their report in July, 1931. After examining these in detail the Government of India drafted the bill to replace the present Factories Act which embodied a great majority of the proposals and induced some further alterations that experience had shown to be desirable. The bill was circulated with a covering letter and a series of explanatory notes to the local Governments in June, 1932 and Governments were asked to forward papers to associations of employers

and employed and to other organisations or individuals who might be interested. In reply a series of opinions were received discussing the bill and the original Act in great detail and after considering the numerous suggestions offered, the Government of India have framed the present bill. The substantial changes made in the existing law are discussed in the notes on the clauses. Nearly all the more important alterations are based on the Labour Commission's recommendations. At the same time opportunity has been taken to rearrange the law and to revise its expressions where necessary. The present Act dates from 1911 but since that date large changes have been made by the amending Acts, and consolidation of the law in clearer and more logical form is in itself a desirable reform.

#### THE TEA CONTROL BILL

Mr. G. S. Bajpai next introduced the Tea Control Bill, a bill to provide for the control of export of tea from India and for the control of the extension of cultivation of tea in British India. The statement of objects and reasons says: In October 1932, representatives of the Indian tea industry approached the Government of India with a view to securing their support to an international scheme for the restriction of exports of tea. The condition of the industry was precarious and collapse of many concerns imminent. The Government, therefore, expressed their willingness to consider on its merits any practical scheme that might be put forward. The Indian Tea Association acting for the industry produced a scheme which had the support of tea interests both in Ceylon and Netherlands East Indies. The main features of the scheme were (1) that the exports of tea would be restricted to the percentage of the maximum exports from each producing country in any of the three years 1929, 1930 and 1931; (2) that the restriction scheme would remain in force for five years commencing from April 1, 1933; and (3) that during this period the existing areas under tea would not be extended beyond one or two per cent. of the present planted area. It was, also, provided that the agreement would be enforced on each of the contracting countries by the Government concerned. The results of a referendum issued to all known estates have been examined and it appears that over 92 per cent. of the industry reckoned in terms of production have expressed themselves in favour of the scheme. The Governments of Madras, Assam and Bengal within whose jurisdiction the bulk of tea in British India is cultivated are prepared to restrict the issue of fresh leases for tea cultivation for the period of agreement and have also agreed to the restriction of planting of areas already leased. The Indian associations have expressed themselves as strongly in favour of the scheme as the British interests. Government have, therefore, decided to give official recognition to the scheme and to give legislative sanction to its operation. The Governments of Netherlands Esst Indies and Ceylou have already passed laws to give effect to the agreement.

#### THE PRINCES' PROTECTION BILL

The House, then, resumed discussion on the Indian States' Protection Bill. Mr. B. Das continuing his speech on the Princes' Protection Bill said that forced labour was rampant in many States, if not all of them. He asked when the subjects of the States paid equal taxes as those in British India why they should be forced to carry out the behests not only of the rulers but also of their satellites. There was a time when the Indian rulers looked to the interests of their subjects but after the advent of the British political agents, A. G. G.'s and other officers who constantly toured the States, the Princes had taken a fancy to arrange shikars and other paraphernalia very often. The result was that the people were put to considerable inconvenience. While they would be equal in the federation, why should they now pass laws to perpetuate barbarous rule in the Indian States? The Home Member himself had said that he was not in a hurry and therefore he hoped that the House would agree to circulate the bill.

Mr. Ranga Iyer offered qualified support to the bill and to the select committee motion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had already declared that the energies of the Congress were going to be directed into two directions, one in agrarian revolt against the present system of zamindari and, secondly, against autocracy in Indian States. This bill aimed at putting down the forces that collected in British India and invaded in Jathas. He considered that encouraging of movements in British India even for constitutional agitation in an Indian State was an unhealthy feature. From his own experience of journalism he found that

the English papers were not so flagrantly attacking state administrations as a section of the vernacular press.

*Mr. G. P. Singh* :—What about the *Statesman's* tirade against Kashmir?

*Mr. Ranga Iyer* :—I hope the Government will be fair in treating all sections of the press, whether Anglo-Indian or Indian.

Proceeding, *Mr. Ranga Iyer*, as a strong supporter of federation expected that the States would rise from within and allow healthy criticisms and lift themselves politically, administratively and constitutionally to the same status as Indian provinces. The measure was as complicated as was ever presented to the Assembly and, therefore, the circulation would be very helpful and hoped that Government would agree to it till January.

*Mr. N. M. Joshi* said that in effect the bill aimed at supporting maladministration in Indian States. Indian rulers had been agitating that their own Governments should have no connection with the Federal Government in the matter of law and order, but they wanted the Governor-General to be personally responsible for the protection of their rights and privileges. They demanded reciprocal treatment and came forward for help to put down rebellion and agitation. The Government of India wielded power over Indian States, but it was very limited. Under the White Paper the ruler of any of the States and subjects had right of equal citizenship in British India, but that right was denied to British Indians. People of Indian States had not even elementary rights ; they could not hold meetings to ventilate their grievances. In so many conferences on constitutional reforms all sides were represented, but States' subjects were refused opportunity even to appear as witnesses. It might be the first line of defence as Mr. James declared on the resolution on proprietary rights yesterday, but the Government would be disappointed as they would realise soon that it would not last long. Concluding, *Mr. Joshi* said that if the British Government intended staying on in this country, let them not depend on forces of reaction and of autocracy, and if they did so it would be to the eternal disgrace of the traditions of British history.

*Mr. K. C. Neogy*, while complimenting the princes on the noble stand they made in London, much to the disappointment of the Conservative and diehard element in London and India, in asking for self-government for the motherland, said that very few princes, if any, were prepared to make concessions of a constitutional character in favour of their people. The speaker formerly favoured federation, but now he found that the White Paper gave them a mongrel constitution. The Home Member was busy making India safe for federation. As for his other colleagues, Sir Joseph Bhoro was setting up an independent railway authority so that Mr. Rau, the financial commissioner, could over-ride the future Minister of the Transport. (Laughter). Sir Frank Noyce was busy on the ground of coordination, taking away Minister's powers over roads. The Law Member, without any administrative portfolio was engaged in abetment with his other colleagues. The Army Secretary, being a future Councillor, could under the new constitution give more attention to the Simla Amateur Dramatic Club than to the Assembly. (Laughter). Mr. Glancy could bring his future bills in secret codes and enact them as Acts of the Governor-General and Sir George Schuster was engaged in lightening the labours of the future Finance Ministers and leaving them the task only of raising taxation for the benefit of the Governor-General. (Cheers.) That was the picture of the federal constitution they were having. *Mr. Neogy* enquired whether the princes had asked for this measure, because the princes had definitely declared that they have nothing to do with the British Indian legislature and would have relations only with the Crown.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir*, interrupting, said that under the future constitution legislation for reserved departments would come before the legislature.

*Mr. Neogy* held that might be the form of procedure, but the princes did not want protection from any other authority except the Governor-General. Had they asked for this bill? The speaker next dealt with the clauses of the bill and said that the original author of sec. 121-A, merely meant it as ancillary to sec. 121. How could any one be charged with treason without owing allegiance to an authority? Was it contended that British Indians owed allegiance to the princes?

*Sir Harry Haig* :—Will the hon. member explain the justification for sec. 125?

*Mr. Neogy* :—That is meant for the protection of certain Asiatic powers in alliance.

*Sir Harry Haig* :—Does the hon. member suggest that British Indians owe allegiance to Asiatic powers?

*Mr. Neogy* :—No; that section creates a distinct offence.

Mr. Neogy held that legislation was not patchwork nor scissor and pasto work. He held that the select committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill never made the recommendation which the Home Member had claimed it had made. Mr. Neogy next dealt with the provision regarding bringing the States' administration into contempt. He said that there were States in India in whose case a mere statement of true facts would bring them into contempt. Even the publicity of such true facts would be condemned under the bill. He reminded the Government of the words of Lord Irwin that the best way for the States to fight scennrilons writings was to issue regular administration reports. That method did not suggest legislation of the character. As regards reciprocity the question did not arise as there was no press of any kind in Indian States from which the British India Government sought protection. Concluding, Mr. Neogy referred to the Home Member's remark that federation could not be built on the basis of distrust, but said that federation could not be among units in a state of armed neutrality. There must be understanding and community of interests. What the Home Member was trying to create was distrust where trust was coming owing to the noble part played by some of the princes in fighting the common battle for the motherland. (Applause.)

*Sir Cowasji Jchangir* contended that the bill went no further than placing Indian States on the same footing as any other oriental State.

Mr. Neogy interrupting said by the amendment to sec. 121-A the bill aimed at placing an Indian ruler in the same position as His Majesty the King. The Home Member intervened and explained that it was not so.

Proceeding, *Sir Cowasji* referred to the press clauses and contended that the gagging of the press would do considerable harm to the States themselves. There was no doubt that the administration of certain States was very bad and the Government knew it better than anybody else. It would serve no purpose to adopt hush-hush policy in these matters. In his opinion, circulation was most advisable. After circulation they would have a considerable amount of material to judge how far amendment of the Penal Code would serve their purpose.

The Home Member said that he would consider the suggestion and give his answer to-morrow. But, in his opinion, circulation would delay the progress of the bill as there would not be sufficient time during the next Delhi session to again discuss and send the bill to select committee. However, the Government were anxious that the bill should be passed during the Delhi session and they were not prepared to delay till this time next year.

*Cap. Sher Mohammad* said that the Indian States as a body stood behind the British Government. They could not brush aside the contribution of the Indian States towards constitutional reforms. It was their duty to help the States who were constantly threatened by mischievous propaganda from outside. Speaking from his personal knowledge, he felt that all troubles in Kashmir would have been avoided if a measure of this kind had been on the statute book.

At this stage the President gave his ruling on the point of order raised by Mr. Mody whether clause 3 amending sec. 121-A was *ultra vires* of the Indian legislature. The President said that the clause created a new offence, namely conspiracy against the administrations of States in India but it did not extend either personal or territorial jurisdiction as defined in the Indian Penal Code, which was within the competence of the legislature under sec. 65 of the Government of India Act. The proposed section was, therefore, *Intra vires* of the legislature, but in view of the fact that Sir Harry Haig had stated that the intention of the Government was not to punish offences committed by British Indian subjects in Indian States it was for the select committee to see whether the clause as it stood would cause confusion and legal difficulties and whether it should be modified.

When the debate was resumed, *Sardar Harbans Singh* asked the Government in how many cases the Government had considered memorials from subjects of Indian States. He supported circulation of the bill. The House then adjourned.

9th, SEPTEMBER :—Before resuming the debate on the Princes' Protection Bill to-day, the President asked the Home Member whether he was making a statement in view of Sir Cowasji Jchangir's question whether the Government was prepared to accept circulation before Jan. 17.

*Sir Harry Haig* said that the object of the Government was that the Assembly should take the final decision on the bill not later than the next budget session. After going into details the Government were now convinced that this result could be achieved by the method proposed by Sir Cowasji. The Government had no

desire to prevent the fullest examination of the provisions of the bill and they proposed that if it was circulated before Jan. 17, the motion for select committee would be taken up after the receipt of opinions at the very beginning of the January session. He hoped the members who had already spoken on the measure would not repeat the same arguments again and delay progress.

At this stage Mr. Navalrai wished to make some observations. The President said that he understood that the general sense of the house was against continuing the debate but as some members said 'no' the President put the matter to vote and by 57 to 9 votes the house agreed to close the debate.

Mr. B. Das's motion for circulation was then put and carried by 66 to 7 votes.

#### NEW CAPITAL WORKS AT DELHI

A large number of demands for excess grants were voted without discussion, but when Sir George Schuster moved for the supplementary demands for Rs. 9,81,000 in respect of the new capital works at Delhi, Mr. Jagannath Agarwal wanted to know what exactly this programme meant. He added that if the Government intended to leave a part of the offices in Delhi they would welcome it and if this expenditure was connected with the federal legislature the house should know it.

Sir George Schuster defended the Government's policy both on general and practical grounds. He said now that the Government's credit was high and money could be raised cheaply the Government were considering the undertaking of railway and other programmes which should be remunerative and at the same time provide employment to relieve the economic depression. This unemployment was particularly bad in Delhi where a large population had been engaged previously in big contracts for building the new capital. The Government thought that in view of the fact that accommodation was definitely needed in New Delhi and that the return on capital would be 5 per cent for quarters occupied for a year and two and half per cent for those occupied for half the year and in view of the fact that money could be raised on 4 per cent the Government would be justified in launching with such expenditure with a view to relieve unemployment and meet the urgent need for accommodation. As regards the question of exodus he was not ready to make a definite statement but informed the house that the Government were seriously reconsidering the position in the light of two factors. Firstly, the shortage of water which was one of the chief reasons for Government not enlarging the summer population of New Delhi would shortly be overcome. The other reason was that they must look forward to conditions which would prevail in the future as members would recognize that when the Federal Assembly came into being anything like Simla would be increasingly remunerative. He hoped that the scheme would receive support from every quarter of the house.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and Mohammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur supported the proposal. Mr. B. Das, Mr. Amarnath Dutt, Mr. Jadhav, Sirdar Harbans Singh Brar, Mr. S. C. Mitra and Mr. G. P. Singh criticised the building programme and represented the various grievances of the members of the Assembly regarding quarters.

Sir George Schuster, replying, assured that all points raised would be considered by Sir Frank Noyce. As regards the financial argument he said there were no signs of definite improvement in the revenue position, but such capital expenditure only was being undertaken which would not put an appreciable burden on the revenue position and affect the budget.

The supplementary demand was voted and the House adjourned till the 11th.

#### IMPERIAL BANK ACT AMEND. BILL

11th. SEPTEMBER:—Sir George Schuster introduced the Bill amending the Imperial Bank Act as a corollary to the Reserve Bank Bill.

#### LAC CESS BILL

Mr. Bajpai introduced a Bill amending the Lac Cess Act with the object of increasing the rate of cess to seven annas for a lac and five annas for refuse lac, to make funds available to the Lac Cess Committee for extension of research work, with the object of expanding the industrial application of natural lac and meeting the increasing competition of the synthetic product. It is also proposed to make a provision permitting of the appointment of not more than five additional members by the Governor-General-in-Council.

## THE RESERVE BANK BILL

*Sir George Schuster* moved reference to a Joint Committee of the two Houses, consisting of 24 members, to consider the Reserve Bank Bill and report by the 20th November. The Finance Member particularly referred to the fact that the Bank would carry no liability for the Rupee Redemption Fund and that the liability in redeeming the rupees and the responsibility for the disposal of the surplus of silver would lie with the Government. As regards dividends, shareholders would reserve to a maximum of six per cent instead of seven in the old Bill and the minimum dividend was to be fixed by the Governor-General-in-Council. All surplus profits would go to the Government. Other questions including the relationship with the Imperial Bank would be discussed in the Joint Committee, such as questions of remuneration and compensation. Sir George made it clear that the Bill did not propose to set up a new machinery for the currency system in India, but merely set up certain machinery for working the existing system. Finally, Sir George Schuster spoke on the prospect of setting up the Bank at an early date and said the liability for the total note issue stood on 31st August last at 180 crores of which 50 per cent should be in gold or sterling securities. Of these, about 83 crores were already in reserves; as for the balance of seven one-fourth crores they had in the Treasury a balance of 17 million sterling of which ten millions were required for meeting maturing loan liability. They would have seven millions sterling in hand and a further transfer of six million sterling would provide enough to fill the gap in the currency reserves. Further, considering that they were valuing gold on the old parity basis they find a hidden reserve of 22 crores. The present situation was, therefore, not unsatisfactory and there was reasonable ground for hoping that the difficulties in providing funds in reserve would not be a factor which should hold up this project (Cheers).

Sir George Schuster, referring to the main technical points, said: "Firstly, it was a question of the nature of Government securities that the Bank should be allowed to purchase. The London Committee held that restrictions might be unduly restrictive and the point had got to be considered by the Joint Committee. There is a clause dealing with the Bank's power to take in open market operations and discount bills. Then, again, the London Committee held that the old provision might be interpreted in too restrictive a way. Then there was the question of the size of the initial reserves. How much must be held in the form of gold and sterling securities before it was safe to set up a Bank? Then there was the question of proceeds from sales of surplus silver, because with the altered arrangements sales will not automatically go to the Currency Reserve. That question, affecting as it did the policy of the Government, certainly demanded the most careful consideration.

Another point was the proportion of Government of India securities to be held in the currency reserves. The Committee stated that the limit proposed in the old Bill of fifty crores or one-quarter of the reserves might unduly restrict the open market operations of the Bank. That again would require careful consideration if gold reserves are to be valued at the existing parity. There was a chance of great profit being made either by the sale of a portion of these gold reserves or a revaluation of gold. If, at any time, a different monetary system were to be adopted, the question of how such profit was to be disposed of was one requiring the most careful consideration.

*Pandit VidyaSagar Pandya* moved an amendment for circulation of the Reserve Bill by the end of December, 1933. He asked why the Finance Member had given up the previous practice of circulation in such cases. The task before the House was difficult, and the Bill could best be considered in the light of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report and the opinions elicited from outside. He had hardly time to consult his constituency representing banking interests. The heavens would not fall if his proposal were accepted. The Government could easily pass the Bill in any shape or form as they had a clear majority in the House, and particularly when the scramble for membership of the Committee was great. He maintained that any bank managed by shareholders would be injurious to the interests of the country, and unless the bank represented various interests in the country, it would prove a menace to the country's prosperity. Illustrating his point, Mr. Pandya alluded to the fact that in the Bengal Bank, a majority of the directors were from favoured firms. Mr. Pandya, who had come with numerous statistics, spoke for a considerable length of time giving figures of attendance of shareholders at meetings of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Banks and afterwards at meetings of the Imperial Bank. He observed that the smallest number attended

and virtually the share-holders were in the hands of secretaries and directors and their friends who made the whole concern their domestic affair. The spirit and in some cases even the letter of the law, had been ignored, through the appointment of the same gentleman for seven years continuously either as President or Vice-President of a local Board.

*Sir George Schuster*, intervening, asked how these details were relevant to the issue, and whether the member was not taking away time which should be used in the discussion of the provisions of the Reserve Bank Bill.

*Mr. Pandya* explained that the Government wish to establish another share-holders' bank of the same type, and he was warning the House of the results of having such institutions (Opposition cheers). He then described how the majority of the directors in the Imperial Bank had been always Europeans, and how the Indian nominees of the Government had been persons like Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir R. N. Mukherjee, the former aged eighty-nine and the latter above eighty, and Sir M. Dadhabhoy, aged sixty-five, who was not renominated, because the Government could not do so, when he was appointed President of the Council of State. Even if these Indians had stirred themselves, there was a European majority against them. Then again, the Imperial Bank accounts did not show what the directors owed them. The Government contended that in a share-holders' bank, the directors would be independent of political influence. He asked whether that Bank would not be run by one or two grand Moghuls, and whether the Government themselves were not the biggest political party in the country, nominating men who would reflect their policy (cheers). He asked the House to compare carefully the proposals as regards the directorate as approved by the select committee on the Blakett Bill and the proposals now put forward. Under the former Bill, there would have been a majority of Indians on the directorate. Now even if the share-holders exercised votes properly, Indians could man only half of the directorate.

The speaker asked *Sir George Schuster* to refer the question of cut-currency notes to the Joint Committee, and spoke of the hardship that would be caused to Indian banks through the provisions made in the Bill. He held that no case had been made out for compensation to the Imperial Bank and hoped that the London Committee's recommendations would be ignored in this respect.

*Mr. G. P. Singh* observed that political influence was not being eliminated. The Governor-General was a representative of the largest political party, and his powers would be exercised on behalf of the Secretary of State who was in the hands of the City. The speaker quoted from the Government Despatch showing that the Reserve Bank would work in co-operation with or on lines approved by the Bank of England, which meant that the Reserve Bank would be an appendage of the Bank of England. Opinion in the country unanimously favoured a State Bank. The disappointing part of the Bill was that there was no provision that share-holders should be nationals of India.

**12th. SEPTEMBER :—***Mr. Gayaprasad Singh* urged that if the Reserve Bank was to be a shareholders' bank, then, let the Government have a moiety of the shares. He quoted *Sir Basil Blakett's* speech in 1928 in which he had stated that no one who was not an Indian or a British resident in India should have a voice in the management of the Bank. *Mr. Singh* expressed surprise that there was no such provision in the present Bill. He also pleaded for special facilities to indigenous banks, as given to the Imperial Bank, and urged a revision of the ratio.

*Mr. Ramkrishna Reddi* spoke in favour of a State bank in preference to a shareholders' bank. He suggested that if the Bill was to go to a Joint Committee of both Houses, then the number of members on the Committee could be twenty-eight, as was the case in respect of the previous Bill.

*Sir George Schuster* observed that the Government would have no objection to adopt the course, if that was the general wish.

*Mr. Reddi* explained the need for adequate reserves in order to control currency to finance agriculturists. He said that if by securing the management of the bank from political influence, it was meant that there should be no representative of the Assembly on the board, then he would seriously differ from the Government. On the decision of the Government, whether it should be a State bank or a shareholders' bank would depend the vote of his party on the motion. He did not want that the currency and finance of a vast country like India should be controlled by

a few share-holders. The bank, as proposed in the Bill, would practically be run by the Governor and the Deputy-Governor, who would be appointed by the Governor-General, and there was the further danger of the Secretary of State wielding his own influence in the matter. Therefore, the speaker suggested that the control and management should be in the hands of Indian nationals.

The President gave a warning that unless the members imposed a reasonable time-limit on themselves and avoided repetition of the same arguments, he would have to intervene.

Mr. Ramkrishna Reddi expressed the opinion that, if it was a shareholders' bank, then there was the danger that commercial and industrial interests would purchase all the shares and dominate the directorate to the detriment of agricultural interests.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir observed that there was no need to delay sending the Bill to the select committee, because he held that the members had enough material on the basis of the previous Bill together with the London report. On the question of a State versus shareholders' bank, Sir Cowasji maintained that only Australia and Sweden had State banks and both the countries were re-considering their position. They wanted in India an independent authority, which could even check the Government; and if there had been one such bank, the Government would not have made mistakes as they had. A Reserve Bank was intended to supply expert help and be at the service of the Government and the country from day to day. Sir Cowasji pointed out that nobody should be allowed to have more than ten votes or Rupees 5,000 worth of shares, and therefore there could be nothing like the Bank's administration being centred in the hands of a few capitalists as stated by some members. On the question of the Ratio, Sir Cowasji differed from Mr. Mody, and maintained that public opinion to-day was stronger than ever it was for serious consideration of the question of reducing the present ratio. The Government alone could do this, as any discussion in the legislature would result in speculation. The Government must take the responsibility and present a *fait accompli* before the legislature as quickly as they could. The Finance Member was aware of the present feeling in the country and Sir Cowasji hoped he would meet it. Concluding, the speaker urged the House to proceed with the Bill, so that before Sir George Schuster left India, the Reserve bank would be functioning (Applause).

Mr. J. N. Aggarwal quoted from the "Capital" of Calcutta to show that general opinion favoured circulation of the Bill not for a long time, but in accordance with Mr. Pandya's motion, till the end of December, in order to elicit public opinion. He strongly pleaded for the establishment of a State Bank, and asked why the London Committee had done nothing to remove the suspicion that an attempt was being made to shut out Indian influence from the Bank.

#### ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS ATTACK ON MAHATMAJI

At this stage, the adjournment motion of Mr. Puri relating to the unsatisfactory reply given on behalf of the Government in the matter of criticism by "The Daily Gazette," Karachi of Mahatma Gandhi and the attitude and policy of the Government disclosed in this matter, was taken up.

Mr. B. R. Puri observed that it appeared that the gentleman who wrote the "Daily Gazette" article, was an Anglo-Indian. The offensive portion was as follows: "Most people feel that Gandhiji should be well smacked on the part of anatomy that Nature has specifically provided for the purpose. Unfortunately he is too old for this type of treatment to prove of any use. Certainly, his latest antic smacks of a silly old man entering his second childhood". The writer had also suggested flogging as a remedy to put an end to Civil Disobedience. The Government of India, when questioned, neither approved nor disapproved of the article, and refused to do anything except forward the questions and answers to the Local Government. This was a failure to discharge the obligations of the Government, and was likely to lead to mischievous results. When Government members were asked for their views, they refused to express an opinion.

Mr. Puri contended that the Bombay Government could not be unaware of the article. There was no use forwarding the questions and answers unless the Government of India expressed their opinion on the subject. The Government would not express an opinion. They would not consult legal opinion whether the article fell under Section 153-A. Even Mr. Sarma's suggestion that the Director of Publicity should give a friendly hint to the writer to refrain from writing such an article, was not acceptable. Concluding, Mr. Puri uttered a warning that it would

be highly mischievous and would lead to serious consequences, if the Government gave discriminatory treatment, and allowed Anglo-Indian journalists to escape the law even they did a wrong to the leader of the Indian people, but put the law into force against Indian journalists when they committed a corresponding offence.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai considered that the matter concerned all India and affected an all-India personality. Perhaps, if the Home Member himself had been present, the replies would have been more satisfactory the previous day, because in a way it had been admitted that the article was insulting and in bad taste. He asked whether the Government of India would have taken some action in similar circumstances against an Indian newspaper. The speaker quoted Section 182, Cr. P. C., and said that the Government of India, if they were not partial to Anglo-Indian papers, would certainly have called the Bombay Government's attention to the article and taken action at least when the question were tabled.

Mr. S. C. Mitra said that it was deplorable that the Government, by their attitude, had confirmed the impression formed some time ago in respect of their inaction against another Anglo-Indian paper for its article in connection with the Kashmir agitation.

Mr. F. E. James admitted that the article showed bad taste and the remarks were petulant and foolish, especially when they related to a person held in great veneration. No one in his senses would justify such a publication in any responsible journal. At the same time, the House must have a sense of proportion and consider the more urgent matters awaiting its attention. The speaker asked incidentally why no member had suggested to the Government of India to take any action in respect of certain cartoons in a newspaper published not far from here, which had caricatured three members of the Government in most scandalous terms. If the Assembly insisted on the present motion for the exercise of superintendence and control, the provincial legislatures and Governments would have every reason to resent such interference, because there had been no grave emergency compelling such a course of action.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir thought that a misunderstanding had been caused and it would probably have been avoided if the Home Member had been present the previous day. The Joint Home Secretary, Mr. Sloan, was after all a new member, and could not be expected so soon to develop the art of answering questions, and would perhaps realise from this incident that it was not so easy for the Government to give replies. The speaker did not agree with Mr. James, and said that it was right under the present constitution, to control the Local Governments, and the Government of India could not take up the inconsistent position of sometimes taking responsibility for the actions of Local Governments, and at other times not. He thought that the whole matter would have been settled, if the Government had merely said that they would give consideration to a matter on which members had felt so keenly. The article was offensive to millions of this country. Mr. Gandhi was a man of international reputation admitted by millions as a great man (Applause). He did not care whether the stupid article fell within the four corners of the law, but he wanted the Government to consider the matter. He had never heard of the paper before, but the matter having appeared in a leading article, notice must be taken of it. The tendency of modern journalism all over the world were to endeavour to be bright, and too often pass to bounds of good or even reasonable taste, and occasionally lapse into vulgarity. This was one of those occasions which must be deplored. The Government, however, could not take up a position different from that they had taken up yesterday. The Home Department invariably refused to interfere with the normal administration. It was only in very major matters of policy and in respect of questions relating to Mr. Gandhi particularly, that they had to take an active part. The issue really was whether this was a normal matter of administration. Now in regard to the control of the Press, their deliberate policy had been for many years to leave matters to the Local Governments. When the Indian Press Act of 1931 was passed, the power of dealing with the Press was definitely placed in the hands of the Local Governments. Only Government interfere in such questions. In this particular case, they could safely leave it to the Bombay Government. The article in question would have been lost in the obscurity it deserved, which would have been much better for all concerned including Mr. Gandhi, but it had gained tremendous advertisement through the questions and the debate in the House, declared Sir Harry. No one wanted insults to be directed against Mr. Gandhi. But the question of taking legal action was quite a different matter. He most certainly was not prepared to make any suggestions to the Bombay Government that any legal action should

be taken, and he hoped that the House would support the Government in the position they had taken up (Applause).

Mr. K. C. Neogy, in a spirited speech, asked why the Government of India did not obtain legal opinion on the article, when it appeared in "The National Call" of Delhi.

Sir Harry Raig, interrupting, replied that the Government did not attach any particular importance to the article.

Mr. Neogy asked why the Government did not even obtain legal opinion, apart from legal action. He contended that if some action had been taken, it would prevent further bad blood being created and prevent some hothead, from attempting an outrage in Karachi like the one which occurred in Calcutta last year. He emphasised the need for the Government taking necessary action after consulting their legal advisers, so that more bad blood might not be created and outrages such as the one that occurred in Calcutta might be avoided. Mero condemnation by the Government of the article in question was not sufficient.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed observed that it was such attitude of the Government that was responsible for the terrorist movement in the country. After all, legal action against the paper would have meant Rs. 500. The article was published in Delhi also, which was certainly an administrated area under the Government of India. Yet, no action was taken. Mahatma Gandhi was admired and respected not only by Hindus but by all Indians, and action must be taken against the written article. Why were the Government not consulting their legal advisers? The attitude of habitual supporters of the Government like Mr. Sarma was understandable. They were responsible to their constituency, namely, the Government (applause), but the speaker had seen the Home Member for the first time lose patience and ask for a vote of the House. The motion was talked out and the House adjourned.

#### THE RESERVE BANK BILL DEBATE

13th, SEPTEMBER :—The resumed debate on the Reserve Bank Bill to-day was initiated by Sir Leslie Hudson, Leader of the European Group. On the question of the directorate, Sir Leslie Hudson agreed with Mr. H. P. Mody that it should include representatives of leading commercial bodies, with a knowledge of financial matters. As for the head office, he suggested it could be a perambulating one, as was the office of the Central Board of the Imperial Bank. He did not like the stipulation that the directors of other banks should not be on the directorate of the Reserve Bank. He paid a tribute to the present Finance Member and his predecessor Sir Basil Blackett for having evolved a measure which, despite differences in detail, commanded the approval of everybody whose opinion was worth while in India. Concluding, Sir Leslie Hudson urged that the House should not hesitate to send the Bill to select committee, as the establishment of the bank was a pre-requisite for the introduction of Responsible Government.

Mr. K. P. Thampan welcomed the Bill, and hoped that everything would be done to remove the impression that it was intended as a link in the chain whereby Great Britain would bind India. Regarding the nomination of directors, the speaker suggested that it could be made by the Finance Member now and by the Finance Minister in the Federal Government, subject in either case to the approval of the Governor-General. On the question of a State versus shareholders' bank, Mr. Thampan preferred a State Bank and regretted that the papers were not available of the proceedings of the London Committee to show why they preferred a shareholders' bank. He therefore hoped that this point should be kept open for discussion and decision by the select committee. As for shares the value of each should not exceed the Rs. 100 proposed in the Blackett Bill. Further, he wanted that only nationals should possess shares, as otherwise the bank would be controlled by foreigners. While approving the proposal of regional registers, he wanted that a restriction should be placed on the amount of transfer from one provincial register to another so that definite minimum number of shares might be owned by the inhabitants of the locality. At the same time, he wanted one more director should be appointed for each region to represent agricultural interests. The tenure of each director should be three years instead of five. Mr. Thampan suggested that the first directors nominated by the Government should be replaced by directors elected by the shareholders as soon as the shares were subscribed. He felt that that safeguard was necessary as there was a tendency for directors to keep themselves in office. He referred to the instance of a company in U. P. where the managing director fixed up his wife in

his place, when he was appointed Minister in the province. As regards the Ratio, he suggested the appointment of an expert committee, with a personnel which would inspire confidence, to find out the true facts regarding the Ratio in relation to the resolution passed at Ottawa on monetary matters and reaffirmed in London by the Empire delegates after the World Economic Conference. The ratio question should be gone into for the purpose of raising prices. He next maintained that the strength of the Gold Reserve, which was put in the Bill at Rs. 35 crores, should be raised to Rs. 70 crores. Mr. Thampan asked what the value of the reciprocal arrangement, whereby the Bank of England would be the Agent of the Reserve Bank in England and vice versa, was. The Bank of England did little business in India, and the advantage of this arrangement would merely go to the Bank of England. He thought that a branch of the Reserve Bank should be opened in London as a symbol of India's desire to break away from the dominance of the Bank of England. Concluding, Mr. Thampan suggested that those who went to the London Committee should be excluded from the select committee—with the exception, of course, of Sir George Schuster who could represent their viewpoint—as otherwise the select committee would be dominated by the London members.

Mr. B. Das was, however, keenly critical of the London discussions, and ascribed them to the political influence exercised by Whitehall. He also criticised the general financial policy of the Government of India, and warned the Government that the Democratic Party representatives on the Select Committee would strenuously oppose the scheme for a shareholders' bank.

*Sir George Schuster* rose amidst cheers to reply to the three days' debate. *Sir George Schuster* observed that there was very little to complain about the quality of the speeches. There was one speech he would criticise, namely, that of Pandit Vidyasagar Pandya, which was a general exercise in mud-slinging. Nothing could be gained by that. Those proposals were conceived in London in an atmosphere of trust and understanding, and the Finance Member wished to transfer that atmosphere to the discussions in India. The London Committee had been criticised as packed. He felt that if the Government had chosen men for their ability to attack the Government effectively, they could not have chosen better men. (Applause). One member had said that the proposals of the Joint Committee on the previous Bill had been brushed aside. *Sir George Schuster* reminded the House that the London Committee had three members of that committee on it, namely, *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*, *Mr. A. Ranganwami Iyengar* and *Sir Phiroze Sethna*. These members agreed to all the main conclusions, which had the support of every representative of every interest and every party in the House.

Some members had made disparaging remarks in respect of the Imperial Bank retaining for a long time their Directors. *Sir George Schuster* felt that if the Reserve Bank could obtain and retain the services for a considerable period of men like *Sir D. E. Wacha*, *Sir M. Dadabhoy*, *Sir R. N. Mukherjee* and *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*, they would be fortunate indeed. One of the great practical difficulties of the future would be to secure directors of first-class abilities and experience of a Reserve Bank, in view of all the limitations imposed on their selection. He hoped if the Reserve Bank was able to obtain directors of the class he had mentioned, they would retain their services for life or for the period they could do active and useful work.

Proceeding, the Finance Member said that the main discussion had centred round a Shareholders versus a State Bank. It was universally felt that the control of currency and credit should be in the hands of an authority independent of the Government. Recent history was full of examples of countries being brought to serious troubles by Governmental interference in these matters. The future Government would be a popular one, and subject to even greater influences than the present Government. An elected ministry would not have continuity of personnel which the official Government had had. There was no attempt to set up some sort of an alien authority for the purpose of diminishing the powers of the legislature. The Reserve Bank must become a trusted part of Indian public life. It must be an Indian institution, commanding the confidence of Indian opinion. Otherwise, the whole purpose of the proposal would be lost.

Most of the members had spoken in the light of prejudices born of past conditions, and not in the light of what was likely to be the condition in the future. As to whether a shareholders' bank was a part of the principle of the Bill, it was a technical point for the Chair to decide, but the practical side of the matter was that

consideration of the question, spread over years, had made the Government come to the conclusion that there was no other way to achieve the object they wished to, except through a shareholders' bank. He did not wish to exclude from the Committee members taking the contrary view. He wished to launch the scheme with the maximum support from Indian opinion. He would, therefore, discuss all objections with a view to finding means of meeting them, so that a better measure than that before the House might emerge from the Joint Committee.

Sir George Schuster next referred to the question of the Ratio, and quoted at length from the leading article in "The Hindu", of Madras, dated 22nd August, which reinforced the speaker's point of view regarding the Ratio and the rupee remaining linked to sterling. India, in view of her trade relations and external obligations, enjoyed enormous advantage in maintaining the stability of the rupee in terms of sterling. Sir George Schuster said that, in the meantime, he had been taking every opportunity to represent to the British Government, Indian needs for a rise in the level of prices, and added:—"We have undoubtedly influenced the policy of His Majesty's Government. I know His Majesty's Government are fully apprised of our position, and are taking our position into account in all they do."

Sir George Schuster maintained that the position must continue, and warned those who were desirous of speculating that they would be very unwise in doing so.

Concluding, Sir George Schuster said that the Select Committee could discuss all the points raised in the debate. Representatives of the House, he hoped, would in the committee stage, approach the task with the sole desire to devise something which would be useful to the new India, and not with minds filled with prejudice born in the past. He had no objection to accept the suggestion of Mr. Ramkrishna Reddi that the number of members from each House be fourteen instead of twelve.

The circulation motion of Pt. Vidyasagar Pandya was rejected, and the House without a division carried the motion for a joint committee. The House then adjourned.

#### IMPERIAL BANK AMEND. BILL

**14th. SEPTEMBER:**—The Assembly took up for consideration the Imperial Bank Amending Bill which is a corollary to the Reserve Bank Bill.

*Sir George Schuster* asked the House to refer the Bill to the same Joint Select Committee as would sit on the Reserve Bank Bill.

*Pandit Vidyasagar Pandya* wished the Imperial Bank Bill had been put in a form which might have been better understood by the House. The Imperial Bank had not used its power properly. He hoped steps would be taken to see that no further obstacle was put in the way of Indian banks. The false impression should not be allowed to be created that the Imperial Bank, for the mere fact of being the Agent of the Reserve Bank, was a Government institution. People in this country had a weakness for Government institutions. Continuing, Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya said that the Court of Wards' monies were at present deposited with the Imperial Bank. Hereafter, such business should not be monopolised by that bank. He also gave an instance of how once two parties in court agreed to deposit money in an Indian bank in Madras and the Judge, in the absence of rules to the contrary, allowed such a deposit. Thereafter, the Government issued a circular asking the courts always to deposit money in the Imperial Bank. The Finance Member should make the position clear, so that people might not be misled. Further, supposing the Imperial Bank, which would hold Government funds, incurred loss, who would be held responsible for the money lying with them? The Imperial Bank should not be allowed hereafter to style themselves as "bankers to the Government of India." Proceeding, Mr. Pandya observed that during the discussion of the Reserve Bank Bill, he did not criticise persons on the directorate of the Imperial Bank but only the system under which the directorate went to the same persons in some provinces, even when their ages were between eighty and ninety. Surely it was time such superannuated and physically unfit individuals were not selected to the directorate of such an important institution as the Imperial Bank.

*Mr. B. Das* opposed the motion for reference to a select committee. He quoted Sir Malcolm Hailey, who expected the Imperial Bank to serve all sections and develop Indian trade and commerce, and said that the bank had failed to come up to that expectation. Mr. Das also referred to the support given to the Alliance Bank, when in liquidation, but not to the People's Bank of India. The speaker asked for the repeal of the Imperial Bank Act.

*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai* and *Mr. S. C. Sen* spoke next. The former was critical of the Imperial Bank, while the latter stated that the Bengal National Bank was given an advance of Rs. 20 lakhs on its liquidation.

*Sir George Schuster's* summing up was brief. He said that in public interest, he would not reply to all the points raised in connection with the Imperial Bank now. The select committee would hear both sides. The Bill was referred to the joint committee.

#### THE MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

On *Sir Joseph Bhore's* motion, the Merchant Shipping Amendment Bill was passed without any alteration. The Bill related to safety of life at sea, and was in accordance with the International Convention signed in London.

#### THE MURSHIDABAD ESTATE BILL

A motion that the Murshidabad Estate Administration Bill, as amended by the select committee, be taken into consideration, was moved by *Mr. Glancy*.

Referring to the suggestion of *Mr. K. C. Neogy*, *Mr. Sarma*, *Mr. Mitra*, *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh* and *Mr. Morgan* that the decrees already obtained should not be lightly reopened by the Manager to be appointed on behalf of the Secretary of State, *Mr. Glancy* said that this was a reasonable suggestion and would be adopted. He hoped the amendments tabled regarding this matter would not be moved.

During the third regarding, *Mr. Baghram Puri* opposed the Bill as a flagrant infringement of the rights given to courts of law. Legislation of the kind was liable to shake the confidence of the people in the impartiality of the judiciary, and would make the measure aimed at declaring decrees obtained at considerable expense, even through the High Court, ineffective. The Nawab himself was responsible for this extravagance? The speaker wanted to know if the Nawab had no moral obligation to pay his liabilities. The speaker would not be a party to any measure which tampered on the sacredness and sanctity attaching to judgments given by the highest tribunals of the land.

*Sir B. B. Ghosh*, Law Member, declared that it had been the policy of the British Government to maintain the dignity of ancient families. Was it the intention of *Mr. Puri*, that the premier Nawab of the country should go abegging? The speech of *Mr. Puri* was that of a radical who wanted to wipe out everything ancient. There was no use defending creditors who had advanced money under the influence of speculation. The Bill had been examined by the strongest select committee possible. The Bill was passed and the House adjourned.

#### TEA RESTRICTION BILL

15th. SEPTEMBER :—The Assembly met to-day to dispose of several official Bills, including those which came from the Council of State.

*Mr. Bajpai* moving that the Bill providing for the control of the extension of the cultivation of tea in British India, be taken into consideration, referred to the agreement arrived at between the Governments of India, Ceylon, the Netherlands and the East Indies and said that the Bill had the approval of the Local Governments of Madras, Assam and Bengal, who were concerned in the matter, and it generally commanded the approval of all interests. The States of Travancore and Cochin had agreed to abide by the Bill.

*Mr. S. C. Mitra* moved for reference of the Bill to a select committee. The Government were helping the tea growers in bringing in the legislation, and he stressed the case of small tea gardens which were started recently, and which had no time to express their opinion when the referendum was taken. He pleaded for special consideration regarding the quota of such tea gardens, as they deserved protection, in view of the fact that they had to spend more than the older ones.

*Mr. Bajpai* alluded to Clause 23 which prescribed the manner in which the export quota should be determined. Half per cent provided as the maximum for extension of tea cultivation was a vital condition, and it would not be possible to extend it in favour of certain classes of growers. Subject to that limit, the Government would give the small estates first consideration. As for amendment of the constitution of the Committee, in order to admit labourers, *Mr. Bajpai* explained the difficulty of legislating for areas outside British India, for example, for Travancore and Cochin, and promised to place the suggestion before the Local Governments concerned, so that the latter might make nominations in consultation with repre-

tative organisations. Concluding, he pointed out that the Java and Ceylon Governments had implemented legislation, and so the Assembly would be well-advised not to delay passing legislation, as otherwise the tea market, which was showing signs of improvement since the agreement, might be affected.

Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury supported the motion. The scheme was well thought-out, but it had its attendant dangers, which must be guarded against. Many Indian gardens which did not export direct, would suffer most. Mr. Matin Choudhury suggested that the scheme for restricting production must exempt gardens which produced only a thousand maunds or less. The speaker held that the Tea Cess Committee was wrong in spending £ 40,000 on propaganda in America, while the sales there were decreasing. Ceylon tried propaganda and gave it up. Why not they develop the Indian market? The speaker urged the passage of the Bill in the present session. He supported Mr. Mitra's point that in the rules provision should be made for gardens started after 1925.

Sir Joseph Bhore said that he had received memoranda from Indian Tea Associations, showing that the Bill had the support of Indians. The Government had taken powers to see that the smaller interests were safeguarded. He assured the House that, if the necessity arose, the Government would reconsider the matter, and would not hesitate to make necessary alterations. If any practical scheme was put up for regulating production of tea, the Government would give it the most careful consideration.

Mr. J. A. Milligan moved an amendment to clause 21, whereby the Committee could make, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, a contribution towards the maintenance of any international committee established for the furtherance of the said purpose in tea-producing countries generally.

The Government accepted the amendment, and the Bill was passed.

#### HOURS OF WORK IN FACTORIES

Sir Frank Noyce then moved for a select committee on the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to labour in factories. The original Act was passed about twenty-two years ago, when many of the problems now facing them were unexplored and even unknown. There had been three amending Acts, since then, and the present attempt was no more than re-arranging the law and revising its expression where necessary. Sir Frank Noyce explained the provisions of the Bill. Referring to the clause relating to shorter hours, he said that shorter hours were an essential condition for any substantial advance in efficiency. Moreover, the former scarcity of Labour had also disappeared. A man who spent eleven hours a day in a factory could not be said to live at all. He was a machine. Moreover, reduction of hours would bring the prospect of employment to many at present unemployed. He regretted Mr. Mody's absence. At present, the cotton textile industry stood in the way of shorter hours. The speaker hoped that the industry would, in the months that remained before the select committee met, find itself able to introduce this system.

The motion for a select committee was carried amidst cheers.

#### THE HAJ PILGRIMS BILL

Mr. Bajpai moved that the Bill to regulate activities of persons in British India who offered to assist Muslim pilgrims to Hedjaz, as reported by the select committee, be recommitted to the committee. He said that last February, when the Bill emerged from the select committee, the Government were not prepared to take final decisions until they had watched the reactions to the measure. Now, their proposal was to send the Bill back to the select committee.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed, opposing the motion, asked the Government to place all the documents in their possession before the public. He advocated circulation of the Bill. Messrs. Sadiq Hassan and Uppi Sahib also opposed the official motion, on the ground that the legislation proposed was unnecessary. The debate had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned.

16th. SEPTEMBER :—The debate on the Haj Bill was resumed. Chaudhri Muhammed Ismail wished the Bill had been proceeded with, but did not object to its recommittal to the select committee.

Kanwar Haji Ismail Ali Khan was opposed to the principle of the Bill, as there was no case against people who wished to assist pilgrims. However, the motion for recommittal to the select committee was an innocent one.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* said that there were some bad guides and some good guides, and the Bill aimed at removing whatever defects could be removed by legislation. The need for recommitment arose, because the Bill covered some cases which might be excluded, and had omitted others which should be covered.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* assured the House that there was not the slightest foundation for the charge that the Government policy was to discourage Haj pilgrimage. On the other hand, his sole concern was to do everything possible to afford protection and comfort to pilgrims and enable them to make the trip with all facilities and the least cost. Haj was a religious duty of Muslims, but from the Government point of view, it had another attraction. It enabled people to leave their surroundings and through travel, broaden their horizon, and become better citizens. In Hedjaz, they met people from all countries of the world.

*Mr. Azhar Ali* was heard to inquire whether this was an argument in favour of Pan-Islamism.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* said that the prophet of Pan-Islamism was Sir Abdulloh Suhrawardi when he came out as a young man from London, and was appointed Principal of the Islamia college, Lahore. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain knew the outward expression and the inward significance of the movement, and assured the House that it not only was a myth, but that even the ashes of the movement were not left now. It was better for them to make up their mind to stand on their own legs in India, as Indians. Concluding, *Sir Fazl-i-Hussoin* said that the Government wished to encourage, not discourage, Haj pilgrimage.

After *Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed* and *Mr. Anwarul-Azim* had supported the motion, the Bill was recommitted to the select committee.

#### NEGOTIABLE INSTRUMENTS ACT AMEND. BILL

*Sir George Schuster* moved that the Negotiable Instruments Act Amending Bill as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration. He said that if the Bill was sent to a select committee it would mean waste of time, but would raise no objection to the course if the House desired to refer the measure to a select committee.

*Mr. S. C. Mitra* moved for a select committee, which motion was accepted.

#### OTHER BILLS PASSED

The House passed without amendment, the *Indian Arbitration Act Amending Bill* and the *Cantonment's House Accommodation Act Amending Bill* as passed by the Council of State. *Mr. Tottenham* observed that the Cantonments Bill had the support of the All-India Cantonments' Association, which was an extremely efficient body, and kept a vigilant eye on the interests of the house-owners.

The House passed the *Bill amending the Dangerous Drugs Act*.

#### TRANSFER OF ADEN

*Sir Joseph Bhore*, Leader of the House, moved "that the Government of India communicate dated the 20th June 1933, regarding the future administration of Aden be taken into consideration. Sir Joseph Bhore said that the promise to give an opportunity for discussion of the matter was made as far back as 1922. Indians in Aden numbered 7,287, out of a population of 46,628 and were against transfer, while the Arab population, consisting of 29,820 were satisfied with the present conditions, but feared that after the Indian Federation, Arab interests might be subordinated to Indian interests, and there might be a progressive increase in the commercial domination of Indian firms. They wanted certain conditions to be fulfilled before the transfer took place.

*Sir Joseph Bhore* mentioned that the transfer of the civil administration of Aden was not a live issue, and did not rule out future consideration of the question. The Government, he said, would not take part in the discussion, and would forward the views of the House to His Majesty's Government, who would have to consider opinion outside the chamber and also opinion in Aden.

*Mr. Bhupat Singh* moved an amendment, objecting to the transfer of the civil administration and demanding re-transfer to India of the military and political control. *Mr. Bhupat Singh* asked why the Government had adopted an attitude of neutrality. In view of India attaining Dominion Status at some future date, they must have control of strategic points,

*Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed* moved an amendment which, while emphatically protesting against the transfer of the Aden settlement, requested the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government the strong desire of the people of India, that the proposed transfer should not take place. He accused the Government of breach of faith, and said that the entire country was opposed to transfer and asked whether this was the reward for India's services during the War. Moreover, who would be responsible for the forty crores sunk in Aden?

*Mr. B. Das* supported Mr. Bhupat Singh's amendment. He spoke bitterly against the Government attitude, and challenged Britain to refer the case to the League of Nations. When India was an original member of the League of Nations, why had the Government of India not the courage to approach the League of Nations?

*Mr. Anklesaria* supported Dr. Ziauddin's motion, and expressed surprise at the attitude of the Government which meant that the charges made during the speeches would go unanswered. He wanted the Government of India to join with the non-officials in this matter.

*Mr. B. R. Puri*, on behalf of the Democratic Party, endorsed Mr. Bhupat Singh's motion, although he feared they were playing a losing game. It appeared that Aden was already lost to India. He had very little hopes that Britain would reconsider her views in the light of the Assembly debate, which was merely a luxury debate.

*Nawab Ahmed Nawaz Khan* said that the Arabs could not serve two masters. Separation from India would be in the best interests of Arabs, and would relieve India of a burden to the extent of Rs. 24 lakhs.

The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 18th.

**18th SEPTEMBER:**—*Mr. Jadhav*, speaking first to-day, opposed the transfer of Aden, and said that a mixed meeting of Arabs and Indians of Aden had protested against the transfer. Mr. Jadhav gave numerous figures showing Indian investments in Aden, and insisted on investment if Aden was to be handed over to His Majesty's Government.

*Sir George Schuster* intervened in the debate, with a view to giving facts about the financial aspect of the question. It was not proper to go a century back to calculate all the money spent and to add compound interest at four-and-a-half per cent. If such calculations were applied, Mr. Jadhav might claim to be worth five crores. (Laughter). Then again, the value of India's trade depended largely on the protection of the British Navy, whose burden the British tax-payer had borne. Such Naval expenditure would balance anything put forward on the Indian side.

*Sir George Schuster* observed that the Government of India did not wish to take sides. The facts were that until 1900, the entire civil and military expenditure was borne by India. As a result of the Welby Commission report, His Majesty's Government, from 1901, contributed £72,000 which amounted to about half of the cost of the military administration, Rs. 21½ lakhs. Later on, the military expenditure grew and in 1926-27 it stood at Rs. 47½ lakhs. On the first April 1927, His Majesty's Government took over the Military and political expenditure, and India was to contribute £250,000 for the first three years, and thereafter £150,000 annually or one-third, whichever was less. His Majesty's Government were experimenting on a large scale, on defence by air, but the maximum commitment of India was £150,000 annually. As regards civil administration, the figures for the last seven years showed an annual average deficit of £66,000 but in view of the economies they might say the civil budget would balance. The financial position, therefore, was that, as a result of the transfer India would be relieved of Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs expenditure, and might lose a lakh or two under the head "income-tax." *Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed* had raised the question of the assets in respect of the public buildings and properties in the harbour. They were calculated to be worth Rs. 9 lakhs. When the Government of India took over Aden and the Bombay Government put in a claim for Rs. 9 lakhs, it was turned down on the ground that when one administration succeeded another took over the assets and liabilities free of payment. That was the principle on which the question of Burma separation was being discussed. The Government of India's buildings were similarly handed over to military authorities when control was transferred to His Majesty's Government. Water works expenditure was in the form of a grant to the Municipal Committee. Sir George Schuster hoped that these facts would be given due weight and promised consideration of the facts and figures put forward by the Opposition speaker.

*Mr. Bhupat Singh* withdrew his motion, and *Dr. Ziauddin's* amendment was carried. *Dr. Ziauddin's* resolution ran as follows:—"While recording their emphatic

protest against the complete transfer to the Colonial Office of the Aden Settlement, which has for about a century been an integral part of the British Indian Administration, the Assembly requests the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to His Majesty's Government the strong desire of the people of India that the proposed transfer should not take place." The Assembly then adjourned.

#### THE MEDICAL COUNCIL BILL

**20th. SEPTEMBER:**—After interpellations to-day, *Mr. Bajpai* moved the consideration of the report of the select committee on the Medical Council Bill. He said that the three objections which emanated from the debate in the Assembly at its last session related to licentiates, the constitution of the council and reciprocity. The select committee had discussed and found a solution for all. He said that as regards licentiates, a reference to local Governments showed that they did not, with two exceptions, want any enquiry into the question of raising the standard of education of licentiates on financial grounds. Therefore the other alternative was adopted, namely, the omission of an all-India register so that the sentiment of licentiates might be respected and they might not feel hurt. As regards the constitution of the Medical Council, it was altered in such a manner that the balance had been preserved between the demands of democracy and the demands of education. As for reciprocity, the question was whether their qualifications and standards could as soon as it was established take up this question of standard. He referred to the foot-note to para 123 of the White Paper proposals in which reference was made to the bill now before the House. The Joint Select Committee was at present seized of the question of the position of British professional men and the committee would consider the matter in all its bearings. He mentioned it so that there might be no possible misunderstanding. Concluding, *Mr. Bajpai* expressed appreciation of the impartial manner in which the members of the select committee had approached their task, and said that if the Medical Council to be established showed the same spirit in the discharge of their duty as had been shown by the select committee all would be well.

*Dr. Ziauddin* congratulated the select committee on producing an unanimous report on a vexed question on which opinion was hopelessly divided. He emphasised that hospitals attached to medical colleges should be raised to the level of scientific clinics and should not be the same as charitable institutions maintained by the state and local bodies. The medical college staff should not be entitled to receive any fee for service rendered to patients in hospitals. In his opinion, this would increase the efficiency of the colleges. He also suggested that contributions paid by patients treated in hospitals should be deposited with the funds of the hospitals as donations.

Referring to administration, *Dr. Ziauddin* stressed that the course of studies, the standard of teaching and examinations should be in the hands of academic persons, but appointments, promotions and control of the purse should be in the hands of outsiders.

*Dr. Dalal* rejoiced that the chief obstacle to reciprocity between the General Medical Council of Britain and the proposed All-India Medical Council had been removed. He suggested that the Government of India should get the Medical Council into operation as soon as possible and institute an inquiry into the administration and the standards of education of licentiates in various provinces.

*Mr. Jog* endorsed the recommendations of the select committee, but remarked that the poison was still left in the Bill in as much as licentiates were not given recognition in the matter of voting for own candidates for election to the General Medical Council. *Mr. Raju* emphasised that the principle of reciprocity should be the basis of the Bill. *Mr. Thampan* criticised the various clauses and maintained that the select committee report did not materially liberalise the original bill. He was entirely opposed to any burden on the taxpayer owing to the creation of the Medical Council.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* felt gratified over the achievement of the bill. He said that the measure had been under contemplation for the past four years, but all along the entire body of public opinion had been opposed to it. Now they had before the House a measure which had the unanimous support of even the stalwart oppositionists. He was not ashamed to confess that this agreement was due to several surrenders from point to point on behalf of the Government in the select committee. But they had realised the fact that for the efforts to prove a success there must be a fair degree of support from all quarters. The object of the bill was efficiency at home and honour abroad. To this extent the result achieved so

far was satisfactory. He expressed sincere gratitude for the reception given to the measure and hoped that the House would pass the measure unanimously.

The motion for consideration was adopted and the House passed Bill.

#### NON-INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

Then the House debated a resolution moved by *Sir Frank Noyce* that having considered the draft convention and recommendation concerning the age for admission of children to non-industrial employment adopted by the International Labour Conference at the sixteenth session, the Assembly recommends to the Government of India not to ratify the draft convention nor accept the recommendation.

*Mr. Jog* moved an amendment at the end of the resolution urging the Government of India to take steps to give effect to the proposals contained in the amendment proposed by *Sir B. N. Mitra*, the Government of India's chief delegate at the session. The convention laid down the general principle that children under 10 should not be employed in all industrial occupations. *Mr. Jog*, by his amendment, wanted the Government of India to accept *Sir B. N. Mitra*'s proposal specifying a list of occupations wherein children should not be employed at all.

*Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury* quoted from the Government of India's answer to the questionnaire of the International Labour Office and said that in all essentials their recommendations were identical with those adopted at the session. *Mr. Morgan* suggested that it would be good to tie the Government of India to all the proposals of *Sir B. N. Mitra* and moved an amendment that the Government should examine those proposals and give effect on the lines of those proposals.

*Sir Frank Noyce* said that he could not accept even this modified amendment because the question was not urgent. The Government's first duty was to children in non-regulated factories like spinning and carpet-weaving. The Government of India's and the local Government's energies and resources should first be utilised in solving the question of factory labour and labour in non-regulated factories. Then would be the time to take up the question of labour mentioned by *Sir B. N. Mitra*.

The amendment was withdrawn and the original resolution was carried.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMAND UNDER CIVIL AVIATION

An interesting discussion was held on the supplementary demand under the head 'civil aviation' for Rs. 2,63,000 in connection with the agreement with the trans-continental airways. This demand came as a result of the recommendation of the Standing Finance Committee. *Sir Frank Noyce* said that throughout the negotiations with the Imperial Airways they had Indianisation of the service prominently in the fore-front. He pointed out that the majority of the directors were Indians.

*Sir George Schuster* said that they were not out of pocket on this arrangement.

*Mr. Ranga Iyer*, *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh*, *Dr. Ziauddin* and *Mr. Moazzam Sahib* spoke generally favouring the agreement, though they regretted that the Government of India's share was a small one. *Dr. Ziauddin* wanted the arrangement to be placed before the Assembly in 1939 for opinion.

*Sir George Schuster* said that the arrangement for the carrying of mails by air mail represented a saving of Rs. 1½ lakhs per annum. He had no doubt that *Sir Frank Noyce* would leave a note for the Prime Minister of Federal India that this matter should be placed before the legislature or at least *Dr. Ziauddin* would have it discussed. The demand was carried.

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE REPORT

*Sir George Schuster* moved that the report of the Public Accounts Committee on the accounts of 1930-31 be considered and the Assembly do approve the expenditure of Rs. 25,388 incurred in 1930-31, representing the share of the Government of India on behalf of centrally administered areas of the cost of materials purchased for locust operations in that year.

*Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury* criticised the expenditure in the Post and Telegraph and Railway Departments and urged on the Finance Member that there were items which required very close scrutiny.

*Mr. S. C. Mitra* criticised the system of accounts in the Post and Telegraph department, which was far from satisfactory. He said that the financial adviser had no staff and was overworked. *Mr. Mitra* enquired whether the large stock of quinine had been disposed of. As there was a general desire for a survey of the report the President adjourned the House.

**21st. SEPTEMBER :**—The discussion was resumed on the report of the Public Accounts Committee. Dr. Ziauddin's speech was confined largely to the postal and telegraph accounts. Sir George Schuster briefly replied. He promised to have the report placed earlier in the session in future.

The Assembly approved the expenditure representing the share of the Government of India on behalf of the centrally administered areas in certain matters, and then adjourned till Nov. 13 in New Delhi.

### SPECIAL SESSION—NEW DELHI, 20th. NOV. to 22nd. DEC. 1933

#### MR. PATEL'S DEATH

The special session of the Assembly convened to discuss the Reserve Bank legislation opened at New Delhi on the 20th. November 1933. *Sir Shanmukham Chetty* presided. Sir George Schuster presented the reports of the select committee on the Reserve Bank and Imperial Bank Bills.

Moving the adjournment of the Assembly to mourn the death of Mr. V. J. Patel, *Sir B. L. Mitter*, Leader of the House, said that the Government would remember Mr. Patel as the man who proved the capacity of Indians to preside over the House. Sir Brojendra said :—‘Sir, since last we met in Simla there has occurred the death of the first elected President of this chamber, and I desire, Sir, to pay on behalf of this house in general and the Government benches in particular my tribute to the talents of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel and to express our sorrow at his death. Before he came to this Assembly in January 1924, Mr. Patel had already obtained a considerable amount of parliamentary experience as a member alike of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislative Council under the Morley-Minto Reforms. He had also obtained experience which later proved to be of the highest value to him, as president of the Bombay Corporation.

When Mr. Patel came to this Assembly in 1924 he came as a member of a party which had avowed its intention of wrecking the Reforms, including this chamber, from within. I venture to think that this policy had already been considerably modified before Mr. Patel was nominated as the candidate of the Swaraj party in the first election to the office of president of this chamber. I repeat that it was not in execution of the wrecking policy of the Swaraj party that Mr. Patel stood as a candidate, and in proof I cite his own statement of Sept. 2, 1926, delivered at the conclusion of his first term of office as President of this chamber. He said :—“As some of you are already aware, one of the objects—I will not say the only object—which induced me to accept this office was to demonstrate to the British Government that public men in India, if they have been in some quarters described as irresponsible and destructive critics of the existing system of administration, are so because they have not been entrusted with responsibility.” At an earlier date Mr. Patel had shown the same spirit when, as I am informed, he resisted the strong pressure put upon him to join in the spectacular walkout of March 8, 1926. Of his capacity to guide and control the discussion in this house Mr. Patel gave convincing proof from the beginning and thereby fulfilled his main purpose in standing for election as President. In office Mr. Patel was not a weak but a stout upholder of the constitution and a jealous custodian of the dignity and privileges of this chamber.

This, Sir, is not the occasion on which to recall the unhappy differences of opinion between Mr. Patel and the Government of India. Speaking for the Government of India, I say we shall remember him only as the man who proved the capacity of Indians to preside over this Assembly. Sir, with your leave, I should like to mention a personal incident which may interest the members of this House. A few days before his death my wife and I went to see Mr. Patel at his clinic near Geneva. It was manifest, and he fully realised it, that the end could not be far off. He wished to be remembered to Lord and Lady Willingdon, and turning to my wife said :—“Remember me to all”. On my wife asking him if we could carry any message for anyone in particular he again said :—“No, remember me to all.” When we were coming away he charged me to give you a message, a message of good-will to all parties in this House. Sir, we left the sick chamber with a heavy heart. I conclude, Sir, by asking you, after giving an opportunity to all sections of this House to express their feelings of admiration and regret, to adjourn the meeting of this House until to-morrow.

*Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury*, Deputy President, said that Mr. Patel's death, apart from being a great national calamity, was a personal bereavement to the speaker. Mr. Patel had won the affection of posterity by his worth as President of the Assembly. He was the greatest parliamentarian of his days and a vigorous and persistent critic of the Government. His ingenious brain knew how to make parliamentary procedure and practice advance the national cause and he realised that interpretation of the rules and standing orders gave him abundant scope for the development and protection of popular rights and privileges. It was Mr. Patel's assertion of public rights from the Chair that helped to dispel prejudice and enhance the prestige of the Assembly with the Indian public. He was a jealous custodian of the rights and privileges of the Assembly and was responsible for creating a separate Assembly department and removing it from the shackles of the Legislative department. He was just and impartial as President, and as a public man he was a staunch nationalist, a prominent Congressman and an ardent patriot. His thoughts while dying in a foreign land were about the independence of his country.

*Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar*, on behalf of the independent party, said that the loss had come home more closely to the non-official than to the Government side. Non-officials had come to realise that in Mr. Patel they had as President one who was a unique guardian of the popular cause and popular rights. Mr. Patel was throughout a valiant fighter who did not know how to yield. Mr. Patel's dogged determination, his indomitable courage and his patent nationalism stood him in good stead when he occupied the Chair. He never yielded his conviction to expediency. Wherever he spoke in foreign lands during his last trip he kept his old ideal, namely, the freedom and independence of India. The speaker recalled how Mr. Patel wished to address the Indian Congress meeting at Geneva when his doctors prohibited it. That speech, if it had been permitted, might have been his final oration for his motherland.

Mr. Mudaliar continuing recalled mournfully the galaxy of brave leaders whom the country had lost in quick succession. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Mohammad Shafi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Sen-Gupta and now Mr. V. J. Patel had died and the tragedy was that they did not see on the horizon in their life-time even a glimpse of the future which they had dreamt some day India would have. Mr. Mudaliar hoped that their tribute would take a tangible form in the near future in the precincts of the chamber to pay an eloquent tribute to the sturdy independence and burning patriotism of Mr. Patel.

He concluded: 'Perhaps the best tribute will be given by that chair which will proclaim to succeeding generations and to Speakers of the Indian Parliament of the idealism that Mr. Patel stood for'.

Mr. Ranga Iyer, acting leader of the Nationalists, did not wish to speak of Mr. Patel as a politician who was not an eloquent speaker but was a 'tiger who mauled you'. He revealed the secret that the authorship of the section in the Civil Disobedience Committee Report of the Congress advocating Council entry belonged to Mr. Patel. Mr. Patel's house had become a rendezvous where the Viceroy could meet rebels and if Mr. Patel had not resigned the Chair history in recent times might have been different.

Mr. K. C. Neogy, leader of the Democrats, said as one who sat since the creation of the Assembly the best tribute he could pay to Mr. Patel was that he created the dignity, prestige and independence of the exalted office of the President. He requested the President to take the lead in the matter of perpetuating the memory of Mr. Patel in the precincts of the chamber.

Mr. Yamin Khan, leader of the United India party, said it was Mr. Patel's election as President that changed the policy of the Swaraj party. He joined others in their tribute.

Sir Leslie Hudson, leader of the European group, associated himself with all that had been said by the previous speakers and with the universal expression of regret expressed in the House and outside. Mr. Patel had shown uniform courtesy and kindness to the European group and when he succeeded such a gifted man as Sir Frederick Whyte, Mr. Patel showed that he was a parliamentarian of no mean order. Mr. Patel's record showed how he proved his promise of belonging to no party when in the Chair.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt, Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, Mr. B. V. Jadhava and Mr. B. Das also paid personal tributes to Mr. Patel as a sturdy champion of the rights and privileges of the House and the Chair, remarkable personality of unquestioned ability and an ideal of India's youth.

The President, *Sir Shannukham Chetty*, said the grief to him on this occasion was personal. As one who had worked in close association with Mr. Patel in the Swaraj party, Mr. Chetty said Mr. Patel was a great friend besides a great public man. Behind a stern exterior there was a sense of humour which made him human although this trait of Mr. Patel's character was not known to the world at large. Great as Mr. Patel's work had been as an humble servant of the Motherland, his work as President would shine as that of the greatest of the presidents of the Assembly. Mr. Patel had no misconception in his mind as to what was expected of him when he was elected to the Assembly Chair. There were those who had had doubts as to the capacity of Indians for constructive work and Mr. Patel realised when he was elected as President that India's public men were on their trial. Throughout his work both inside the House and outside it Mr. Patel's great desire was to prove the capacity of Indians to shoulder their responsibilities. In all his rulings Mr. Patel maintained the independence and the dignity of the Chair and the House.

It was true that some of his rulings were hotly resented by a certain section but reading them in the calm light of reason one would realise that in every one of those rulings Mr. Vithalbhai Patel strove to the utmost to confine himself within the four corners of the constitution and rules and standing orders of the House. On not a single occasion was he actuated by partiality to the political party to which he belonged. In public life Mr. Patel was a great and successful fighter. He had an indomitable capacity for hard work and a mastery of details which all could emulate. While it was for the future historian to sit in judgment over Mr. Patel they as contemporaries could easily give him an eminent place among the greatest sons of India. The Chair before adjourning the sitting promised to convey to Mr. Patel's brother the deep sense of sorrow at the loss sustained.

**21st. NOVEMBER:**—The Assembly met to-day to consider the *Reserve Bank Bill* and the *Imperial Bank Amendment Bill* as modified by the Select Committee and presented yesterday by *Sir George Schuster*. Sir George also moved for leave to introduce a *Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act 1894, the Indian Finance Act of 1931 and the Sea Customs Act of 1874*.

#### DUMPING OF JAPANESE RICE

The question of Indian Markets being dumped by Japanese Rice elicited a heated discussion and Mr. Amarnath Dutt's adjournment motion which was waived in favour of a similar motion by Mr. R. S. Sarma was postponed pending the supply of fuller information by the Commerce Member who said he had informally discussed the question with His Excellency Seisuzo Swada whose reply was most courteous and useful.

Mr. K. C. Neogy wanted that the matter should be discussed as a substantive motion and deplored the helplessness on the part of the Government of India as suggested by Sir Joseph Bhore's admission that he could not discuss a foreign Government's policy regarding its own tariff.

As Mr. Sarma could not satisfy the President that dumping of Japanese rice actually existed except that newspaper reports appeared to that effect and as *Diccan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* was not sure as to whether the 7,000 tons of Rice which was unloaded at the South Indian Ports since November 8 last were Japanese or Siamese rice though carried by a Japanese vessel, the adjournment motion was postponed till the next week.

#### THE SILVER AGREEMENT

*Sir George Schuster* then moved the following resolution :—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he do ratify the memorandum of the heads of Agreement entered into by the delegates of India, China and Spain as holders of large stocks of users of silver and of Australia, Canada, United States, Mexico and Peru as the principal producers of silver, at the Monetary Conference in London in July 1933."

Sir George Schuster explained that the Silver Agreement would be of great advantage to India without in any way having tied her hands down.

Mr. B. Das opposed the Agreement saying that the failure of the World Economic Conference was due to the Ottawa Agreement.

Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya was explaining the possible effect of this agreement on India when the Assembly adjourned for lunch.

While supporting the Silver Agreement *Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* launched a trenchant attack on the silver transaction between India and the United States in which Britain made a profit of 15 cent per ounce, pocketing all the benefits and sharing nothing with India.

After *Sir George Schuster* replied the House accepted the resolution and adjourned till the 23rd.

#### WORKERS' PROTECTION AGAINST ACCIDENTS

23rd. NOVEMBER :—There was rather a thin attendance of visitors in the gallery when the Assembly met this morning to transact official business.

*Sir Joseph Bhore's* Bill which sought to give effect in India to the Convention concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading and unloading ships was referred to a Select Committee.

#### OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

*Sir Frank Noyce* then moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council not to ratify the Draft Conventions concerning invalidity, old age, orphans and widows' insurance.

*Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Sardar Harbans Singh and Sardar Sant Singh* giving qualified support to the Draft Convention said that it was a pity that the old Indian System of insurance providing against old age by joint family life was gradually dying out without being replaced by any other system and the need for protection of this nature was nowhere pressing than in India. *Mr. Jadhav* and *Mr. Amarnath Dutt* gave halting support to the resolution. *Duncan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* complained that the resolutions regarding the draft conventions of the International Labour Conference were brought piecemeal before the House. After *Sir Frank Noyce* had replied, the motion was put before the House and accepted nem con.

The second resolution moved by the Member-in-charge of Industries and Labour urging the Governor-General-in-Council not to ratify the draft convention of the International Labour Conference relating to the abolition of all fee-charging employment agencies was also adopted without opposition. The House then adjourned.

#### INDIAN TARIFF ACT AMEND. BILL

24th. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly proceeded to-day, there being no questions, with the consideration of the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act of 1894, the Indian Finance Act of 1931 and the Sea Customs Act of 1878, which was introduced in the Assembly by *Sir George Schuster* on November 21 last. The object of the Bill was to amend the tariff on imports so as to apply the rate of duty now prescribed for kerosene to all other mineral oils which evince illuminating capacity and could therefore be used as substitutes for kerosene for burning in lamps. There were several amendments to the motion of the Finance Member.

*Sir George Schuster* explained that a legislation to put an end to cheap imports of large quantities of fuel oil, which was replacing kerosene was urgently called for. Kerosene, he said, was subject to customs import duty of 0-3-9 pies and excise duty of two annas  $\frac{9}{4}$  pies per gallon, whereas these cheap substitutes of kerosene were free of any excise duty. Consequently the Government were losing heavily in revenue. The Burma Oil Company, which produced the same kind of oil, was also hard hit by the imports from Russia of light diesel oil. Thus the market for home production being narrowed, there had been a fall in excise revenue also. Sir George further said that the loss incurred on the excise head was one lakh a month, while on the import duty head about one and a half lakhs per month. This heavy drop in revenues the Government could not accept with equanimity. He admitted that the proposed measure was likely to hit the poor consumers. But the Government would try to mitigate their hardships if the Government found from actual operation that these fears were justified.

*Mr. K. P. Thampam* (Madras) by an Amendment wanted circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. Speaking on behalf of the agriculturists, he stated that they would be hard hit.

On Mr. R. S. Sarma demanding information as to what attitude the Government would take with regard to Dr. Ziauddin's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, *Sir George Schuster* emphasised that he would like the Bill to be passed by the Assembly very early so as to be in time for its consideration by the Council of State on December 19 next when it meets. For that purpose he was

prepared to allow one day's interruption in the discussion of the Reserve Bank Bill. But if it was the general desire of the House to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, the Government had no objection, provided the committee finished its work expeditiously.

Moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, Dr. Ziauddin criticised the object of the Bill as penalising the use of cheaper varieties of mineral oil by the poorer classes for illuminating their dark homes. He gave vivid description of the extreme penury in which villagers were living and he wanted the Select Committee to keep this aspect of indirectly taxing the poor in view. He told the Finance Member that the poor people of his constituency were so desperate in poverty that they prefer going to jail, only because they felt they would be better fed and clad there than at home. This aspect might not impress the Finance Member, but it would create a big problem for Sir Harry Hing, Home Member. He also accused Sir George Schuster and his department of perfect and stolid indifference to the law of diminishing returns.

*Dewan Lalchand Navalrai*, supporting Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's motion, observed that the Bill was unnecessary as the duty on mineral oil showing illuminating capacity was already proscribed under the existing Act. He further stated that the Government was influenced by European oil companies to give preferential treatment to them against the newly started Indian companies.

Mr. S. C. Mitra asserted that if Indian oil companies were discriminated against by the provisions of the Bill, he would oppose it. As for the loss of revenue, Mr. Mitra suggested that it could be made good if the excise duties on imported kerosene were equalised. While enacting this new legislation, the interests of consumers ought to be well looked to. He stressed that ample provision should be made in the Bill so that diesel oil used in machinery for the purposes of agriculture and industry might not be charged at the same high rates as kerosene.

Sir George Schuster, replying, assured the members that the interests of all concerned will be borne in mind.

Mr. Thampan withdrew his circulation motion. Dr. Ziauddin's amendment for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, consisting of Sir George Schuster, Mr. F. E. James, Mr. R. S. Sarma, Mr. Anwarul Azim, Haji Wajhiuddin, Messrs. Grantham, Ba Maung Maung, and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, was carried. The House then adjourned.

#### RESERVE BANK BILL DEBATE

27th NOVEMBER :—Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, rose to move for consideration the Reserve Bank of India Bill amidst cheers from all sections of the House. Referring to the work of the Select Committee, Sir George Schuster said: "On the great mass of what I may describe as the practical business machinery involved in setting up a Central Bank in India, the Committee checked and in many respects modified and rearranged the plan contained in the original bill. "As the result of all this, I can claim a very valuable piece of work had been done and we had produced a better plan. Now my object in referring to all this is not to indulge in flattery of the Committee and still less in complacent self-congratulation, but rather to emphasise the fact that a valuable piece of work had been done through the instrument of the Indian Legislature on this matter and to express the hope that this valuable work may not be jettisoned." Commenting on the important features of the bill as amended by the Select Committee, Sir George Schuster said: "Most of the general or political issues arise in the first part of the bill from clauses 1 to 16. Then as a separate class one must consider what I call the business clauses, the chief of which are clauses 17, 18, 33, and 42." Sir George made it clear that the Government had gone far to meet the non-official viewpoint. Touching the ratio question, Sir George Schuster emphasised: "Had the Government felt that the introduction of the bill would be made on occasion for an attempt to revise the present position, we should never have introduced the bill. The question which we have to put to the legislature is, whether they want the Reserve Bank or not. As to whether they want the present ratio, we do not seek to get any new confirmation about that from the legislature. That already has a statutory force. We do not seek or need to strengthen it." With these words, the Finance Member concluded his memorable speech, lasting just one hour amidst vociferous cheers from official and non-official benches.

Opposition to the Reserve Bank Bill was led by Mr. Sitaram Raju when he moved his amendment recommending the recommitment of the bill to the Joint Select

Committee for the purpose of making adequate provisions to serve rural credit on the analogy of the Australian Central Bank. He did not deny the importance of the interest of the banks and bankers which the bill sought to consider. But he stood for the greatest good of the greatest number and, in comparison with them, the banks' interests, he thought, were of second rate importance. Continuing, Mr. Raju attacked clauses 40 and 41 and advocated the divorce of matrimonial bondage between rupee and sterling, which was the result purely of executive action without any legislative sanction. He strongly urged for a provision in the bill for a separate department of rural credit to be kept distinct from all others as in the Australian Central Bank Act.

Mr. B. Das who wanted a State Bank criticised the mismanagement likely in a Shareholders' Bank and specially referred to the Imperial Bank. He did not want that directors under the influence of capitalists' votes, should be allowed to mismanage the Central Bank which he apprehended would follow the institution of Reserve Bank on a share-holders' basis. The House adjourned at this stage.

**28th NOVEMBER:**—The Bill was further debated upon to-day when the Assembly met with a larger attendance. Mr. B. Das wanted the nationals of those countries and Dominions like South Africa who discriminated against India to be "black-listed" so far as any facility afforded by the Reserve Bank in India was concerned. Mr. Bhupat Singh sounded a note of warning that the members should proceed with the Bill rather cautiously as no assurance had been forthcoming from the Government as to whether the Indian legislature would have the right to amend the Act in future. He added that the scheme of a shareholders' bank had been formulated on the principle of brushing aside all political influence but if the Governor-General in Council in the future constitution were to mean "the Governor-General at his discretion," where was the guarantee that political influence from London would not be brought to bear through the Secretary of State?

Mr. S. C. Mitra said that the Government could not advance any cogent and solid reasons against the proposal for a State Bank except that it would not be free from political influence. This, Mr. Mitra thought, was absolutely untenable, because the directorate of the State Bank could be framed exactly in the same way as the highest judiciary in the land and the proposed Statutory Railway Board.

**29th NOVEMBER:**—After the question hour, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, resuming his speech on the Reserve Bank Bill, referred to the disadvantages which the Opposition was suffering from, namely, the deadweight of votes of members of the Council of State, the attitude of their leader and the absence of a chairman from the Opposition. Reiterating his faith in a State Bank, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed remarked that there were only two classes of people who supported the Shareholders' Bank, viz., those whose conscience was in Whitehall and those who were willing to sell the country for a price or as a free gift. Reinforcing his argument that the Reserve Bank must be a State Bank Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed urged that the entire profit of the Bank should go to general revenues to lighten the burden of tax-payers. Concluding, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed said: "According to our experience of Indian Railways, Indianisation of service is more likely in a State Bank than in a Company managed Bank. Moreover, a State Bank will undoubtedly give much greater facilities to the land mortgage banks and co-operative banks."

Mr. James congratulated Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed on his learned thesis, although he differed from him. He found himself in agreement with the general principles of the Bill, but opposed Mr. Sitaram Raju's amendment for recommitment of the Bill to a joint committee.

U. Ba Maung reviewed the Bill from the Burmese point of view and favoured a State Bank, as the people of Burma being extremely poor could not afford to purchase shares of a Shareholders' Bank. He further observed that each shareholder, irrespective of the number of shares bought by him, should have one vote. The rupee-sterling ratio, he held, should be so fixed as to raise prices of the agricultural commodities.

Bhai Paramanand supported the scheme of a shareholders' Bank as it would mean democratic control over the bank. Bhai Paramanand began his speech with the confession that he first approached the Bill with some amount of suspicion as was natural for a non-official member. But after going through some literature on the subject, he was now prepared to take a more impartial view of it. He considered the question of State Bank versus Shareholders' Bank was not very material to the

Bill. He could not also subscribe to the view that the Bank would fall into the hands of a few capitalists and tax-payers would suffer if the scheme of a Shareholders' Bank was accepted. He could not agree that people would be relieved of a great burden if the principle of State Bank was adopted.

*Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar* emphasised that early passage of the Bill before the House would hasten the inauguration of full responsible Government at the Centre. He championed the scheme of a Shareholders' Bank as he was not inclined to think that the Legislature should interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Reserve Bank. Surveying, as he said, the situation from China to Peru, the speaker was convinced that post-war effort to reconstruct the monetary system in most parts of the world resulted in the establishment of Reserve Banks on the principle of the shareholders' plan.

**30th. NOVEMBER :—**At the conclusion of four days' debate the Assembly adopted to-day the motion for taking into consideration the Select Committee's report on the Reserve Bank Bill. *Mr. K. C. Neogy* stood up to support the scheme of a State Bank. He introduced some humour in his speech, complaining against the changed outlook of some members over the question of State versus Shareholders' Bank. He took those to task who without giving reasons were now championing the Shareholders' scheme, but who opposed it in 1927. While complimenting *Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar* for the erudition exhibited in his yesterday's speech, *Mr. Neogy* pointed out that his statement that the tendency everywhere at present was towards a Shareholders' Bank was not correct. *Mr. Neogy* reprimanded *Mr. Mudaliar* for clouding the issue so much so that after listening to his speech it was difficult for them, and still more for men in the street, to make out whether the proposed Reserve Bank will be a Shareholders' Bank or a State Bank. He regretted that even though the Secretary of State and the Joint Parliamentary Committee prepared to meet the Indian viewpoint to some extent regarding any legislation depriving foreigners from holding shares in the Reserve Bank, the Joint Select Committee here nullified what he wanted to give. *Mr. Neogy* challenged *Dewan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar* to take a plebiscite in the country on the issue of State versus Shareholders' Bank. The result of such a plebiscite would confound the supporters of the Shareholders' Bank, whom he warned against the danger of installing the "Grand Mogul" at Whitehall in the position of complete sovereignty under the cloak of a Shareholders' Bank so far as the country's credit and currency were concerned.

*Mr. Ranga Iyer* confessed that the British Government held the pistol on their head by stating that no Reserve Bank, no responsibilities at the Centre. "We have, accordingly, to accept Sir George Schuster's bill and try to move such amendments as may be accepted and approved by Sir George Schuster who is the representative of the subordinate branch of the Imperial administration".

*Sir Cowasjee Jehangir*, defending the Shareholders' Bank, pointed out that none in the London Committee on the Reserve Bank spoke a single word in favour of a State Bank. He believed there was a distinct change in the mind of many over this issue. He referred to the changes made by the Joint Committee in the original bill making the Shareholders' scheme acceptable to public opinion. Replying to *Mr. Neogy* that the shareholders would not have any control over the management of the Bank or the directors, he asserted that substantial control over the directors could be exercised by the shareholders at the time of election. The speaker assured the House that the Select Committee had done their utmost to secure the greatest percentage of shares being held by natural-born Indians. They got definite assurance from the Finance Member. *Sir Cowasjee Jehangir* strongly protested against the intrusion of communal issues on every occasion. He said: "I have nothing to do with Hindus, nothing with Mahomedans and nothing with Parsees. I appeal to Dr. Ziauddin to keep out the communal issue."

"The country will be grateful to this legislature for its work in connection with the Reserve Bank" said *Sir George Schuster*, replying to the debate. "This is a business proposition and we proceeded all along on business lines. The safe-guards now incorporated in the Bill, will, as the days go, prove innocuous and nugatory. He hoped the majority of the House were now convinced about the utility of a Shareholders' Bank which would maintain its independence of undesirable political influences. He deprecated the idea that by devaluating the unit of currency, the general prosperity of the country could be improved. It would only alter the distribution of wealth. He told those who condemned the gold exodus that the present policy of the Government would result, according to the present estimate,

in a favourable balance of merchandise between 35 to 40 crores when the present financial year would close. Referring to the ratio, Sir George emphasised : "We shall be deceiving the public and everybody in this legislature, if we help in opening the door danger, by re-opening the question. We have a responsibility. As this matter is to come up, we must incorporate it in the Bill, as it stands. As far as we can see there is no change in the present position.

Mr. *Sitaram Raju's* motion that the Bill be recommended to the Select Committee was withdrawn. Sir George Schuster's motion for consideration of the Bill was accepted. The House then adjourned.

**1st. DECEMBER :**—The second reading of the Reserve Bank Bill was proceeded with in the Assembly to-day. Detailed discussions followed on separate clauses of the Bill and the amendments moved thereto.

Mr. *Vidyasagar Pandya*, through an amendment to clause 1, sub-clause 4, fixing the duration of the Act, sought to provide that the life of the Act may be extended after 25 years by an appropriate legislation on the petition of the Bank made not less than three years before the expiry of 25 years. Similar amendments stood in the name of Diwan Bahadur Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. Thampam.

When the consideration of the Reserve Bank Bill was taken up, Mr. *Sitakanta Mahapatra*, the newly-returned member from Orissa, made a maiden speech in moving an amendment to clause 2, which sought extension of the meaning of the provincial Co-operative Bank so as to include the district co-operative banks.

Sir George Schuster modified the proviso to the definition of the provincial co-operative bank so as to accommodate those district co-operative banks which were recognised by the Local Governments wherenon Mr. *Mahapatra* withdrew his amendment.

A peculiar legal objection was raised by the *Law Member* when Mr. *S. C. Mitter* wanted to add to clause 2, defining the term "Governor-General-in-Council" as meaning "Governor-General in consultation with the Member-in-Charge of Finance". Sir Brojen Mitter pointed out that the acceptance of this amendment would infringe the rights of other members of the Viceroy's Executive Council participating in the discussions regarding the Reserve Bank Act that may be brought before the Executive Council. As the Amendment affects the provisions of the Government of India Act it should not be allowed to be removed. Mr. Mitra enquired if he was entitled to move an amendment restricting the meaning of the term Governor-General-in-Council wherever it occurs in the Bill.

Sir Brojen Mitter replied in the affirmative, but that also would affect another section of the Government of India Act.

The President amidst loud cheers ruled that any legislation contravening any provision of the Government of India Act would be outside the jurisdiction of the House, but it is competent by an Act of this legislature to confer powers on any authority in India provided the conferment of such power was not inconsistent with the provisions of the Imperial Act. The President, accordingly, held that the amendment was in order.

Moving his amendment Mr. *S. C. Mitter* said this was the test of the bona-fides of the Government, if they really wanted in future the Reserve Bank to be free from all political influences here or across the ocean.

Mr. *Vidyasagar Pandya* wanted the meaning of the term "Governor-General-in-Council, occurring 92 times in the Bill, to be clarified.

**2nd. DECEMBER :**—Before the discussion followed on Mr. *S. C. Mitter's* amendment, the President pointed out that he discovered that acceptance of the motion would lead to great anomalies in the Bill, as in certain sections of the Bill it would be meaningless while in some others it would be quite absurd. So he asked the mover to withdraw it.

Sir George Schuster, objecting, said that he wanted an opportunity of replying to all the speeches on the motion yesterday and so he urged that the discussion be continued.

The President, agreeing, stated that at the end of the discussion he would take the motion as withdrawn but would allow Mr. Mitra to move this amendment to this effect at subsequent stages where it will fit in with the clause.

Opposing the basic principle underlying Mr. Mitra's amendment, Mr. *Yamin Khan* warned the House not to show more distrust in the Governor-General as that would bring more safeguards and unnecessarily antagonise the British Parliament

when the White Paper scheme would be enacted by them. He reprimanded Dewan Bahadur Mudaliar for his incorrect statement regarding the statement of the Secretary of State about Sir George Schuster's conduct. Mr. Yamin Khan, continuing, reiterated his faith in the executive councillors of British Indian character. Mr. D. K. Lahiri Choudhury : You are casting reflections on men of your type whom I do not want to come into the future ministry. Mahomed Mudazzem Saheb Bahadur observed that if the amendment was carried, the Governor-General would be placed in a subsidiary position. Mr. Lahiri Choudhury offered his whole-hearted support to the motion. Mr. Ranga Iyer delivered a forceful speech supporting the amendment and criticised the White Paper scheme. He asserted :—We must not miss any opportunity to secure for our country its indefeasible right of unfettered financial autonomy.

Replying to the debate Sir George Schuster appreciated the feelings of the members with regard to the particular amendment. He advised the House, inspite of objections raised by many to the principle and details of the Bill to pass the measure and harbour no suspicion against the British Parliament. Sir George pointed out that at a time when Parliament was engaged in framing up a constitutional plan for India, nothing would more help India's cause than anything done to allay the suspicions of the British House of Commons. He instanced the part played by Indians at Ottawa which considerably advanced the constitutional discussions in England. He assured the House that the future Governor-General even when acting at his discretion could not ignore the Ministry of Finance as that would mean a breakdown of the constitution.

Mr. S. C. Mitra enquired what decision was arrived at with regard to the particular places where the Governor-General should act at his discretion.

The Finance Member told the House that it had not been discussed in detail so far, but the Government of India would urge that the recommendations of the London Committee on the Reserve Bank in this behalf might be fully honoured. He also announced that this discussion on the present amendment would be sent to the Secretary of State.

The Chair at this stage withdrew the amendment, as it appeared to him on further consideration to be in certain respects out of order as was pointed out in the morning.

There being no amendment, clause 3 was passed 'nem con'.

Moving an amendment that clause 4 be altered to mean that the original share capital of five crores of rupees in the Reserve Bank be fully subscribed by the Government, Mr. Satyen Mitra appealed to the Government to allow freedom of vote where there might be honest difference of opinion even to the front benches in the other side of the House. The House then adjourned till December 5.

**5th. DECEMBER :**—Supporting Mr. Mitra's amendment that the share-capital of the Bank be subscribed by the State, Mr. Amarnath Dutt criticised the exponents of the share-holders scheme and characterised their logic as fallacious. Mr. Jaidav emphasised that more than three Central Banks during the post-war years were started as State Banks. Mr. Anklesaria deprecated the attitude of those members who dominated by suspicion of the British and Indian Governments which was a reflection on their own countrymen. He ridiculed these members and said their judgment had been influenced by propaganda writings in newspapers. Supporting Mr. S. C. Mitra, Sardar Sant Singh said that in the circumstances in which the Bill was brought forward he had no option but to support the scheme of a State Bank. Dr. Francis DeSouza found in a Shareholders' Bank the guarantee of India's financial Swarnj. Dilewan Lalchand Navalrai, while fully conscious that their voice would be a voice in the wilderness, warned the officials not to ride roughshod over Indian sentiments which were overwhelmingly for a State Bank. Mr. Gayaprasad Singh, favouring Mr. S. C. Mitra's motion, observed that nothing had happened since 1927 to justify such change in the attitude of the Government which in 1927 approved of the scheme of State Bank. Mr. Jagannath Agarwal in an able speech emphasising the common sense point of view challenged Sir George Schuster to deny whether the shareholders' scheme envisaged in the Bill would not be a subject of great influence to the State. If you analyse the provisions of the Bill in a dispassionate manner you will find you have all what we call public utility concern and therefore the private shareholders should not come into the picture at all. The Indian Government, he argued, acted so long as the half-socialist Government by owning Railways, mines, forces etc. Why should the Government now fight shy to

take over the Reserve Bank? Was it only because they feared that under the new constitution the centre of political gravity would pass into the hands of the Indians.

After Sir George Schuster's reply, Mr. S. C. Mitra's amendment that the original share capital of the Reserve Bank be subscribed by the State was defeated by 76 votes against 38. The House then adjourned.

**6th DECEMBER:**—*Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya* sprang a surprise on the House when he was called upon by the chair to move his amendment to clause 4 that the original share capital of the bank be seven and a half crores of rupees instead of five crores. Mr. Pandya informed the chair that he wanted all amendments moved by him to be withdrawn, in view of the great success achieved by Government yesterday in getting the House to agree to the shareholders' scheme by a majority of 43 though the Government had only a majority of three in the Select Committee and as he felt that there was not the ghost of a chance for any unofficial amendment being carried. Continuing Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya said, how could any unofficial amendment be carried by the House when the members were so hopelessly divided among themselves and when several party leaders voted openly with the Government flouting the party mandate.

The Chair inquired if Mr. Panday had the leave of the House to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Satyen Mitra strongly objected to their withdrawal and cried 'no' whereupon the Chair announced that the House did not permit Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya to withdraw his amendments.

Mr. S. C. Mitra said that Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya did neither express any intention in the Select Committee for increasing the share capital nor gave any reasons to-day for such an amendment. It was absolutely untenable, he said, that because the Government commanded a majority the opposition although in a minority for the time being should not press forward its views which they were bound to do constitutionally, morally, and honestly. Whether in a majority or in a minority, Mr. S. C. Mitra affirmed that the position of the opposition was unalterable.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt denied that the voting strength was overwhelmingly on the Government side and whatever might be their voting position they owed it to themselves to the Government and to the country at large to press their views before the Government.

Introducing a communal question Mr. Maswood Ahmed wondered why his Muslim friends blindly voted with the Government side as they had not got any assurance so far that even one Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank would be appointed from the Muslims.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir opposed the idea of raising the share capital as the matter was not a simple one. Like water fighting against unfavourable levels, nobody could stop the shares of the Bank flowing from one register to another.

Sir George Schuster said that he had no objection to the withdrawal of the amendment which was lost without voting.

Mr. Bhupat Singh next moved an amendment providing that the Government shall have the right to buy up all shares of the Bank at any time after the lapse of fifteen years from the date of the opening of the Bank. He further said that the matter was a very simple one and not new in principle. He quoted instances from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania, showing that provisions existed in every country empowering the State to buy up all the shares after a certain period. The provisions they were going to incorporate might not be violated, but the policy the Reserve Bank might pursue in future might be detrimental to the best interests of the country as it involved control of currency and credit of the entire country.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, supporting, urged that now that the Shareholders' versus State Bank question was settled no time should be wasted over that issue, but that they should concentrate on preventing predominance of an oligarchy over the destinies of the Bank. He held that in the last analysis there remained no more than 600 voters in each area and if the circulation was correct, after 15 years let all shares be acquired by the State.

Mr. Sitaran Raju, supporting, did not believe in Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya's counsel of despair. He confessed that he was buoyed by optimism of youth and wanted everyone on the opposition benches to have undying faith in destiny.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* stated that the majority of Indians outside this House at least in Bombay Presidency were in favour of a Shareholders' Bank; and he maintained that if the State bought up all the shares of the Bank after fifteen years it could not do so without paying compensation to the Shareholders. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* took his stand on sub-clause (4) of clause (1) which said that the Act shall remain in force for a period of 25 years and thereafter until repealed. Under this provision, he maintained, the State possessed the right to buy up the shares after 25 years.

The idea was hotly contested by the Law Member and the Finance Member. *Sir Brojendra Mitter* stated that sub-clause (4) of the clause (1) was merely an expectation and he was afraid *Sir Cowasji* confounded it with clause 56 which provides that the Bank shall not be placed in liquidation except by the order of the Governor-General-in-Council. *Sir George Schuster* held that the Government could take over the business and functions of the Bank after 25 years and not buy the shares if they so intended.

The Law Member and the President held that this legislature could not bind down any future legislature not to amend any legislation passed by this House.

*Mr. S. C. Mitra* deprecated the idea of compensation as the Shareholders, who would buy shares, would do so with eyes wide open and that after fifteen years the State would buy up all shares.

*Mr. Satish Sen* opposed the amendment as the provisions of the Indian Companies Act regarding liquidation would not apply.

*Mr. Gayaprasad Singh* inquired if the non-official members of the Assembly were debarred from bringing a Bill amending this Bill before the House without the sanction of the Governor-General.

The President:—Yes, the Government feared that the capitalists of Bombay and Calcutta, who will be on the directorate, would control the whole show.

After *Sir George Schuster's* reply, *Mr. Bhupat Singh's* motion was pressed to division and was lost. For the second time the Opposition party was heavily defeated, 24 voting for and 70 against. *Mr. Sitaram Raju's* motion was also negatived on the next amendment.

*Mr. Masood Ahmed* urged that separate registers of shareholders be maintained not only in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Rangoon but also in Karachi, Lahore, Cawnpore and Patna. The amendment was put to vote and was lost by 50 to 12.

With the object of preventing concentration of shares in the hands of a few capitalists, *Mr. S. C. Mitra* moved an amendment to the effect that no person be allowed to hold more than 200 shares. *Mr. Sitakanta Mahapatra* wanted to limit the holding of shares by any one individual to 50 shares. *Mr. Bhupat Singh* supported *Mr. Mitra* and voiced the reasonable fear of a few capitalists capturing the majority of shares and that manipulating the credit and currency of the country to its great detriment. He thought the acceptance of the present amendment would prevent a serious loophole in the statute. *Mr. Sitaram Raju* supporting *Mr. Mitra* wanted the bank to be broad-based on the real interests of the nation. *Mr. Mudaliar* requested *Sir George Schuster* to consider the advisability of accepting the amendment, thereby allaying the suspicion of large sections of people who were opposed to the scheme of a Shareholders' Bank. The House at this stage adjourned.

7th DECEMBER:—*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* opposed the motion, as he held it would not prove beneficial to the non-capitalists. *Mr. Eric Studd* opposing thought that cornering of shares by capitalists and their sterilisation were mere bogies of their imagination. *Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar* strongly advocated the acceptance of the amendment by the Government and ridiculed the idea that free marketing in uncompromising attitude, saying that the Government were not to be guided by ideas of placing the members under obligation, but by what was considered to be right and proper. *Dixan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* strongly protested, saying that the attitude of the Finance Member was explicable because he had a majority of votes in his pocket. He took strong exception to *Sir George Schuster's* remark.

The amendment was pressed to a division and was lost by a bare margin of one vote, 48 voting for and 49 against.

*Mr. Sitaram Raju's* amendment urging that not more than 25 per cent. of the allotted shares be transferred outside the area was negatived.

In another amendment Mr. Bhupat Singh wanted that as soon as a shareholder retires from India permanently, he does cease to be a shareholder and to receive dividend or bonus as also to be incapable of exercising vote". Mr. Bhupat Singh drew pointed attention to the fact that the Bill would make no provision on that behalf.

Sir George Schuster disagreed. Sir B. L. Mitter held that notwithstanding the shareholders, name being on the register there were other provisions in the Bill disqualifying the receipt of dividend or exercise of vote.

The President remarked that the Bill was vague on this point.

Sir George Schuster admitted that there was nothing promised to remove it.

The President ruled that Mr. Bhupat Singh's amendment be held in abeyance.

Mr. Thampan moved an amendment to provide that only the companies 75 per cent of whose capital were held by Indians be entitled to be shareholders of the company.

Sir George Schuster opposed this motion on the ground of difficulty in scrutinising the shareholders' list. The Joint Select Committee had discussed the question and endorsed the present provision. On Sir George Schuster's promising to modify the Bill to a certain extent in the light of the criticism of the House its further consideration was postponed.

The adjournment motion in the Assembly raised by Mr. B. Das over the Secretary of State's Memorandum and evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee denying India the right to remonstrate against the Dominions was talked out after numerous speeches indicating unanimity and depth of feeling.

**8th DECEMBER :**—Discussion was resumed on Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar's amendment urging at least 70 per cent. of the total number of shares of the Bank to be held always by Indian nationals.

The amendment was however pressed to division. While most sections of the House reached an agreement that in the rule-making sections of the Bill provisions be made to secure 75 per cent. shares to Indians and that agreement was accepted by Sir Brojendra Mitter, Leader of the House, Sir George Schuster took up an unrelenting attitude. The agreement, therefore, fell through. Consequent upon this eleventh hour development, Mr. K. C. Neogy, leader of the Democratic Party, challenged a division. The amendment was declared lost by 52 voting against 34.

Sir George Schuster accepted Mr. Gaya Prosad Singh's amendment eliminating all rights except that of selling of shares of shareholders who cease to be residents of British India.

Mr. Bhupat Singh withdrew his amendment, as the purpose was served by the previous amendment.

Another amendment which was accepted by the Government was by Mr. Azhar Ali, the object of which was to associate the committee of two elected members of the Assembly and one elected member of the Council of State to be elected by non-official members of the respective Houses with the central board of the Reserve Bank for making public the issue of shares and looking after the first allotment thereof.

When Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury was in the Chair, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's amendment to prevent the holding of more than 250 shares by any individual came up for consideration. The Deputy President allowed the amendment, but Sir Lancelot Graham objected on the ground that a very much similar amendment was rejected yesterday and they had insufficient notice. The House was divided on the amendment, which was lost by 63 voting against and 28 for.

**9th DECEMBER :**—Discussion was resumed on the amendments to clause 5 by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed to the effect that the share-capital of the Reserve Bank be increased or decreased on the recommendation of the Central Board with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council and with the approval of the Central Legislature to such an extent and manner as may be determined by the Bank in a general meeting. As there were certain controversial amendments to clause 4 still to be disposed of, the President ruled that the clause be held over.

To the great surprise of Dr. Ziauddin, Sir George Schuster accepted without even a verbal change his amendment. The only other amendment to clause 5 also being accepted by the Government, clause 5 was passed.

To clause 6, Mr. Thampan moved an amendment that the Bank should as soon as possible establish offices not only in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Rangoon but also in Karachi, Lahore and Cawnpore. Mr. Lalchand Navlrai wanted a branch or agency to be opened at Karachi. Lala Brijkishore wanted a branch at Cawnpore. Mr. O. Sullivan stressed the importance of a branch being opened at Karachi. Mr. O'Sullivan pleading for Karachi referred to the Sukkur Barrage, one of the wonders of Modern India which would ultimately make Karachi one of the most important ports of India, outstripping and outdistancing Bombay.

Sir George Schuster opposed saying that the Government would leave the decision of the question to the Central Board. This amendment was pressed to a division and was lost by 47 voting against and 39 for.

In moving his amendment to clause 6, that the Reserve Bank do open a branch at London, Mr. S. C. Mitra wanted that the Indians should have experience in inter-national money market. Moreover, he said, there was a general apprehension in public mind that if the Bank of England represented the Reserve Bank of India, it would be dominated by the city interests of London.

Mr. Bhupat Singh strongly supported the amendment on the ground that the Indians had a large ground, that the Indians had a large public debt to discharge and enormous home charges to pay. To discharge these onerous duties it stood to common sense that an Indian controlled branch of the Reserve Bank should be opened in London from the very inception.

Sir George Schuster thought it was almost a practical certainty that the Central Board of the Reserve Bank would open a branch in London but he did not like any statutory enforcement of such a provision and cited the instance of the Central Bank of South Africa which has no branch in London but transacted a huge business of selling gold through the Bank of England. Sir George Schuster, continuing, said if once a branch be opened in London it would have to be maintained.

The motion was then pressed to a division, resulting in the first victory of the opposition over the Reserve Bank Bill. The amendment of Mr. Thampan to clause 7 of the Bill increasing the powers of the shareholders at general meetings for conducting the business and administration of the Bank was negatived after a protracted debate.

After clause seven was passed Mr. B. Das moved an amendment that there would be only one Deputy Governor. Mr. Yamin Khan opposed the amendment. Raja Krishnamachariar, supporting the amendment, said Mr. Yamin Khan's special pleading that put the Government in a false position and when Sir George Schuster denied it, the amendment was negatived.

**11th DECEMBER :—**Mr. Thampan moved an amendment to clause 8 of the Bill, urging that of the Governor and two Deputy Governors of the Bank, two at least shall be Indians. Raja Krishnamachariar eloquently pleaded that while the whole history of British connection for 150 years was full of discrimination, it would be shitting one's eyes to the realities if they did not do something to prevent further discrimination. Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. Amar Nath Dutt also supported the motion. Sir George Schuster opposed any statutory provision being made to this effect.

The motion was defeated by 53 votes against 28.

Mr. Sitarama Raju moved an amendment, stressing that the Governor and Deputy Governors of the Reserve Bank be appointed on the recommendations of the Central Board. The object of the motion was to vest the Central Board with greater control in the matter of those appointments. After Sir George Schuster's reply the amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. Jadhav's amendment for reducing the number of the nominated directors of the Reserve Bank from four to two was negatived.

Similarly, Mr. Ramkrishna Reddi's amendment for raising the number of the elected directors from eight to nine and Mr. Thampan's amendment urging that the nomination of the directors be made by the Finance Member instead of by the Governor-General in Council was defeated.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed moved an amendment that directors be elected directly by the shareholders of the Bank instead of by the local boards of the Reserve Bank. Mr. Satish Sen supporting held that the shareholders of the Bank must be given the power of electing the Directors. The amendment was lost,

*Raja Krishnamachariar's* amendment that at least two of the eight directors elected from the five registers shall be the representatives of the agricultural interests was also negatived. The Assembly then adjourned.

**12th DECEMBER:**—Before the Assembly met to-day there were two informal conferences. The first conference was between Sir Joseph Bhore and Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, *Raja Krishnamachariar*, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mr. S. C. Mitra, Mr. James Morgan and Mr. Amarnath Dutt to deal with the problems of imported rice. In this connection the Government had already circulated some statistics, but the members wanted more statistics regarding the export and import of rice, the area of production, price level during the last quinquennium at various provincial centres, etc. A question was also raised as to how Siam and Indo-China which were capturing India's foreign markets could be recaptured by standardising the production and facilitating the export.

The second conference, convened by Sir George Schuster and attended by Mr. S. C. Mitra, Mr. R. S. Sarma and others, explored the possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the Government and the non-official members by appointing a committee of the House, on the lines of the Salt Committee, to examine the working of Tariff Act on light Diesel oil and reporting to Government the grievances of the public. In moving that the Indian Tariff Bill imposing duty on light Diesel oil as reported by the Select Committee be considered, *Sir George Schuster* suggested that a committee of the House be appointed to watch the working of the Act on the lines of the Salt Committee on behalf of the Assembly and make representations to the Government from time to time as to any hardships either on the consumers or on the importers.

*Diwan Lalchand Navalrai* thought that justice demanded that Diesel oil which is used by the poorest classes for illuminating purposes be subjected to lighter tax. Mr. R. S. Sarma pleaded that the Bill, as modified by the Select Committee, be accepted. Mr. S. C. Mitra suggested that the lacuna in the Tariff Act whereby Diesel oil is imported duty free, be rectified, provided a proper testing lamp be used. While supporting the motion, Mr. Jadhav complained that the consumers suffered greatly on account of the Burma Oil Company's monopolistic position which would be more ensured by the operation of this Bill. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad thought the Bill would fail to bring increased revenue to the Government. He suggested oils should be graded according to their illuminating capacity and different rates of duty prescribed accordingly. Mr. F. E. James supported the principle underlying the Bill, *Sir George Schuster's* motion for consideration of the Bill was carried.

Mr. Thampan moved an amendment that a higher rate of import duty be fixed on those mineral oils which show the same illuminating capacity as the lowest grade kerosene oil suitable for the use of lamps. Mr. Sant Singh supported the amendment. Mr. Anwarul Azim opposed the amendment. *Sir George Schuster* pressed for its withdrawal. The amendment however was put to vote and negatived.

*Sardar Sant Singh* moved an amendment that the rate of duty on light Diesel oil be twelve pices per gallon instead of two annas and three pices as proposed in the bill. The motion was lost.

Similar amendments moved by *Diwan Lalchand Navalrai* were also negatived.

Mr. Thampan withdrew his amendment urging that oil used in machinery be taxed at 25 per cent ad valorem. Other amendments moved were defeated.

The second reading of the Bill was passed in a short time.

Next *Sir George Schuster* moved that the bill as amended be passed. Mr. Joshi opposed the Bill at this stage saying that this taxation was wrong in principle.

The bill was eventually passed. The House then adjourned.

**13th DECEMBER:**—Discussion on Mr. Aravamudha Ayangar's amendment seeking omission of sub-clause (2) of Clause 8 of the Reserve Bank Bill providing that the Governor of the Bank should be of tested banking experience of at least five years, was resumed in the Assembly to-day.

Mr. Satyendra Mitra, opposing the amendment, stated that this provision was carried by a large majority in the Select Committee. It was absurd that the first Governor of the bank who will be responsible for the success of the bank should be a man without banking experience. There was an apprehension in the minds of the people that the Government might have appointed their own man as the Governor who had no banking experience, hence this provision was necessary.

*Sardar Raghbir Singh* thought that the prescribing of five years' tested banking experience might limit the field of choice.

*Mr. Rahimtoola Chinoy* moved a further amendment to the effect that the Governor might be a man of practical banking experience and that no time limit should be fixed.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* asserted that the origin of the provision lay in apprehensions of the commercial community with regard to the first appointment of the Governor.

*Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh* observed that the fact that the Government wanted deletion of the sub-clause cast suspicion about their 'bona fides.'

*Divan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* chastised the mover of the amendment for stating that men with banking experience had a narrow vision and if it appointed governor they would hamper the progress of the Bank. He held that that amendment was irritating and calculated to antagonise the non-officials.

*Sir George Schuster* said that if they were to have as the first Governor of the Reserve Bank a man with five years' tested banking experience, such authorities of international repute as Sir Henry Strackosh and Mr. Otto Leymer, who could not claim such experience, would have to be excluded. On the other hand, a junior subordinate of 25 years in any banking institution with more than five years' experience might under this provision be appointed.—So he held that the position was very anomalous.

*Mr. Ayengar's* motion was carried by 62 voting for and 31 against,

*Mr. Sitakanta Mahapatra's* amendment that one of the Deputy Governors shall be versed in agriculture was lost.

*Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's* amendment urging that the salaries and allowances of the Governor and allowances of the Governor and Deputy Governors shall be subject to the vote of the Central Legislature was also defeated.

*Mr. Thampar's* and *Mr. Jog's* motions that the directors shall not hold office for more than ten years shared the same fate.

All amendments to Clause 8 by non-officials being lost, it was adopted.

Clause 4, prescribing the qualifications of the shareholders, was next taken up.

*Sardar Sant Singh* moved an amendment that the Society registered under the Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 as a scheduled bank and not the companies registered under the Indian Companies Act shall be eligible to hold the shares of the bank. *Mr. B. Das* supporting explained that the object of the motion was to exclude the Dominions discriminating against the Indians from holding shares. *Divan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* pleaded for acceptance of the amendment. But it was lost, and Clause 4 was adopted. The House then adjourned.

**14th. DECEMBER :—**After question hour to-day, clause 8 of the Reserve Bank Bill was passed, all amendments thereto being disposed of.

*Mr. Thampar's* amendment to clause 9 that eight members instead of five be elected from among the shareholders of the local boards was negatived after *Sir George Schuster's* objection that such increase in numbers would militate against direct election.

*Dr. Ziauddin* moved an amendment urging deletion of the words, "Each shareholder having more than five shares has one vote, subject to a maximum of ten votes".

*Mr. Bhupat Singh* supporting said that the whole principle underlying the Bill, according to the Government was that the Bank should be free from political influence and for that reason they made the Bank a Shareholders' Bank and not a State Bank. It is now necessary that one man should have one vote only irrespective of the number of shares held by him so that votes may not be stabilised. Again if the amendment be accepted there may be a great demand for shares from among the masses. It has been said by a majority of the members of the House that the agriculturists or rural population should come forward to buy shares and if they knew that they will have a vote, there will be more inducement for them to invest their money. Though the dividend may not be so high, if they know they have got a voice in the management of the Bank, they will come forward to take shares. Then, again, by giving each shareholder one vote it will neutralise the evil prospect of domination by a small coterie.

*Sir George Schuster* opposed the motion which, when pressed to division, was lost by 28 voting for and 55 against.

After clause 9 was passed, *Divan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar* moved an amendment to clause 10, and sought to delete the provision from the clause that no person may be a director or a member of the local board of the Bank who had not been engaged for sometime in any agricultural, commercial, or industrial activities. Sir *George Schuster* accepted the amendment.

Other amendments moved by Mr. Reddi and Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* being defeated, clause 10 was adopted.

The amendment by Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* that the Governor, the Deputy Governors and the Directors may be removed before the expiry of their office if a resolution to that effect recording reasons thereof be passed by a majority of nine directors of the Central Board was lost.

Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed*'s next amendment urging deletion of sub-clause 5 of clause 11 prescribing that membership of the Central or local legislatures is a disqualification for membership and directorship of the Reserve Bank was rejected, 47 voting against and 25 for.

Clause 11 was next accepted by the House.

Clause 12 relating to casual vacancies caused by the absence of the Governor, Deputy Governors and directors was next taken up for consideration. All amendments to clause 12 being disposed of, clause 12 was adopted.

All amendments to clause 13 were also negatived and it was adopted. The Assembly then adjourned.

**15th. DECEMBER:**—Clause 14 relating to the holding of general meetings of the Reserve Bank was taken up. Mr. *Satish Sen*'s amendment that the shareholders present at the general meeting should be entitled to discuss the annual accounts and report to the Central Board on the working of the Bank and other allied matters, was accepted.

The amendment of Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* seeking to provide that the shareholders would be able to exercise their votes by proxy being carried, clause 14 was adopted.

The amendment to clause 15 prescribing the constitution of the first Central Board in such a manner that at least 75 per cent of the voting directors should be Indians, was withdrawn by Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed*.

Mr. *Bhupat Singh*, through an amendment, sought to provide that the first Governor of the Bank, who will be nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council, should be a man with thorough banking and financial experience. The mover thought that it was a salutary and innocent provision which should be accepted.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* wanted an assurance from the Government to this effect. Mr. *S. C. Mitra* supported the motion and Mr. *B. Das* made a passionate appeal for its acceptance. The *Finance Member* assuring that the First Governor of the Bank would be the best man, the amendment of Mr. *Bhupat Singh* was put to vote and declared lost. Other amendments were also negatived. Clauses 15 and 16, deleting with the first constitution of the Local Boards of the Bank were then adopted by the House.

A large number of amendments was moved by non-officials to clause 17 detailing the functions of the Bank all of which were negatived. Mr. *Thampam's* amendment sought to preclude the bank from purchasing securities from Indian States as provided in the Bill. Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* and Mr. *Bhagatram Puri* supported the motion. Raja *Bahadur Krishnamachariar* observed that the amendment was based on misconception. The bank was intended for Federal India which would not come into existence without the States coming into the federation. The motion was defeated.

Mr. *Aravamudha Ayangar's* amendment recommending that the bank might purchase shares of an international bank, gave rise to bitter speeches by Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* and Mr. *Gaya Prasad Singh*, but it was carried by 54 votes against 13.

All amendments moved by the Opposition Benches were lost. Clauses 17, 18 and 19 relating to the business which the bank should not transact were passed.

Clauses 20 to 23 dealing with the obligation of the bank to transact business, the right of the bank to transact Government business in India and to issue notes etc., were hurriedly disposed of.

Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* moved an amendment that notes issued by the bank should not be of a denominational value of less than Rs. 5. He pleaded if one rupee notes are issued it would drive the silver coins out of circulation and lead to great inconveniences to the poor people. He hinted that already the paper currency in circu-

lation was in excess. Mr. Puri observed that the silver coins were largely counterfeited in the Punjab.

**16th. DECEMBER :—**Clauses 26 and 27 of the Reserve Bank Bill were passed in quick succession.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed moved that clause 28 be amended to make the Bank liable for compensation for damaged and mutilated notes of both the Reserve Bank and the Government of India. Sir George Schuster, opposing the motion, promised to set up a small expert committee consisting of the members of the Assembly, to examine the problem of damaged notes. The amendment was, however, lost.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's motion that provisions to the effect that rules regarding the refund of the value of currency notes be placed on the table of the House was accepted by Sir George Schuster.

Thereafter clauses 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 were passed.

Mr. Thampan moved an amendment that of the total assets of the issue department not two-thirds shall consist of gold.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed made a long speech supporting the motion and reviewed the whole currency position of India and stressed the necessity of increasing the Gold Reserve of the country. The motion, however, was defeated.

Discussion on other amendments to clause 33 relating to revaluation of gold was postponed till the discussion of ratio question was over.

Clauses 34 to 36 dealing with the liabilities of issue department and the initial assets and liabilities of the Bank, and allied questions were adopted.

Mr. Aravamudha Ayyangar moved for deletion of the proviso to clauses 37 that 40 crores in gold reserve could be reduced under certain contingencies only after sterling securities had been used.

When Raja Krishnamachariar was developing his argument against the amendment, Sir George Schuster intervening at the instance of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir stated that the misapprehensions were unfounded as he could not foresee or conceive of any circumstances when it would be necessary to deplete gold reserves. Sir George Schuster further said: "If you look at the problem strictly from a practical and impartial point of view our sterling reserves will not be speculative reserves, while gold would be speculative."

Mr. Bhupat Singh voiced a strong feeling of the country that gold reserves should be untouched so long other reserves were not disposed of. In the Select Committee there was some talk about the fixation of certain percentage of gold reserves but any statutory percentage of gold reserves was given up on a definite understanding that minimum gold reserves would be 40 crores which would not be touched till the other reserves were not exhausted.

Mr. S. C. Mitra thought that if Sir George Schuster were a free agent, he would unhesitatingly accept the Select Committee's recommendations. But situated and subject to the dictation of higher quarters as he was he could not do so. He asked the Finance Member what was the logic behind his statement that sterling was less speculative than gold.

The motion was then put to vote and negatived by an overwhelming majority.

Clauses 37 to 39 were disposed of in no time.

Mr. R. S. Sarma moved an amendment to clause 40, relating to the obligation of the Bank to sell Sterling at the rate as may be fixed by law which would be in force on the day prior to the section of the Bill coming into operation. He passionately pleaded for the acceptance of the motion and said that he would rather go without central responsibility, without Reserve Bank, if the section about the ratio were not modified according to the amendment.

Mr. S. C. Mitra moved a further amendment that the rate of ratio might be announced by the Governor-General-in-Council after consulting expert opinion at the time of bringing the Act into operation which should be ratified by the legislature. He warned the Government not to be too stolid by saying, "We won't pay any heed to the public demand because when the Bill becomes operative one year hence, circumstances might change fundamentally." They should not as well leave a loophole for speculators. Already speculation about the ratio compromise between the Government and the non-official members of the Assembly, broadcasted by subsidised News Agency, had upset the markets of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. To prevent such occurrences some provision be made for the ratio question being settled once for all by experts of International repute.

Mr. Sitaram Raju moved an amendment to the effect that the ratio be fixed at 1s. 4d.

General discussion followed, Mr. *Ramsay Scott* being the first speaker. He observed that India within the British Empire was at a great disadvantage to-day as since 1914, her exchange had appreciated, while New Zealand, Australia and Canada depreciated theirs to a great extent.

Mr. Thampan supported Mr. Raju's motion. The House then adjourned.

**18th. DECEMBER :**—In anticipation of an interesting debate on the amendments to clauses 40 to 41, bearing on the ratio question, there were more visitors in the House than usual. Sir *Leslie Hudson*, Leader of the European group, was the first speaker to-day. At the outset he made it clear that he opposed all the amendments on the ratio question, but thereby he would not let a feeling gain ground in the House that votes of the European group were in the pocket of the Government. The Europeans, he said, were for stability and security generally. Sir Leslie said how members of the Assembly, including Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and others subscribed to the view that the exchange obligations, to be referred to in the Reserve Bank Bill, should be in accord with the rupee-sterling ratio existing on the day when the Bill as enacted by the legislature had changed their front. He agreed that it was necessary that the commodity price should rise, but it should come about by natural and normal means. The speaker commented upon Mr. Sarma's amendment as not being an honest one. Though the export of commodities might increase by possible devaluation he feared that the world markets, which were saturated with abnormal condition won't absorb more. Thus it won't help the agriculturists as the profits accruing, due to possible rise in prices, would be swallowed up by middlemen, while it would worsen the Government's budget by 85 crores. Concluding, Sir Leslie said that the efforts now being made in this behalf in the House and outside were like trying to produce lightning by imitating thunderstorm.

Mr. *H. P. Mody*, criticising Sir Leslie Hudson, reminded him of the fact how this iniquitous ratio was forced down the throat of unwilling India by Sir Basil Blackett. He said, even though a capitalist, he must plead for the poor ryots. Though the majority of the Empire countries depreciated their currencies, the India Government turned a deaf ear to the revaluation agitation. He inquired what other nostrum the Government had got in its pharmacopœia for curing the evil of low prices. Pleading for acceptance of his and Mr. Sarma's amendment, Mr. Mody said : If you agree to our movement for devaluation, I assure you it will be supported by economic facts and figures, but the present position is intolerable that the legislature should be denied an opportunity of having its say on the ratio question.

Mr. *Sadiq Hasan* vehemently accused the Government and stated that Indian industries were hard hit by overvalued rupee. He said the solution of unemployment problem lay in rapid industrialisation of the country, but the present ratio exchange far from helping it was actually digging the grave for the existing industries.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar took Sir Leslie Hudson severely to task for having accused the members of the London Committee for repudiation of signature. It was Sir Leslie Hudson, he said, who was guilty of such repudiation, because when the Government brought forward an amendment deleting the clause inserted by the Select Committee that the first Governor of the Bank be of five years' tested banking experience, Sir Leslie Hudson quietly voted with the Government against the Committee's recommendations, to which he was a party. Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar confessed that he was not perturbed by the bogey of speculation if the present ratio was disturbed. There was speculation and it would continue to be, theirs but it would be futile and unwise on the part of the Government to hold stubbornly that on September 1, 1934, when possibly the Reserve Bank begins functioning, the ratio will be 1s. 6d., neither more nor less. That course would be dangerously futile because the members were not prophets to look so far ahead.

Mr. *F. E. James* reiterated the view-point of his leader Sir Leslie Hudson that the attitude of the members of the London Committee in the Assembly was inconsistent. He saw no light how the disparity in internal and world prices—a world 'malaise'—could be cured. Continuing Mr. James said that it was highly doubtful if depreciation of currency would lead even to a temporary rise in the prices. But it would in any case raise the cost of living while the wages would remain stationary and there would thus be a great industrial unrest. He held that those countries which had depreciated currencies had been forced to do so by their budgetary equilibrium but India's budgetary position was flawlessly sound.

Mr. *Panga Iyer* maintained that the present ratio was regarded by both com-

merically minded patriots and the agriculturists as an outrage on India's finance. While other countries were forced to devalue by budgetary insolvency, India was forced not to devalue by official whims. The Council at this stage adjourned.

**19th. DECEMBER :—***Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed* was the first speaker this morning. Supporting devaluation, he said it would stimulate exports of agricultural products while the international price level will also rise. Just as in 1927 the problem to-day is to raise the prices and the best way of doing that was to effect a reduction of the rupee ratio.

At this stage the closure was moved and accepted. Sir George Schuster rose to reply amidst cheers. Sir George Schuster said Mr. S. C. Mitra's amendment pressing for an enquiry into the Ratio question would leave the door open for speculators while they wanted to proceed on a firm ground. So also Mr. Sarma's amendment leaves the position vague. So far as the amendments of Mr. Mody were concerned, as Sir Cowasji Jehangir frankly admitted, he supported it because he did not mean anything. Mr. Sarma's amendment, as also Mr. Mody's, really meant nothing nor would they compel the Government to return to the legislature for the Government might issue an ordinance which, if in force on the day prior to when this section comes into force, would become a permanent law. Continuing his speech, Sir George Schuster made a sensational revelation. He said a letter over the forged signature of Mr. J. B. Taylor, Additional Secretary, Finance Department, had been sent to the "Associated Press", asking them to broadcast certain message and the "Associated Press" put it on wires. On enquiry from the Telegraph Department Mr. Taylor asked the "Associated Press" to stop the message. Similarly, another message sent by the "Associated Press" about the possibility of Ratio compromise, which upset the Bombay Market, had to be contradicted. It all shows that a gang of vultures was hanging over the markets and if the Government allowed any uncertainty to prevail, the interests of poor agriculturists will go by the Board.

Sir George Schuster continued : "When these vultures hang about the markets, the sort of atmosphere that prevails, the risks inherent therein have got to be guarded against and this is the reason why we have got to take up a strong and definite attitude. Therefore, I say that the Government intend to maintain the present position. We cannot allow the present bill to be passed into an Act, if the list of any of the present amendments is incorporated therein leaving the position vague and indefinite. There must be no misunderstanding on this point".

The amendment of Mr. Sarma was pressed to a division. The amendment stating that the Reserve Bank shall sell to any person who makes a demand of gold at the rate which may be fixed by law in force on the day prior to the coming into force of this section was lost by 45 voting for and 63 against.

Mr. S. C. Mitra's amendment, pressing that the ratio be fixed by the Governor-General-in-Council after consultation with expert opinion in the country at the time of bringing this act into operation, was also negatived.

Mr. Mody's amendment to the effect that in clause 40, for the words "a rate not below one shilling five pence and forty-nine sixtieths of a penny for rupee," the words "rate at which on the day prior to the coming into force of this section, the Governor-General in Council be by law under obligation to sell sterling" be substituted, was also negatived.

The last amendment on the same subject on which the House divided was Mr. Sadiq Husain's which wanted the Rupee-ratio to be fixed at one Shilling four pence. The amendment was thrown out by the House by 57 voting against and 47 for.

Amendments on the ratio issue being of clauses 40 and 41 were adopted by the House in about half an hour's time.

*Dr. Ziauddin's* amendment to clause 42, whereby the demand and time liabilities would mean liabilities payable within and after 30 days was negatived.

Clauses 43 and 44 were adopted by the house without much discussion. There was heated debate on Mr. Sitaramraju's amendment to clause 45, seeking to reduce the period of agreement by the Reserve Bank with the Imperial to 10 years instead of 15 years. Dr. Ziauddin accused the Imperial Bank of "Swindling." Sir George Schuster strongly protested against the use of such unparliamentary term. Sir Cowasji Jehangir deplored that anybody should call names in the honourable house. The motion was negatived, after which the house adjourned.

**20th. DECEMBER :—**After clause 45 was adopted, *Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed* moved an amendment to clause 46 which specified that "rupee security worth five crores

be transferred to the Bank by Governor-General-in-Council" be deleted. Mr. Bhupat Singh opposed the amendment. Sir George Schuster also opposed the amendment. The Amendment was eventually lost.

Thereafter clauses 46, 47, 48 and 49 were adopted without any discussion.

To Clause 50 Mr. Thampan moved an amendment that at least one of the auditors of the Bank should be an Indian. On the Finance Member's opposition this was also negatived. Clause 51 was passed.

Progress was made thereafter at a galloping speed and clauses 52, 53 and 54 were passed in less than half-an-hour.

Mr. Aravamudha Iyengar's amendment to clause 55 that nothing should be contained in any declaration which shall operate and affect the Bank with a notice of any trust, was accepted and the clause was passed.

The President ruled out of order Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's amendment to clause 58 suggesting that certain sections of the Indian Coinage Act of 1906 be altered to enable the coinage of Gold Mohar equal to Rs. 20 standard weight of Mohur 164.4 troy.

An interesting debate on Mr. Sitaram Raju's amendment that after clause 59 the following new clause be substituted: "The Bank shall at an earliest possible date and in any case within two years from the date on which the Act comes into force establish a rural credit department as the district department of the bank to finance *inter alia* the agricultural operations.

**21st DECEMBER :**—With the passage of all the clauses, the second reading of the Reserve Bank Bill was concluded. Mr. Sitaram Raju's amendment that a rural credit department of the Reserve Bank be established in any case within two years of the Bank's coming into existence was further debated.

Mr. Govinda Reddy welcomed the ideal of a rural credit department but sounded a note of warning against the danger of over-borrowing by the agriculturists and held that the acceptance of the amendment while preventing hasty action promises a steady forward policy in developing rural banking in India.

Sardar Sant Singh, while whole-heartedly supporting the amendment, condemned the statement made in the Assembly by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Commissioner, Ambala Division, that agriculturists should repudiate the debts. The Sardar thought that establishment of the rural department would have a salutary effect on the money market and rates of interests would be coming down.

Sir George Schuster thought that the Reserve Bank could help the agriculturists through Co-operative Banks.

Mr. Raju withdrew his amendment and substituted another providing that the Bank shall create an agricultural credit department the functions of which shall be to maintain an expert staff to study questions relating to agricultural credit. This amendment was accepted.

Mr. Bhupat Singh's motion seeking to guard against accumulation of a large number of shares in one hand was withdrawn.

Mr. Thampan's amendment that profits of the issue department should go to the Governor-General-in-Council instead of to the shareholders was defeated.

Several amendments moved by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed urging reduction of commission to be paid to the Imperial Bank were also negatived.

All clauses and schedules being adopted Clause 1, which was originally passed over, was taken up.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed moved an amendment which sought to provide that extension of life of the Reserve Bank Act after 25 years should be granted by the Legislature on the petition of the Bank in that behalf.

Raja Krishnamachari moved for deletion of sub-clause 4 of clause 1, stating that the Act should remain in force for a period of 25 years and thereafter until repealed.

The amendment was supported by the Government and carried by 45 votes against 16.

Clause one as amended was then put to vote and passed, after which the President moved that the preamble to the Bill be adopted.

With the passing of the preamble the second reading was concluded.

Sir George Schuster then moved, amidst cheers, that the Bill as amended by the Assembly be passed.

Mr. Vidyasagar Panday, who was the first speaker during the third reading stage, complimented Sir George Schuster, on safely piloting the Bill.

*Mr. Joshi* observed that both the Government and the legislature had failed in their duty in limiting the number of voters and share-holders to a few.

*Mr. B. R. Puri* complained that the reading was like the burial service. Sir George Schuster had succeeded, not on the merits of the measure, but because there were members who had not the boldness to oppose it. He contended that the Bill had been gone through in the form the Government wanted. If the Finance Member had put aside the weapon of patronage, he could not have carried a single division. However, if the country had lost, let them hope that individuals had benefited. Mr. Puri divided the Government supporters into three categories: firstly, those who owned their existence in the House to the Government; secondly, those who, through past tradition or past favours or future expectations, threw their lot with the Government and thirdly, those who were periodical supporters of the Government and had helped the Government to pilot a certain measure. There was an offshoot of this class. They wished to please the Government as well as the people, and on occasions put up a fight on behalf of the people. They had a sample of this over the ratio question, when the leader of the European group accused them of dishonesty of purpose. Mr. Puri, continuing, referred to the London Committee and said that the members on it were not chosen by the House. Therefore the House was not bound to carry out the wishes of such a Committee. The report of the Committee was not even relevant to discussions in the House, and yet when the Members of that Committee took up certain attitude they were constantly warned not to disown the signature. Yet the Committee's findings were neither legally nor even morally binding on the House. Mr. Puri contended that these members had no business to go to hypothecate their views beforehand. Now these leaders found themselves separated from their following, nor could the Government own them, because they could not give an unhesitating support. Dealing with the Bill itself, Mr. Puri contended that legislative proceedings were a mere eye-wash merely to obtain their seal to it, and they were threats hanging over them that if they did not pass the measure, there would be no constitutional reform.

Mr. Puri had not concluded when the House rose.

**22nd. DECEMBER :—**The Reserve Bank Bill was passed by the Assembly to-day after a career of keen contention.

#### THE TARIFF ACT AMENDMENT BILL

Sir Joseph Bhore introduced his Tariff Act Amendment Bill, which proposed to levy enhanced duties on a wide variety of imported articles, most of them likely to be of necessarily daily use, with a view to safeguarding Indian industries which had been suffering from competition of an exceptional nature which proved a menace to their continued existence. The provisions shall have immediate effect.

The President then adjourned the House *Sine die*.

# THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AUTUMN SESSION—CALCUTTA, 8th AUG. to 8th SEPT. 1933

## UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTHS

The Autumn Session of the Bengal Legislative Council opened in Calcutta on the 8th August 1933. After interpellations, Mr. Ananda Mohan Poddar moved for the immediate appointment of a Committee consisting of fifteen including the Ministers of Agriculture and of Education and Acharya Roy, with power to co-opt experts, to inquire into the miserable condition of the educated youths of Bengal owing to unemployment and to devise means as to how the situation could be properly dealt with. Mr. Poddar complained that while every civilized Government was tackling the problem of unemployment, it was a tragedy that in this country, the Government was doing nothing to relieve unemployment. The speaker characterised the lot of educated Bengalis, many of whom were B. A.'s and M. A.'s as worse than miserable and attributed their political unrest to starvation consequent upon unemployment.

In the course of the debate which ensued the resolution was widely supported. *Navab Faroqui*, Minister, assuring the House of Government sympathy, referred to the unemployment relief schemes already initiated by him and said that the committee asked for would only hamper matters. The mover withdrew the resolution.

## BENGALIS AND GOVT. POSTS

Mr. Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai then moved that in filling appointments under the Government of Bengal none but Bengalis or men domiciled in Bengal be in future recruited, except in cases where specialised knowledge was necessary and no suitable candidate of either description was forthcoming. The mover quoted Acharya Roy to show that men of other provinces had invaded Bengal, leaving the children of the soil helpless. Whatever the justification for the appointment of non-Bengalis to Government jobs in the days when Calcutta was the capital of India, there was no excuse to-day when in every province the slogan was to exclude the men of other provinces.

*Rai Haridhona Dutt* opposed the motion and made caustic remarks on what he called the small-mindedness underlying the resolution. Did not Bengalis go to other provinces, including far-off Punjab and Madras, and get appointed to high jobs and did they not thereby add to the lustre of Bengal?

Mr. Santi Shekhar Roy, supporting the resolution, condemned the Government policy of excluding Bengalis from appointments to the police services which, he said, had been reserved for Beharis and U. P. men. He warned Sir William Prentice that if he wanted real peace in Bengal he should put an end to the "calculating distrust of my people".

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, in further supporting the resolution, recalled Mr. Haridhona Dutt's speech and took him to task for his big talk. He continued: "You might talk of Nationalism and all that. You can speak of a larger and united India, but it should not be forgotten that Bengalis are not wanted in other provinces. Mr. Basu pleaded that "Bengal for Bengalis" must be the slogan.

The debate had not concluded when the Council adjourned.

## The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill\*

9th AUGUST :—The public galleries were crowded to-day, when the Council discussed the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, moving that the Bill be referred to a select

\*The Calcutta Corporation on the 14th August passed a resolution refusing to send any representative before the select committee on the Calcutta Municipal Amendment (official) Bill in response to the invitation of the Secretary to the Bengal Council to send three representatives. The Corporation held that the bill was unnecessary and

committee of seventeen, including himself, with instructions to submit a report by the 16th August, made a speech which lasted for over an hour and-a-half. The Minister observed that the Government would not have brought forward the Bill were they not convinced that it was essential.

Explaining the objects of the Bill, the Minister said that it was intended to stop appointments of persons convicted of offences against the State and other anti-Government activities and to confer on the Corporation the right to be reimbursed through disallowance and surcharge of loss of its property or waste of its funds due to the neglect or misconduct of its employees, counsellors, aldermen or members of committees. Referring to the controversy between the Government and the Corporation on the question of appointments of political prisoners the Minister said that the Corporation had disclaimed responsibility for the political activities of its employees outside office-hours and had further declared that Civil Disobedience was not an offence for which disciplinary action was necessary because it involved no moral turpitude and that teachers were given leave during imprisonment because leave was due to them. After reading several extracts from what he characterised as the unsatisfactory replies of the Corporation to many inquiries made by the Government, the Minister charged the Corporation with maladministration. The Minister thought the Bill was urgent from the point of view of the State in general and of Calcutta rate-payers in particular. Continuing, he emphasised the "supremacy" of the Legislative Council and averred that the Government did only their duty of bringing the maladministration to its notice and seeking a legal remedy as the existing Act had been found wanting. The Minister denied that the Government had been actuated by vindictive spirit to deprive the Corporation of its autonomy. He declared that the Bill sought to prevent exploitation of Municipal resources in a manner antagonistic to the State. The Minister, proceeding, said that it could never be reasonably claimed that the Corporation should be given unfettered choice to choose its employees. "It may be argued", said the Minister, "that terrorism has its root in unemployment and it is, therefore, expedient to find suitable appointments for persons convicted of terrorism which may cure them." He refused to accept the general proposition, which meant paying a high premium to assassinations and other violent crimes. The Government, however, did appreciate the argument that, in some cases, employment might cure the wrong-doer, and he instanced the sanctioning by the Government of the appointment of the Assessor of the Improvement Trust Tribunal, who had ceased to be a terrorist and was anxious to settle down in life. In Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy's opinion the decision as to who, among the terrorists, were curable and who were not, should lie with the Government and not with a local body, especially as the Corporation had not desired to reclaim them through offering employment. The terrorists' movements were of a secret character and it was impossible for the police to plaoe all the facts before the Corporation. Apart from the political or moral side of the question the Minister was doubtful whether these teachers were able to devote their time and attention to teaching. Continuing, he quoted the Accountant-General of Bengal to prove that the Corporation accounts were defective and that the Corporation had evaded the Municipal law requiring the taking of Government sanction before inaugurating new schemes and that audit objections were never properly attended to.

The Minister dwelt at length on the objections to surcharge and quoted British and Scotch examples and also the example of Madras, where the Government Audit and surcharge were working without any hitch for over fourteen years. How then, he asked, could it become unworkable in Calcutta? After quoting over

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unworkable. The Mayor made it clear that their attitude did not mean the adoption of non-cooperation but he thought that no purpose would be served by sending representatives. The Mayor, Mr. S. K. Basu, presided at a public meeting in the Town Hall on the next day to protest against the Bill. Three resolutions were adopted recording the considered opinion of the meeting that the Bill was unnecessary and obstructive to the smooth progress of the municipal administration, condemning the action of the Minister in trying to create an unfavourable impression against the authorities of the Corporation by making allegations based on inaccurate information and exaggerated facts, also recording the opinion that the Government had done grave injustice to the representatives of the rate-payers in refusing to discuss the necessity of the bill, and finally endorsing the resolution adopted by the Corporation opposing *in toto* the bill designed to curb the civic rights of the people.

twenty instances where, according to him, the Corporation had suffered a loss on account of bad collection and bad accounting, the Minister explained why he could not accept the Corporation's request for a conference. The Council being already seized of the Bill, all that the Corporation could suggest was improvements, whereas it had urged wholesale withdrawal of the Bill. He assured the House that the Government would see to it that surcharges were not levied with retrospective effect, although the Bill generally took the date of Chittagong raid as the date of the rerudescence of terrorist and violent crimes in the province. He concluded with an appeal for reference of the Bill to a select committee.

*Moulvi Fazlul Haq* (ex-Minister) moved for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion and warned the Minister against relying too much on particulars furnished by the Department presided over by the "Prime Minister of Bengal, Sir William Prentice." Mr. Fazlul Haq declared that they might disagree with the opinions held by certain politicians. Speaking for himself, he was not in agreement with ninety per cent of the opinions held by Mr. Gandhi, but it would be absurd in these days of democracy to penalise political opinion. The Bill seemed to him to be absurd and mischievous. Were the Government aware that the very people in their employ, who were used for putting down the Non-co-operation Movement, sympathised with the Movement which they believed to be patriotic, Mr. Fazlul Haq thought that by circulating the Bill to public bodies and associations in Calcutta, the Government would be doing the barest justice to the Calcutta rate-payers.

Mr. P. Banerjee moving another amendment for eliciting public opinion before the 31st December, said that it was a tragedy that the charter of liberties granted to the second city of the British Empire by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, father of Indian Nationalism, was sought to be withdrawn by an unwise Minister.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu said that an anxious and dispassionate consideration of the Bill had led him to the conclusion that it should not have been introduced at all. He exposed the absurdity of the Bill which, according to his interpretation of it, penalised not only those imprisoned for six months and above, but also those sentenced to a fine of two rupees for petty offences. Thus, a person who was convicted by an honorary magistrate was disentitled for all time to come for entering the Corporation service. It seemed to Mr. Basu that it would be far cheaper for the tax-payer to get so-called objectionable men deported or detained than the present costly discussion in the Council.

Mr. Townsend, Local Self-Government Secretary, opposing circulation, quoted instances of what he called evasion by the Corporation of lawful control by the Government. The speaker covered the same ground as Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy, but in greater detail.

After several other members had spoken, the Minister, replying to the debate, denied that the Bill sought to penalise political opinion. The House divided and rejected Mr. Fazlal Haq's amendment by 84 to 17 votes. The motion for a select committee was then put and agreed to.

10th. AUGUST :—The House accepted the personnel of the Select Committee as settled by Sir B. P. Singh Roy, to consider the Calcutta Municipal Amending Bill, and instructed the Committee to submit its report by the 18th August, after which the third reading will be taken up.

#### BENGAL PUBLIC AMUSEMENT BILL

Sir William Prentice introduced the Bengal Places of Public Amusement Bill, and it was referred to a Select Committee. The object of the Bill was to provide for better control of certain places of public amusement and carnivals where gambling was prevalent and required that licences should be taken for keeping such places. Sir William Prentice explained that he wanted the Bill to be passed this session in order to bring it into force at the cold weather season.

#### PRESY. SMALL CAUSE COURTS ACT AMEND. BILL

The Hon'ble Sir William Prentice then moved his Bill further to amend the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act 1882. He also moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. Kumar Munindra Deb Ray Mahashay moved an amendment for circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon. Sir William having accepted the amendment for circulation, it was carried unanimously by the House.

### BENGALIS AND GOVT. POSTS

At the conclusion of the official business, the Council accepted the resolution recommending the appointment of none but Bengalis or men domiciled in the Province in the future except in cases of specialised knowledge or paucity of suitable men. The House defeated, by 37 to 23 votes, an amendment requiring recruitment in proportion of the population. Sir William Prentice, on behalf of the Government, stated that it was difficult to recruit on a population basis, but efforts would be made to enlist recruitment to the Services from the various communities, subject to the test of minimum qualification.

### MEDICAL RELIEF IN BENGAL

**11th. AUGUST :—**To-day's sitting of the Council was an extremely dull one. There were neither any interesting interpellations nor any important resolutions except one of *Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Dutta* which recommended the formation of a committee from representatives of the Government, the Corporation and the principal medical institutions of the country to examine "the adequacy of hospital accommodation including the provision for infectious cases, prepare a co-ordinated quinquennial or decennial programme of work with rough estimates of cost, for future expansion and development in the matter of medical relief (including any new line of work that may usefully be started) and suggest how the work and responsibility may be divided between Government, the Corporation and private efforts."

After the division on this resolution was over the Council again lapsed into the dullness in which its proceedings began. A few more unimportant resolutions were gone through, the House getting thinner and thinner, till at length it was pointed out to the Hon'ble President that the House did not form a quorum. The bell was rung, at intervals, for several times calling in the members without success when the Hon'ble President declared that the Council stood adjourned till the 14th.

**14th. AUGUST :—**When questions were over, the Hon'ble Sir William Prentice presented the Report of the Select Committee on the *Bengal Money-Lenders Bill* 1933 and the Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin presented the Report of the Select Committee on the *Bengal Wakfs Bill, 1932*.

### VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL

Moving that the Bengal Village Self-Government Bill be referred to a Select Committee, Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhury said that his Bill, if passed, would go greatly to benefit the agricultural population.

Opposing the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government said that his Bill was against the principle of Village Self-Government Act. Requesting the mover to withdraw his resolution the Hon'ble Minister said that the Government was intending to introduce a comprehensive Bill in the near future.

On being put to vote the motion was lost.

### EMBANKMENT AMEND. BILL

*Mr. N. K. Basu's* motion for reference of the Bengal Embankment (Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee was then moved and carried with a slight alteration in the personnel of the Select Committee.

*Maulavi Syed Majid Bukshi's Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill* 1932 was next taken up for discussion.

The original motion as well as the motion for circulation were both lost.

### ESTATES PARTITION AMEND. ACT

The motion for reference of the Estates Partition Act (Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee was withdrawn on request from the Hon'ble Member for Local Self-Government. The motion for circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon till the 15th September was passed.

### BENGAL STATE LOTTERIES BILL

Then came up the Bengal State Lotteries Bill, 1933 which evoked some interest. The mover, *Mr. P. N. Banerjee* said that an abnormal situation had arisen in the country. The Government was perpetually in want of money. Whenever any beneficent scheme was evolved Government would come out with the plea that nothing could be done as there was no money.

He said—"Lotteries are being run for so many charitable institutions as would be difficult to enumerate. Lotteries are held in foreign countries and they take away money from India." In most countries of the Continent Sweepstakes were organised by Government. He cited, as an example, the Irish Sweepstake. From Calcutta alone they had taken away about 20 lakhs of rupees. If this money were left in India, much good could have been done, in the opinion of the speaker, for the better management of hospitals. According to the speaker, the organisers of Irish Sweepstake gave away in prizes over 22 crores of rupees during the period November, 1913 to June 1933 and spent 50 lakhs of rupees on hospitals. The Irish hospitals which, according to the speaker, were the worst hospitals in the world save, perhaps, the Indian hospitals, were now the best equipped in the world. This was what the Irish Free State was doing.

Then he suggested that Government could not find a better way out than by organising such lotteries. He said that Government had organised such lotteries during the Wartime. What was there to prevent them now? In the opinion of the speaker the situation could not be more abnormal. He was prepared for the circulation of his Bill if that was the opinion of the House. He suggested that 20 p. c. of the total sale should go to meet the running expenses, 50 p. c. to charities and the balance of 30 p. c. to Government offers.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Woodhead was for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. *Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerjee* supported the amendment for circulation. Mr. Armstrong supported Mr. P. Banerjee's motion. The resolution being put to vote was lost. The motion for circulation was carried.

#### CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL

Moving the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill 1933 Mr. P. Banerjee said:—"In Bombay we find that there are already labour representatives in the Corporation, while there are no labour members in the Calcutta Corporation." In his opinion the Bengal Bus Syndicate should have their representative in the Corporation.

The Hon'ble Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy opposed the motion. He said he did not know wherefrom the mover had collected the figures. He further said that in the whole of Bengal the labour population comprised of only 5 lakhs. He failed to see the reason on what grounds the Bengal Bus Syndicate should have a representative in the Corporation. He hoped that the House would accept his motion for circulation.

Mr. P. Banerjee's motion for consideration of the Bill was put to vote and lost. The Hon'ble Minister's amendment for circulation was passed. The resolution over, the Council was adjourned.

#### BENGAL WATERWAYS BILL

**15th. AUGUST:**—The Council to-day practically devoted the whole of its time to discussing the Bengal Waterways Bill introduced by Sir A. K. Ghuznavi, Member-in-charge of the Irrigation Department. At his instance, the Bill was referred to a select committee. The Bill provided for the creation of a board of trustees to take over navigable waterways from the Irrigation department and administer and maintain them throughout the Presidency. In the course of a lengthy speech, Sir A. K. Ghuznavi said that the Bill would bring into existence, for the first time, a definite organisation which would be responsible for the campaign against the water hyacinth pest, which caused and was still causing havoc to trade, agriculture and public health. The maintenance of navigable water-ways would react favourably upon the economic life of the province.

#### BENGAL CESS AMENDMENT BILL

The Hon'ble Sir Pravas Chandra Mitter then introduced the Bengal Cess (Amendment) Bill, 1933. To the members who proposed moving the amendments for circulation he would say that his Bill had taken into consideration all the grievances which they sought to redress. He assured the house that he would be very grateful for any useful suggestions not only from the members of the Select Committee but also from other members who took a real interest in that Bill. If any member had any suggestions to make—let him make them as soon as possible. Government would take every care to put them before the Select Committee. In framing the Bill, the speaker said, the Praja Party, the European Councillors, the Landholders' Association and Tenants' Association had all been consulted. The Bengal Cess Bill had been undertaken on the consensus of opinion of the people who were so consulted.

**16th. AUGUST :—**The whole of the sitting of the Council to-day was devoted to the discussion of the Bengal Cess (Amendment) Bill, 1933, which had been introduced in the Council the previous day by the Hon'ble Sir Provash Chandra Mitter.

An amendment for circulation moved by Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhury was lost. A large number of amendments which sought to add to the personnel of the Select Committee was not moved. One moved by Mr. P. Banerjee was lost. Another moved by Mr. Khetra Mohan Roy, who sought to add the names of Mr. Ananda Mohan Poddar and himself also shared the same fate. Not satisfied with this, he called for a division. On division the motion was lost, 56 voting against and only 6 for the motion.

The Hon'ble Sir Provash Chandra Mitter then moved that the Bengal Cess Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The object of the Bill was to remove the various anomalies which had resulted from the working of the original Cess Act, chief among which were that the valuation depended on the accidental differences in the rates of rent and on whether the land had been sub-let or not.

In recent years dissatisfaction with the system had been expressed frequently in the Legislative Council and Government after consulting members representing all interests had come to the conclusion that the method which should be adopted in future when any of the districts for which a record-of-rights under the Bengal Tenancy Act had been prepared was revalued, was that contained in Chapter VII A of the Bill which represented the view of all groups who attended the Conferences at which the question of amending the Cess Act had been discussed.

The Council then stood adjourned till the 22nd August.

#### BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' BILL

**22nd. AUGUST :—**The Council discussed to-day the Bengal Money-lenders' Bill. A large number of amendments was gone through which were either lost, or not moved or withdrawn. Some interest hung round a resolution moved by Rai Bahadur Keshab Banerjee which sought to restrict the operation of the Act "In such areas and with respect to such classes of moneylenders as the Local Government may by notification in the Calcutta Gazette appoint." Division was called on this motion, which was lost by 49 to 42 votes.

An amendment, moved by Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar Das, which sought to restrict the application of the Act to particular areas, not all over Bengal at the same time, was opposed by Khan Bahadur Azizul Hug. Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta also opposed it on the ground that such operation of the Act in particular areas would lead to serious dislocation of trade in those areas. But if the Act was brought in operation all over Bengal and at the same time, there was no apprehension of such dislocation of business. The amendment was lost.

Mr. W. H. Thompson moved an amendment for the exemption of banking corporations and such other bodies registered under the Indian Companies Act whose primary object was not money-lending and which did not charge a higher rate of interest than what was stipulated in the Bill from the operation of the Act.

Mr. P. Banerjee, opposing him, said that he remained unconvinced by Mr. Thompson's amendment. As certain loan offices in the mofussil were charging a very high rate of interest, the Bill was being passed to put a check on these unscrupulous money-lending institutions. It did not include in any way banking institutions provided it did not charge a rate of interest higher than 12½ p. c.

**23rd. AUGUST :—**Discussion to-day centred mainly round three amendments; one moved by the Hon'ble Sir William Prentice, was carried—the other two were lost. Division was requisitioned twice, one on the amendment of Sir William Prentice, which was carried by 50 to 31 votes and the other on an amendment of Moulavi Abdul Quasem which was lost by an identical margin.

Clause 3 lays down that if in any suit in respect of any money lent by a money lender after the commencement of the Usurious Loans Act, 1918, it is found that the interest charged exceeds the rate of 12½ per cent. per annum in the case of an unsecured loan or that there is a stipulation for rests at intervals of less than six months, the Court shall, until the contrary is proved, presume for the purpose of section 3 of the Usurious Loans Act, 1918, that the interest charged is excessive and that the transaction was harsh and unconscionable and was substantially unfair, but this provision shall be without prejudice to the powers of the Court under the said section where the Court is satisfied that the interest charged, though not

exceeding  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, or 25 per cent. per annum, as the case may be, is excessive.

Moving that for the figure "12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " the figure "15" be substituted, the Hon'ble Sir William Prentice said that he had invited opinions of District authorities on the matter and a great majority of them were of opinion that 15 p. c. would be the right rate of interest. In his opinion, it was a just figure, so he suggested that the figure 15 should be substituted for the figure 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  p. c.

Moving his own motion, which sought to raise the rate of interest on secured and unsecured loans to 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  and 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  respectively, Mr. N. K. Basu said that from the report of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee it was found that the rate of interest varied greatly in different parts of the province. As a member of that committee, Khan Bahadur Azizul Hug was of opinion that 37 $\frac{1}{2}$  p. c. was a just rate. The economic condition of the country had not certainly improved since that time and he apprehended that money would not be forthcoming if such a low rate was accepted by the House.

Supporting the amendment of Sir William Prentice, the Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Woodhead said that there was danger if the house tried to fix a very much lower rate of interest than the actual rate. Replying to Mr. N. K. Basu, Khan Bahadur Azizul Hug said that he had changed his opinion and he had changed it deliberately. As regards the motion in question, he would leave the matter to the consideration of the House.

The amendment of Sir William Prentice was put to vote and carried. Division being called for the amendment was carried by 50 to 31 votes. Mr. N. K. Basu's amendment was lost.

**24th. AUGUST:**—A number of amendments, relating to clause 3 of the Bill, which sought to fix a rate of interest beyond which the court might consider usurious and provided stipulation for rests, was gone through and lost. No interesting debate centred round any of these amendments. Interest, however, was evinced when clause 4 of the Bill came up for discussion.

Clause 4 lays down: "Notwithstanding anything in any other Act, where in any suit in respect of any money, lent by a money-lender before the commencement of this Act it is found that the arrears of interest amount to a sum greater than the principal of the loan, the Court, unless it is satisfied that the money-lender had reasonable grounds for not enforcing his claim earlier, may limit the amount of such interest recoverable in the suit to an amount equal to the principal of the loan."

Mr. Ananda Mohan Poddar moved for the omission of the clause. Supporting, Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Mukherjee said that if the House accepted that clause, the effect of it on co-operative societies would be disastrous. Supporting, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta said that it might so happen that a loan which had been given at a very low rate of interest had grown to a figure much above the principal. Then, the burden of proving that there were reasonable grounds for delay in enforcing his claim earlier lay on the creditor. In his opinion, such a piece of legislation would be extremely hard on such creditors who, through sheer kindness, had allowed a debt to accumulate in times when the Bill was not in operation. Opposing the amendment, Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan said that having regard to the prevailing distress of the debtors it would not be right or just to enforce realisation of more than the principal amount. So far as past transactions were concerned, loans were generally made at a very high rate of interest; that was the main reason why interest had accumulated to an amount higher than the principal in most cases. He saw no reason why that clause should be omitted.

The amendment was lost, on division, 12 voting for and 60 against. Then followed a number of amendments which sought to alter the wording of the clause, adding to deleting or substituting a word or clause for another. They were all lost except one, moved by Maulvi Abdul Hakim, which sought to substitute the word 'shall' for 'may' in the clause. Khan Bahadur Azizul Hug, Member in charge of the Bill, accepted the amendment. Mr. J. L. Banerjee opposed it. In the course of his speech he said that the ends of justice would be frustrated if the court was given no discretion in the matter. In his opinion there were hundreds of cases in which moneylenders had refused to go to the court out of consideration for the debtor. The result of the operation of the Act would be that such moneylenders would be penalised. In the opinion of Mr. Abdul Quasem there was no question of

injustice involved in that matter. It might be that the debtor failed to pay the interest simply through his inability, through sheer distress.

The amendment was put to vote and carried. On a division being called it was carried by 53 to 19 votes. The clause, as altered, (by the situation of shall for may) was passed. The Council then adjourned.

**25th. AUGUST :**—The discussion on the Bengal Money-lenders' Bill came to a close to-day. The Bill as amended and passed by the Council, was very much the same as it emerged from the Select Committee, the only notable alteration being effected by the amendment of the Hon'ble Sir William Prentice which had fixed the rate of interest at 15 p. c. on secured loans, beyond which the court would presume the interest to be usurious.

### THE BENGAL USUARY BILL

The Council then took up the Bengal Tenants' Protection from Usury Bill. *Maulavi Majid Baksh* moved for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee. It was opposed by Mr. Sarat Kumar Roy, who also moved for the circulation of the Bill.

Sir William Prentice opposed both the motions, whereupon *Maulavi Majid Baksh* prayed for leave of the house to withdraw his motion. Sir William Prentice opposed withdrawal. Leave of the house not being obtained, the circulation motion was put to vote and lost. *Maulvi Majid Baksh* then called for a division. When the members assembled, the circulation motion was again put to vote and lost whereupon *Kumar Sanlisukhareswar Roy* rose on a point of order and asked whether *Maulavi Majid Baksh* was entitled at that stage to move his withdrawal motion. Controversy followed, many members taking part in it. At the end, the Hon'ble President said that the best course would be to go back and begin again. Thereupon *Maulavi Majid Baksh* begged leave of the house to withdraw his motion, to which Sir William Prentice objected. The sense of the house being taken the motion was lost. Division being prayed by *Maulavi Majid Baksh*, he was asked by the Hon'ble President as to what he really stood for—was he for the withdrawal of the Bill or simply for his motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee to which the member said that he was for withdrawal of his reference motion only.

Division being called, the motion was lost, 80 voting for and 50 against it. The motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was next put to vote and lost. The result of all this was that the Bill was not killed. The member could bring it up again in the next session. The Council then stood adjourned till the 29th.

### OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**29th. AUGUST :**—Three Bills were passed by the Council to-day, while a Government Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion. Of the three Bills passed two were Government Bills namely, the *Bengal Places of Public Amusement Bill*, sponsored by the Home Member, and the *Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill* sponsored by the Minister for Local Self-Government. The other Bill passed was the *Bengal Embankment (Amendment) Bill*.

The official Bill circulated was the *Bengal Nurses Bill* introduced by the Home Member.

### The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill

**31st. AUGUST :**—The Council took into consideration to-day the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, as amended by the Select Committee. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy moving that the Select Committee's report be taken into consideration, repeated his former assurance that the Government were not actuated by any vindictive motive. The Minister, defending the audit proposals of the Bill, declared that the auditing authority was the Accountant General of Bengal, who was an officer not of the Bengal Government, but of the Government of India.

Mr. Banerjee, moving for the recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee, declared that the Government were clouding the real issue by raising extraneous and subsidiary matters. He was convinced that the Corporation's electric supply scheme whereby the Corporation would gain several lakhs at the expense of the Electric Supply Company, was an eye-sore to the Government.

*Maulvi Abdus Samad*, supporting the motion, charged the Government with rushing through a measure without giving an opportunity to the biggest autonomous body of the province to have its say on it. Mr. Sanli Sekhareswar Roy considered

that the Select Committee had been misled. Mr. G. C. Miller thought that the Bill did not go far enough. Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta feared that the Government had made no charges which were not met by the Corporation.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, in further supporting the motion for re-committal, characterised the Government's attitude as un-British, unjust and unfair. The Government would not give any opportunity to the Corporation to reply to the charges. Mr. Chatterjee considered it strange that the select committee should content itself with sending an insulting invitation to the Corporation which no self-respecting person or body could accept. Continuing, Mr. Chatterjee said : A Government pamphlet mentions the names of alleged revolutionaries. The list has been disputed. Some of these alleged revolutionaries had been pardoned by His Majesty under the 1913 armistice. Did the Government propose to call the King-Emperor to order ? Some others come within the purview of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. Did they seek to repudiate the pact ? Others were mere suspects and no crime had been proved against them. Then there remained the case of those convicted and imprisoned because they asked the people to prefer Indian to Indian goods. Mr. Chatterjee continued :— “Do you propose to penalise these men, when in your own country ‘Buy British’ is a patriotic slogan?” There was one case which required examination. Pulin Das mentioned by the Government was one of those that helped the late Mr. C. R. Das to fight Non-Co-operation. The humour, however, lay in this that Pulin Das was not in Corporation employ.” (Laughter). Mr. Chatterjee, continuing, told the Minister and the House that he had the authority of the Corporation to say that were an opportunity given, they would meet and discuss matters with the Government.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin opposed the motion. Rev. B. C. Nag opposed the motion, because the Corporation had allowed itself to be led by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The debate had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

1st. SEPTEMBER :—By 89 against 19 votes, the Council rejected to-day Mr. P. Banerjee’s motion to re-commit the Calcutta Municipal Bill to a select committee.

Mr. Townsend, Secretary, Local Self-Government Department defended the Government position.

Replying to the debate, the Minister repeated his charges against the Corporation, but disclaimed personal responsibility for the Publicity Board’s pamphlets on the subjects. Sir Provash Miller stated that no member of the Government was a member of the Publicity Board.

The Council then rejected Mr. Santi Shekhar Roy’s motion for re-committal of Clauses 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, without a discussion.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu unsuccessfully moved an amendment, providing that the Act should come into force on such date as the Local Government might notify in the Calcutta Gazette direct and that the Local Government might notify different dates for the coming into operation of the different provisions of the Act.

On the Minister’s assurance that the Government had no objection to consider them later on, consideration of Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri’s amendments for the omission of clauses two and three was postponed.

The House then took up Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta’s motion for deletion of clause 4. The clause stated : “Without the previous sanction of the Local Government, in each case no person shall be appointed as a municipal officer or servant, if he had been convicted of an offence against the State or had been sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months or more.” The mover made a spirited speech, in the course of which, he attacked the very principle of the clause and asked why, if the highest official appointment under the State was available for an ex-convict like Sir Surendranath Bannerjee, Corporation appointments should be refused to patriotic young men.

The Minister replied that nowhere had it been laid down that the Government appointments were open to convicts. He added that the Government were always willing to extend their discretionary powers for the benefit of convicts who desired to turn a new leaf.

Mr. Santi Shekhar Roy, supporting the amendment, condemned the Government’s desire to interfere with individual appointments in each case. That inter-

\* Proceedings taken from the ‘Hindu’ of Madras.

ference, to Mr. Roy's mind, would be undesirable and unfair, as it vested in the Executive the power to subject every detail of the Corporation work to their security. Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhury, as the oldest member of the House, appealed for deletion of the objectionable clause.

Mr. P. Banerjee characterised the clause as mischievous, as it sought to suppress the struggle for freedom. Mr. Baerjee regretted that a popular Indian Minister could not see the mischief in it. He would advise the Government to take advantage of the present political situation and drop this most dangerous clause.

Mr. Abdus Samad, further supporting the motion, recalled that the insertion of the clause had no justification, for not only had no case been made out for it, but the Minister had failed to substantiate his allegations that terrorists had been employed by the Corporation. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 4th.

**4th. SEPTEMBER :—**Resuming the debate to-day on Dr. Sen Gupta's amendment for the omission of clause four, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu characterised the section as uncalled for, unjustified and mischievous.

A sharp passage-at-arms ensued between Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy and Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, when the latter made a reference to the correspondence between the Local Self-Government Department and the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. The Minister objected that it was not relevant to the debate, but the speaker insisted that he was only replying to the Minister's earlier references.

The President upheld the Minister's objection.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu pointed out that the provision debarring even a qualified man from holding a Corporation appointment, vested in the Executive a power which would be abused to the detriment of even innocent Bengalees.

Mr. S. M. Bose, opposing the amendment, said that the clause only led stress on an accepted dictum that no public servant should take part in active politics.

Mr. Townsend opposed the motion, which was negatived by 84 against 20 votes.

Mr. Shanti Shekharwar Roy then moved that the proposed Section 54-A be omitted. The section insisted on previous Government permission for all appointments. Mr. Roy thought that the inclusion of the section exposed the Government's vindictiveness.

The President refused to allow Mr. Roy to make any reference to Government pamphlets on the subject of the employment of alleged terrorists and objectionable persons by the Corporation.

Mr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee asked how the Government proposed to apply the provisions of the section. Was this a section which would have appealed to Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee whose name had been imported into the discussion by the Government benches? Mr. Mookherjee declared that neither logic nor justice was on the Government side.

Mr. Townsend, speaking for the Government, maintained that the section would have a most salutary effect on law-breakers who made use of the Corporation as a convenient handle. Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu's amendment to delete the words "without the previous sanction of the Local Government in each case" from Section 54 (A) (1), was lost, after Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy had explained that the Corporation was not at all put in the position of applying to the Government in the case of every appointment.

After another amendment had met with a similar fate, Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhury sought by an amendment to change "imprisonment for two months or more" into "rigorous imprisonment for more than three months or simple imprisonment for more than six months." By consent of the Minister, consideration of the amendment was put off to a later stage.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu's amendment to limit the scope of the section to Municipal teachers alone was lost.

Dr. Sen Gupta's and Mr. N. K. Basu's amendments for the omission of the words "been convicted of an offence against the State" and for limiting the section to a period after the commencement of the Act respectively, were lost, the first one without a division and the second by 77 votes against 15.

Mr. Basu's amendment to limit the scope of the restriction to offences involving violence was lost by 59 against 14 votes. The Minister observed that there were cases of persons responsible for violent deeds, but not convicted of violence.

Mr. Shanti Shekharwar Roy's amendment to omit from the section the words "or been sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months or more" had not been disposed of when the Council adjourned.

## WALK-OUT THREAT BY OPPOSITION GROUP

During the debate the Opposition group led by Mr. N. K. Basu threatened to withdraw from the House, as a protest against certain remarks of the Chair.

Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta, moving for the deletion of the clause imposing disqualification, was emphasising the point that the new Corporation which was animated by a new spirit had not been given a chance.

The President, intervening, pointed out that the speaker was not confining his remarks to the clause in question. He added that it was the clear duty of the Chair to see that the minority got a fair hearing, but at the same time to prevent them from obstructing the majority in pursuit of their work.

Dr. Sen Gupta took exception to the President's statement, whereupon the President observed that if the member would go on like that, the President would have to ask him to resume his seat.

Following this, Mr. N. K. Basu, Leader of the Opposition, said that in view of the course taken by the President, they thought no useful purpose would be served by their taking part in the debate any further.

The President then asked Mr. Basu to make a full statement, following which he explained his position. The incident closed there, and the threatened walk-out did not materialise.

**5th. SEPTEMBER :—**Resuming the discussion to-day on the amendment to delete reference to "imprisonment for three months or more" Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu appealed to Englishmen in the House not to lose their British sense of fairplay in considering the amendment.

Mr. P. Banerjea appealed to the Government to accept the amendment and thus prove that they were not actuated by feelings of vindictiveness.

Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy replied that the Government should prevent the appointment of men convicted of offences against the State. Were there not thousands of honest folk who could be appointed? He added that the Corporation had forfeited its right to any consideration.

The amendment was rejected by 47 against 21 votes.

Mr. Abdul Hakim, by an amendment, sought to limit the scope of Section 54-A (1) to offences involving moral turpitude or rigorous imprisonment for a term of six months or more. The mover emphasised that Civil Disobedience did not involve moral turpitude. As it stood, the section could debar the Minister himself, if he was convicted of rash driving for instance.

The amendment was negatived without division.

Other amendments were also negatived, including those seeking to exempt simple imprisonment prisoners from the operation of the section and making the section inoperative in cases where three years had elapsed after release.

Mr. Kishori Mohan Chaudhury's amendment, consideration of which had been adjourned with the Minister's consent, was next taken up. The amendment excluded those who had not suffered at least three months' rigorous or six months' simple imprisonment from the scope of the section. The motion was negatived.

Mr. P. N. Guha moved for the substitution of the following clause for Section 54A: "A candidate seeking an appointment of any nature under the Corporation shall, if he has at any time been convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months or more, state in writing the particulars of such sentence or conviction. Any person so convicted or sentenced shall not be appointed to any post under the Corporation."

Mr. N. K. Basu, opposing, accused Mr. Guha of pandering to the whims of a certain section. The Minister opposed the amendment, because he said it presumed that every applicant was necessarily a convict. The motion was negatived.

Mr. Amulya Dhan Roy (Depressed Classes) moved for the omission of the subsection which provided that "Any authority who knowingly appoints a person in consequence of such appointment, be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have authorised the making of an illegal payment."

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta and Sir B. P. Singh Roy supported and opposed the motion respectively. The motion was declared lost.

Rai Jogesh Chandra Sen Bahadur unsuccessfully sought to replace the word "knowingly" by the words "even after being specifically informed by the Local Government."

Mr. Amulya Dhan Roy's amendment to increase fines for the above offence to Rs. 1000 from Rs. 500 was lost.

Mr. Mahasai's amendment to reduce the punishment for the offence from one year to six months was negatived without any discussion.

*Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan* moved that Section 54-B (1) be so changed as to support automatic dismissal of municipal officers sentenced to imprisonment for three months or more as against the present sub-section. The motion was lost.

After a number of other amendments were lost, the Minister for Local Self-Government moved the addition of the following new section: "The local Government may, by a notification in the Calcutta Gazette, exclude any class of municipal officers or servants specified in the notification from the operation of all or any of the provisions of Section 54-A or of Section 54-B respectively, either wholly or in respect of any class of convictions, or sentences so specified."

Mr. Shanti Shekareswar Roy was opposing the amendment, when the Council adjourned.

6th. SEPTEMBER :—By 67 against 19 votes, the Council to-day carried an official amendment to the Bill vesting in the Government the power to exempt certain officials from certain penalties. The Opposition advanced the argument that it sought to vest a lot of power in the Executive.

Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Mahasai were unable to persuade the House to accept their amendments that Section 54-C, providing that an offence against the State meant an offence included in Chapter 6 or in Chapter 7 be changed so as to limit its scope only to secret and violent revolution.

Clause 4 was then passed.

Mr. Banerjea moved for the omission of clause six which read as follows:—

"Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, no grant shall knowingly be made by the Corporation without the previous sanction of the Local Government, for the purpose of promoting primary education among boys and girls to any institution which employs any person or to any person convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for a term of three months or more or to simple imprisonment for a term of six months or more."

"Exception :—In this section the expression 'offence against the State' has the meaning assigned to it in Section 54-C."

#### A POINT OF ORDER

Before the House proceeded to consider the motion, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu raised the point of order that the clause, as it had emanated from the Select Committee was altogether different in its scope from the original clause and that therefore the clause was not in order.

Asked by the President to explain the point, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu observed that the Committee was not competent to extend the scope of the Bill. While the original Bill sought merely to control grants to schools, the clause, as emanating from the select committee, sought to control any grant even though it might be to a public library or to a temple of worship or to a hospital.

The President said that there were a good deal of force in Mr. Basu's point and called on the Government to state their case.

The Minister asked for time to alter the clause.

The House thereupon, adjourned consideration of clause six and proceeded to discuss clause seven which required the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation to submit all accounts to the Government auditors.

Mr. Banerjea's motion to omit the clause was defeated. Clauses seven and eight were then passed, amendments thereto having been negatived.

Mr. P. Banerjea then unsuccessfully moved for the omission of clause nine which laid down that any person neglecting or refusing to comply with a summons or requisition made under the Act shall be punished with a fine extending to Rs. 200 in respect of each item included in the summons or requisition.

Rai Saheb Akshoy Kumar Sen's amendment to delete the words "in respect of each item included in the summons or requisition" was negatived.

Clause nine was then put and agreed to.

Clause eleven which evoked keen opposition read: "For Section 123 of the said Act, the following section shall be substituted, namely :—

"123 (1). The Corporation shall forthwith remedy any defects or irregularities that may be pointed out by the auditors and shall report to the Local Government the action taken by the Corporation, provided that if there is a difference of opinion between the Corporation and the auditors or if the Corporation do not remedy any

defect or irregularity within the period considered by the auditors to be reasonable, the matter shall be referred to the Local Government within such time and in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe by rule and it shall be competent to the Local Government to pass such orders thereon as they think fit. The orders of the Local Government shall, save as provided in Sections 123-b and 123-c, be final and the Corporation shall take action in accordance therewith".

Section 123-b (1) lays down that it shall be open to the auditors, after giving an opportunity to the member concerned, to submit an explanation, to charge to such a person the amount of deficiency or loss, etc.

Section 123 (2) lays down that any councillor, alderman or member of the committee present at a meeting at which a motion or resolution is passed authorising expenditure, which is subsequently disallowed under this section or authorising any action which leads to expenditure afterwards so disallowed shall be deemed to be a person authorising illegal payment, if he votes for such a motion or resolution and all persons so voting shall be held jointly and severally to be responsible for the expenditure.

The clause gives a right of appeal to a Civil Court or to the Local Government and provides for payment of certified sums to be made within one month.

Mr. P. Banerjea, moving for the omission of the clause, characterised the surcharge provisions as mischievous and the powers proposed to be granted to the auditors as dangerous and unprecedented.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu gave several instances to prove that the Government's charges against the Corporation were baseless. He argued that, if these charges were unfounded, there was no justification for these mischievous sections in this dangerous clause. Mr. Basu asserted that the powers sought to be had were very wide.

Mr. Townsend, Local Self-Government Secretary, opposing the motion, repeated his charges and gave figures which, he claimed, showed that by launching on the electric scheme, the Calcutta Corporation was wasting the rate-payer's money. He said that the surcharge sections were the most important sections of the Bill. He added that no honest person need fear the sections, which were in operation in other parts of the world, notably Madras and Bombay. He had no doubt in his mind that the Government would not abuse the powers they were taking only in the interest of the rate-payers.

The motion for omission of clause eleven was negatived by 63 against 12 votes. Out of 234 amendments, the House disposed of only 169 and then adjourned.

**7th SEPTEMBER :**—As ruled by the President, instead of clause 6, in the Bill as reported, the following provisions were introduced by the Government to-day :—"After Section 88 of the said Act, the following section shall be inserted, namely :—

'88-A. Subject to the provisions of Section 91-A and notwithstanding anything contained elsewhere in this Act, no grant shall knowingly be made by the Corporation, without the previous sanction of the Local Government, for any purpose other than the purpose mentioned in that Section, to any institution which employs any person or to any person who has been convicted of an offence against the State or sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months or more.'

"Explanation : In this section, the expression 'offence against the State' has the meaning assigned to it in Section 54-C."

Discussion on clause 11 was then proceeded with. More than twenty-five amendments seeking to mitigate the rigour of the surcharge clauses were all rejected.

Mr. Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai's amendment for the addition of a proviso in the surcharge clause, namely, "provided that a person who voted for a motion or resolution in good faith, shall not be held liable for expenditure" received wide support from the non-official benches including Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin and Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, but was lost.

The Minister moved an amendment vesting in the Government power to exempt such cases as were wrongly surcharged. The amendment was put and agreed to.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta moved a long amendment to section 123-A so as to admit of any person affected by an order applying within three months for reference of the matter to a civil court questioning the validity or correctness of such surcharges. The amendment also provided that the reference must be made by the Government as plaintiff, within the meaning of the Code of Civil Procedure 1908, the person against whom the surcharge was made being deemed defendant.

The amendment was pressed to a division and lost.

The amendment to raise the period of payment of surcharges to six from three months was also lost.

The motion for the omission of the proposed section 123-E was moved by Dr. Sen Gupta on the ground that the auditor might act maliciously.

The Minister replied that the auditor was the Accountant-General of Bengal, who was neither interested in Corporation politics nor was subject to the control of the Bengal Government. The motion was negatived by 57 against 19 votes.

Clause eleven was then put and agreed to. Clause twelve, a consequential clause, was carried without discussion. The House then adjourned.

**8th.—SEPTEMBER:** Clauses two and three of the Bill were put and agreed to to-day. Mr. P. Banerjee, resuming his speech on his motion for the omission of clause six, which on account of the President's ruling had been put off to enable the Government to present a new clause, characterised the Government's position as bordering on melancthy meanness. Mr. Banerjee asked how on earth the Government expected the Corporation officials to keep an eye on the political activities of private bodies receiving small grants from municipal funds. The clause, if passed, said the speaker, would only result in the strangulation of primary education in Calcutta.

Mr. Shanti Sekharswar Ray, supporting the omission of the clause, declared that, were proof of Government vindictiveness needed, this clause afforded it. To his mind, the clause sought to reduce the Corporation to the position of a subordinate department of the police,

Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque and Rev. B. A. Nag opposed the amendment, the latter observing that Calcutta schools at present were honeycombed with men of revolutionary ideas and that, if only to save the children of persons like himself, who did not want them to be brought up in a revolutionary atmosphere, the clause must be passed.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu and Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin supported and opposed the amendment respectively. The former averred that the clause sought to take away by the left hand what was given by the right.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta read out the proposed sections and criticised their wording, which, in his opinion, was loose.

The Minister for Local Self-Government, defending the clause, declared that clause six was a necessary corollary to clause four which had already been passed by the Council. Clause four would be useless without this clause, for clause six only took clause four to its logical end.

The motion for omission of the clause was pressed to a division after further debate and declared lost by 61 against 18 votes. The motion for omission of clause 6 (a) was put and negatived.

Led by Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, non-official benches declined to move any further amendments. Clauses 6 and 6-A were then put and agreed to.

A brief debate then ensued over the official motion that the Bill, as amended, be passed. The Minister thanked the members for the wide support accorded to him in the House. He was convinced that he had not run counter to the ideals set up by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, and that when the controversies of the hour were forgotten, it would be found that the speaker had rendered service to Calcutta rate-payers.

Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, leading the Opposition, called the Bill a most retrograde measure and expressed his surprise that the Minister should have been carrying on warfare against the Congress Party. Mr. Mukherjee regretted that propagandists against the Corporation had won the day. The situation created by the Bill was that in future the Corporation appointments would lie in Government's hands. "Let us see how the Government uses these powers", concluded the member for the Calcutta University.

The Bill was then passed. The Council adjourned *sine die*.

The Bill received the assent of the Governor-General on the 3rd November, and was gazetted on the 16th November from which day the new Act came into operation. Under the provisions of the Act, the Corporation is debarred from having in its employ persons convicted of offences against the State or other anti-Government activities, and from making grants to institutions where such persons are employed. It further introduced a system of surcharge and the disallowance of illegal expenditure.

# THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AUTUMN SESSION—POONA, 7th. AUGUST TO 8th. SEPT. 1933

## GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH

The Autumn Session of the Bombay Legislative Council was opened by His Excellency the Governor at Poona on the 7th. August 1933. In the course of his address His Excellency observed :—

"On many of the previous occasions on which I have addressed you, the political situation has been the factor that has occupied most of our attention, and it is therefore with particular pleasure that on this occasion I feel able to say that the political situation is calmer than for many years past. I say this, moreover, with a full appreciation of the potential consequences for evil of the step lately taken by Mr. Gandhi in embarking on a new subversive campaign at a time when at last there were so many promising signs of a real improvement in the situation, both political and financial. When one considers the disastrous consequences of the previous civil disobedience campaigns and the fact that so many even of Mr. Gandhi's original supporters have now obviously come to recognise the futility of the course to which he would wish to commit the country, it is more than unfortunate that he should once more want to stir up this disastrous and futile agitation. You gentlemen, have shown your sense of responsibility by consistently supporting the Government in their joint policy of insisting alike on the maintenance of law and order and on pressing forward with Constitutional Reforms, and I am sure you will endorse the decision of the Government to make use of the powers which you conferred on them last year when you passed the Emergency Powers Act to check, at the outset, any attempt by Mr. Gandhi to plunge the country once more into the miseries and stagnation of 1930. Indeed, I feel confident that the Poona Conference and the events succeeding it have conclusively shown that more and more people are feeling impatient at attempts to turn their activities into blind channels, and will welcome the action taken by Government as helping to clear the field for constructive work.

"As a further justification of the policy we have consistently adopted, I think I can also point to the progress which the Joint Select Committee is making in England with the preparation of the Reformed Constitution. It is true that its path has been beset with serious obstructions, and the policy of His Majesty's Government has provoked strenuous opposition in certain quarters. I am sure, however, gentlemen, that you, with your experience of democratic methods, will appreciate the advantages of submitting all important measures to the fire of criticism, however severe that criticism may be. Nothing would be gained by failure to realise the difficulties besetting the path of Constitutional reform, and, indeed, I think we may say that the best chance of overcoming those difficulties lies on submitting the scheme to the criticism of its most bitter opponents, instead of making any effort to brake such criticism. Personally, I feel that we may regard with satisfaction the progress that has been made in spite of all such attacks, and the fact that our opponents have so far failed to achieve any of their objects may be taken as evidence of the inherent soundness of the policy adopted".

As a result of rigid retrenchment, the hope of a balanced budget for the current year was likely to be realised, but the financial difficulties were still enormous, and the Governments had no intention of relaxing their efforts.

His Excellency referred to the successful first year's working of the Sukkur Barrage canals and the extension of the public supply of electricity.

His Excellency regretted the cuts which had to be made in the primary education grants, but observed that the Government had been able to restore six per cent of the cut out of twenty per cent made last year.

His Excellency dwelt on his desire to enlist widespread interest and co-operation in a comprehensive plan which, he hoped to see well under way before leaving India for the general development of villages. No large expenditure was contemplated, but on the contrary the root conception was the direction of the already existing resources in man-power, knowledge and experience into channels which would make them much more effective.

## BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ACT AMENDING BILL

After His Excellency's thirty minutes speech, the Council proceeded with the Bill, as amended by the select committee, further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, with a view to amalgamating the Improvement Trust, Bombay, with the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

After Sir Rustom Vakil, Minister for Local Self-Government, had explained the changes that had been made therein by the select committee, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Mayor of Bombay, expressed the Corporation's view and insisted that the Government should earmark Rs. 3,91,000 out of the Bombay City Tobacco Duty to the Corporation and the rest to the Trust.

## BOMBAY IMPROVEMENT TRUST BILL

8th AUGUST :—There was a keen discussion in the Council to-day on the amendment moved by Mr. R. R. Bakhale (nominated non-official), seeking to reserve one seat for Labour on the Improvements Committee, when the second reading of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Improvements Trust Amalgamation Bill was proceeded with. Mr. Bakhale sought to reserve a seat for Labour by increasing the strength of the Improvements Committee by one, and emphasised the need for this by citing the evidence in the Census report, which, according to the speaker, showed that "if there is a hell on earth it was in the city of Bombay."

There was strong opposition to the amendment from the Corporation representatives on the ground that reservation was mischievous and vicious in principle, and that there was already provision for Labour interests among the four nominated seats on the Improvements Committee.

Sir Rustom Vakil, Minister for Local Self-Government, opposing the amendment, stated that he was however willing to provide in the Bill for nomination to the Improvements Committee of one among the four Labour representatives in the Corporation.

The amendment was put to vote and lost.

The suggestion made by the Minister for Local Self-Government was then moved in the form of an amendment by the Government to which the representatives of the Corporation agreed. There was, however, strong opposition to this from non-officials.

Some heat was caused when Sir Ghulam Hussein, Leader of the House, supporting the amendment, stated that the Corporation had accepted the principle of separate representation, and the Corporation had failed to do justice to Labour by failing to give wide-spread primary education.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, ex-Mayor of Bombay, challenged Sir Ghulam's statement, and observed that it ill became the Government to make the charge when they themselves had failed to keep their promises to make education grants to local bodies.

Sir Rustom Vakil, supporting the amendment, pointed out that the principle of separate representation existed in the parent body, namely, the Corporation. He explained that what the amendment sought to do was just to reserve out of the four nominated seats on the Improvements Committee one for Labour, if this was not represented otherwise.

The amendment was put to vote and declared carried.

When the Council resumed its sitting after tea, four amendments were moved, all by the members of the Bombay Corporation, to the effect, that the Improvements Committee, now being statutorily appointed, might be dissolved at a later stage, by a majority vote of the Corporation. Two of the amendments suggested that dissolution be preceded by approval of the Government.

The Government opposed the amendments on the ground that such a provision would deprive the Council of its voice in the matter, while the body had been statutorily appointed by it. All the amendments were lost.

9th AUGUST :—An amendment seeking to delete the statutory provision in the Bombay Corporation Improvements Trust Amalgamation Bill for the appointment of a Deputy Municipal Commissioner for Improvements (sponsored by the representatives of the Corporation) was rejected by a large majority.

It was stated, in support of the amendment, that the Corporation had already powers to make this appointment and insistence on a statutory provision for it would be interfering with the Corporation's powers.

Against the amendment, it was pointed out that the Corporation's representatives had themselves admitted the necessity for the appointment, and the Corporation should not be swayed by sentiment.

### THE WHIPPING BILL

**10th. AUGUST :—**Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member, moved the second reading of the Whipping Bill to-day as amended by the select committee. The Bill, which was to be applied in the first instance to the City of Bombay, provided for the extension of the provisions to such other parts of the Presidency as the Governor-in-Council might by notification direct. It sought to punish those committing the offence of rioting or instigating or abetting rioting with whipping in addition to or in lieu of any other punishment to which he might be liable under the Penal Code.

Mr. Bell stated that the Bill was primarily intended for application in Bombay to check riots. Dealing with the alterations made by the Select Committee, he stated that the Committee had excluded attempts to commit riots outside the scope of the Bill, and decided that the Government should have power to extend the Bill to other parts of the Presidency if and when required.

There was strong opposition to the Bill from non-officials on the ground that the Bill, as amended, was not free from objectionable features, and that the measure was wholly unnecessary and likely to be misused.

The House divided on the motion of Mr. A. N. Surve (Bombay City) seeking to refer the Bill back to the Select Committee with instructions to exempt riots arising out of public meetings from the operation of the Bill. The motion was rejected by a large majority. Rao Bahadur Chitale expressed the fear that the provisions of the Bill might be used against civil resisters, and pointed out that political turmoil had ceased, and so the Bill was unnecessary. Mr. J. B. Petit considered that the Bill was unnecessary. Mr. Kamat, supporting the Bill, stated that it had come out of the Select Committee considerably improved, though there was still scope for further improvement. Mr. Bakhale expressed the opinion that the Bill, if at all it was to be passed, should be made applicable to the whole Presidency as most centres produced the Bombay hooligans. The House then adjourned.

**11th. AUGUST :—**The Council passed to-day the second reading of the Whipping Bill by 39 to 23 votes. There was again strong opposition to the Bill on the ground that whipping was a barbarous method of punishment and the provision would be misused by the authorities.

Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member, replying to the debate, observed that the provisions of the Bill would be enforced only in exceptional circumstances and assured those who expressed the fear that this might be used against civil resisters, that the intention of the Government in bringing the Bill was only to check rioting of the type that occurred in Bombay. He expressed willingness to incorporate a provision in the Bill, to the effect, that the Governor-in-Council would issue a notification applying the provisions of the Bill only when public security was manifestly in danger. The Home Member also expressed his willingness to confine the Bill to the city of Bombay only and said that but for the serious riot of 1932 in Bombay, the measure would not have been placed before the House and such rioting was not likely to occur in other parts of the presidency. In conclusion, the Home Member quoted figures to show that the magistracy was not merely discreet in making use of the punishment of whipping, but was manifestly reluctant. There were 153 and 192 cases of whipping in the whole presidency in 1931 and 1932 respectively and 50 cases in 1932, in connection with Civil Disobedience, a majority of the latter cases being those of juveniles.

When the third reading of the Bill was taken up the Government amendment seeking to confine the operations of the Bill to the city of Bombay only was passed.

Another Government amendment seeking to make the operative parts of the Bill applicable by the Governor-in-Council only when in his opinion human life and property were manifestly endangered, was also carried.

Non-official amendments seeking to exempt abetment to rioting and rioting without deadly weapons from the scope of the Bill were lost. The Bill as amended was read for the third time, and passed.

## SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS

**12th. AUGUST :**—The Council was considering to-day supplementary grants and demand made by Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kamble, Minister for Agriculture and Education, for a token grant of ten rupees for a scholarship for one C. P. Halkatti, recently a student of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, for higher study in Textile Technology in England.

The President held, in the course of the discussion that ensued, that Rao Saheb Kulkarni alleged that C. P. Halkatti was related to the Minister, and wanted him to withdraw the statement.

A passage-at-arms followed between the member and the President, the former holding that he did not make the allegation, and only wanted information. There were shouts of "withdraw, withdraw", but Mr. Kulkarni declined to do so.

Remarking that for the first time during his holding of the office of President, he was obliged to use his powers, the President desired the member to leave the House, which he did.

The suspension of Rao Saheb Kulkarni by the President applied only for to-day. This was the first instance in the Bombay Council when such an action was taken against a member practically.

The demand for a sum of Rs. 140,314 made by the Home Member for the permanent retention of Visapur temporary prison evoked some discussion. It was explained that out of four temporary prisons opened on the renewal of Civil Disobedience movement in 1932, all except Visapur have been closed. It was proposed to convert this into a permanent prison on account of the existence of clay suitable for bricks on Government land near the prison which offered a remunerative field for employment of jail labour, and in order to compensate the expenditure the Government proposed to reduce two other jails. The oppositionists pointed out that Visapur was not healthy and the conditions obtaining there for health and welfare of prisoners were not satisfactory.

The Home Member held that Visapur was not worse than most of the other parts of the Presidency in climatic conditions and every effort was being made to ensure sanitary conditions. The demand was passed.

## THE TEMPLE-ENTRY RESOLUTION

**14th. AUGUST :**—Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole moved in the Council to-day, a resolution recommending to the Government to promote a measure to enable "Untouchables" to enter Hindu temples endowed with Government land or receiving cash payments from Government and all other temples which are not private properties.

The Home Member pointed out that a similar Bill was sought to be introduced in the Madras Council, but permission was refused for its introduction by the Governor-General in Council, on the ground that the subject was of All-India importance. A similar Bill had been, however, introduced in the Central Legislature by Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar which was to be circulated for eliciting public opinion. In the circumstances, the Home Member suggested to the mover to await the result of this Bill in the Central Legislature.

The President then, however, allowed expression of opinion by the House on the question, and discussion proceeded.

## WOMEN DEDICATION IN HINDU TEMPLES

The Council permitted the introduction of a Bill by the same member seeking to prevent the dedication of women for service in Hindu temples in the Bombay Presidency.

## MUSSALMAN WAKFS BILL

Mr. Syed Munawar was permitted to introduce his Bill which sought to regulate Mussalman Wakfs in the Presidency.

## COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Council rejected a non-official Bill moved by Mr. Bakhale seeking to raise the upper age limit of children for compulsory primary education from 11 to 12.

## THE TEMPLE-ENTRY RESOLUTION

**15th. AUGUST :**—The Council discussed the resolution for full three hours to-day, the Government benches not participating in the debate. There were only three non-Hindu speakers.

The general trend of the discussion was one of support for the resolution, though more than one member struck a distinctly opposite note by unreservedly opposing the resolution on the ground that temple-entry was not essential for the uplift of the Depressed Classes and such a move would only help to create further divisions in the Hindu fold. Exception was also taken to a clause in the resolution limiting temple-entry to Government endowed temples.

Mention was also made more than once during the debate of Mr. Gandhi's campaign against untouchability and its salutary effects in having roused Hindu conscience.

*Shaik Abdul Majid*, the only Moslem who participated in the debate, supported the resolution whole-heartedly. Mr. J. B. Petit congratulated the Government on the very correct stand they had taken on this question.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member, congratulated the House on the temper and tone of the debate. He refuted the suggestion that the Government of Bombay were unsympathetic towards the Depressed Classes, and asserted that they had done a great deal in the course of the last ten years for the amelioration of the Depressed Classes. Regarding the attitude of neutrality of Government Mr. Bell said that this was inconsistent with the policy of the Government of India as enunciated in January last. The Government had always maintained this attitude, and if they had abolished *sutee* and facilitated the enactment of the Sarda Act, it was because these were more social than religious questions, whereas temple-entry was purely a religious one. The Home Member also pointed out that there was no essential difference between the status of Government-endowed temples and other private temples, as trustees in both cases were enjoined to manage temples according to customs and usages. Concluding, the Home Member suggested that the purpose of the resolution would be served fully if the proceedings were forwarded to the Government of India and he hoped the mover would withdraw it.

The mover accordingly withdrew the resolution.

#### COUNCILLORS AS GUESTS OF GOVT. MEMBERS

16th. AUGUST :—An interesting debate took place in the Council to-day, on the resolution moved by *Rao Bahadur Chitale* (non-official), recommending to the Government to take steps to move the Government of India to incorporate a rule in the Government Servants Conduct Rules prohibiting Government Members and Ministers from allowing members of the Council from ordinarily residing with them as guests, as such a practice was contrary to public interests. The mover stated that the conduct of the Ministers should be above suspicion, particularly at a time when the provinces were on the eve of getting Responsible Government. The Ministers, he added, ought not to give by their action cause for the public to doubt the purity of the administration.

The *Leader of the House* objected to this remark, and the mover explained that he himself did not share this opinion.

The mover also objected to Ministers subscribing to party funds, but the Chair pointed out that there was nothing wrong in such a practice, and, it was prevalent in England also.

Several speakers opposed the resolution, stating that the mere fact of a member staying with a Minister did not warrant the belief that the member in question would not exercise his independent judgment. He could also not be expected of a Minister to forget his old friendship on his becoming a Minister.

Discussion took a breezy turn, when one member, opposing the resolution, remarked that the mover had participated in eating sandwiches at Government House parties.

The mover strongly objected to this remark, and the Chair, coming to his rescue, made it clear that the speaker did not mean mutton sandwiches, but only vegetable sandwiches.

Government benches did not participate in the debate. The resolution was after nearly three hours' discussion withdrawn.

#### BOHRAS AND THE WAKF ACT

17th. AUGUST :—A resolution seeking to exempt the Dawoodi Bohra community of the Bombay Presidency from the operation of the Moslem Wakf Act, under the discretion vested in the Local Government, was lost in the Council, without a division, to-day. A large number of Bohras were present in the visitor's gallery.

In support of the resolution, it was contended that Mullaji Saheb, the religious head of the Dawoodi Bohras, was administering the trusts judicially and efficiently. The very fact that the Central Legislature provided an exemption clause was proof that it intended to exempt deserving cases from the operation of this Act. Public opinion had also been shown to be against the inclusion of Dawoodis.

Against the resolution, it was pointed out that even H. H. the Aga Khan who was superior to Mullaji Saheb had not objected to the inclusion of Dawoodi Bohras. The Wakf Act did not contemplate interference with the internal affairs of trusts. What was required was that accounts should be rendered of the trusts.

Almost all the Moslem members, except two, opposed the resolution, as also a majority of non-Moslem speakers.

The Government benches did not participate in the debate till the last moment when Dewan Bahadur Kambli, Minister for Education and Agriculture, stated that the arguments advanced during the debate had not necessitated alterations of the Government's policy on the question. On the other hand, the debate had shown that there was no necessity for exempting the Dawoodi Bohras.

The mover asked the House for leave to withdraw the resolution, which was not granted, and the resolution was put to vote and declared lost.

#### THE KARACHI MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL

**18th. AUGUST :—**The Council considered to-day the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the municipal government of the city of Karachi. The object of the measure was to bring this important trade centre, which was also the aerial gateway of India and whose jurisdiction extended over the area of seventy-one square miles within the operation of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act of 1925, and thus give it greater scope to carry out schemes of improvement and provide other means for efficient administration of its affairs.

Sir Rustom Vakil presented the report of the Select Committee, to which objection was taken by Mr. Sure. The latter raised a point of order as to whether the appointment of a sub-committee by the Select Committee to consider certain questions did not vitiate the work of the Select Committee.

The President ruled the objection out of order, and the mover proposed the second reading.

Sir Rustom Vakil explained certain provisions of the Bill. He expressed his anxiety regarding the proposal of the Select Committee to lower the franchise to a rental of one rupee. He also gave it as his personal opinion that the proposal to reduce the Chief Officer's salary, was unfortunate.

Mr. J. Mehta welcomed the rupee franchise and said that he would be glad if adult franchise was granted. The speaker then went on to point out certain anomalies in connection with the formation of wards.

At this stage, the House adjourned for tea.

Resuming a discussion on the motion for a second reading of the Bill after lunch, Rao Bahadur Kale, leader of the Opposition, opposed the allocation of seats according to population basis as provided in the Bill as this was likely to enable the wards with less voting strength to return a larger number of candidates. He also opposed communal electorates in a premier municipality like Karachi, which did not exist in the Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Corporations.

Sir Mahomed Baloch, himself a member of the Karachi Municipality, stated that the lowering of the rental to one rupee per month was not a novel suggestion. It had been accepted long ago by the Municipality.

Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah, Leader of the House, advised the Council to reject the amendment that was to be moved seeking to replace the allocation of seats according to a population basis, provided by the Select Committee, by allocation of seats on the basis of the voting strength and taxation. The House rose at this stage.

**21st. AUGUST :—**Dr. M. K. Dixit moved an amendment to-day seeking to have common and not separate electorates.

Rao Bahadur Kale had a similar amendment, which sought by a different method to do away with the communal spirit. His suggestion was to have a number of members from each ward belonging to different communities elected by the whole ward, and not by the members of each community.

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was against both the amendments, as he said that much as he would like to see joint electorate introduced, it was his firm belief that things would go from bad to worse.

*Rao Bahadur Kale's* amendment was generally supported by Hindu members from Sind but was opposed by Mahomedans.

After tea interval, the Minister for Local Self-Government replied to the debate on the amendments for joint electorate, and gave the reasons for adopting separate electorates.

On being put to vote, both *Dr. Dixit's* and *Rao Bahadur Kale's* amendments were thrown out by large majorities and the principle of separate electorates was incorporated in the Bill. The Council then adjourned.

**22nd. AUGUST** :—The first of the amendments moved by Mr. S.S. Tolani to-day sought a new classification by deleting Mahrattas from among the communities entitled to representation.

A heated debate followed on what was described as an effort of rich Hindus to deprive the Mahrattas of representation in the municipal government of the city. The mover finding little support withdrew his amendment, after declaring that his motive was a desire not to divide the Hindu community.

Mr. Tolani later brought forward another amendment seeking to give two seats to the Sikh community. He argued that Christians got five seats with a population of 7,582 while Parsis, of whom there were 2,408 in Karachi city, got three.

Mr. Jamshed Mehta proposed an amendment to this, giving one seat to Sikhs instead of two.

The Leader of the House, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla, speaking against the amendment, said that a number of Sikhs had been included among Hindus. The two main communities had been allotted seats according to the population basis. Mr. Tolani was seeking to disturb the proportion of seats between Hindus and Mahomedans. If the mover was so solicitous for the welfare of Sikhs, why did he not offer to give up a Hindu seat for the Community?

When discussion on Mr. Tolani's amendment was taken up after the tea interval, Mir Mahomed Balooch stressed the fact that Sikhs had identical interests with Hindus, with which community their sympathies lay. On the other hand in 1924, Hindus had opposed representation being given to Mahrattas and Depressed Classes, while demanding that a seat be reserved for Sikhs.

Mr. P. Vakil, appealed to the members not to make long speeches. The Government were committed to the principle of separate electorates, and to his thinking no amendments running athwart this principle, would have a smooth passage. The members would therefore be expediting the business before the House by not moving such amendments.

Sir Rustom Vakil, Minister-in-charge of the Bill, detailed the practice in vogue prior to the introduction of the Bill, and stated that it was the Government's opinion that it was wrong in principle to bind itself to nominate a member of any particular community. He assured the House that in this respect it was the Government's intention to maintain the *status quo*. Should a Sikh not be returned from the general electorate, the Government would nominate one.

Miran Mahomed Shah assured the House that Mahomedans were opposing the amendments not from prejudice against any particular community, but to avoid complications. They intended to oppose any amendment that sought to raise the total number of seats.

Mr. Jamshed Mehta's amendment providing one seat for Sikhs, was then put to vote and rejected by 48 votes to 18. Mr. Tolani's amendment shared the same fate.

The House was discussing the amendment of *Rao Bahadur Kale* for a different arrangement of the communities grouped with Hindus by designating all these, with the exception of Christians, Parsis and Jews, as "non-Mahomedan". When the house adjourned.

**23rd. AUGUST** :—The Council to-day resumed discussion of the Karachi Municipal Bill at the point where it was left off yesterday. *Rao Bahadur Kale's* amendment to classify the Sikhs, Jains, Buddhist and Mahrattas as non-Mahomedan was soon disposed of.

The Legal Remembrancer to the Government suggested a better arrangement which, while retaining the specific classification adopted in the Bill met the mover's object. The amendment was withdrawn in favour of that suggestion.

Mr. Bakale then proposed his amendment, seeking to remove the clause restricting the election of a representative of registered Trade Unions, to labourers

and asking that instead of two seats, three should be reserved for, and these should be by nomination.

*Mr. Jamshed Mehta* remarked that he was President of the Federation of Labour Unions in Karachi, and it was he who had suggested restriction in order to give the labour an opportunity to be represented by an actual working man.

The leader of the House pointed out that this showed that Mr. Jamshed Mehta must have received the mandate from the labour Federation of Karachi.

*Sir Rustom Vakil*, Minister-in-charge of the Bill, explained that there were 14 Trade Unions in Karachi and one seat had been allotted for every five unions. A member of a trade union, he explained, was also qualified to stand for election in a ward in which he lived and had two votes.

At this stage it was pointed out by the Legal Remembrancer that there were honorary members of labour unions who, as such, did not pay fees. Such members of unions, like the mover, would thus be eligible for election.

During the discussion after tea interval, *Rao Bahadur Chitale* and Mr. *Navale* supported the amendment, while Mr. *Pestonji Vakil* opposed it, on the ground that if the restriction limiting election to the bona fide labourers were removed outsiders would get in and then there might be exploitation of the labour.

The President split up the amendment into two parts, first for increase of seats from one to three, and the other asking for removal of the restriction limiting election to labourers. Both the parts of Mr. *Bakhale's* amendment, when put to the House, were defeated by large majorities.

*Mr. Tolani* then moved an amendment seeking to increase the representation given to the Indian Merchants' Association, from one to two. Speaking on it he said that the members of the Association paid about 8 lakhs out of the total revenue of thirty-six lakhs into the coffers of the Municipality, on which basis they were entitled to many more than two seats asked for. The matter was still being discussed at the closing time.

**28th. AUGUST :—**The Council on re-assembling to-day after the holidays began again discussion of a long list of amendments to the Bill, to consolidate and amend the law relating to the municipal government of Karachi.

*Mir Mahomed Baloch* moved an amendment designed to amalgamate the voting strength of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Karachi Buyers and Shippers Chamber into a common electorate with two seats.

*Mr. Lely* had an amendment, asking for the deletion of the clause giving the Buyers and Shippers Chamber one seat.

*Mir Mahomed Baloch's* amendment received a large measure of support, including that of the Minister in charge of the Bill and the Leader of the House, Sir Ghulam Hoosen Hidayatullah, and on being put to vote was carried by a large majority. The other two amendments fell through.

*Mr. Tolani* then moved that the clause giving the district local board on the Corporation of the Karachi Municipality one seat be deleted, remarking that no district local board in the Presidency had seats on a municipality.

On the amendment being put to vote, it was carried by a large majority.

After the lunch interval, *Rao Sahib P. D. Kulkarni* brought forward his amendment to do away with the power vested in the Government to nominate eight members to the Corporation of the Karachi Municipality.

*Mr. Eubank*, Secretary to the Government, in opposing it, said that the amendment would have been in place in the Municipal Boroughs Act, but not in the present measure, where it was necessary to secure representation for certain interests. Of the eight seats three had been earmarked by the Minister who had given an assurance that one Sikh, one Labour and one woman representative would be nominated. In addition, there were other interests.

*Mr. Kharbhari* opposed the amendment, on the ground that it sought to take away power in such matters from the Government.

The Minister also opposed the amendment remarking that if the Government accepted it, it would amount to a breach of faith. The amendment was withdrawn.

**29th. AUGUST :—***Rao Sahib Kulkarni* moved an amendment to Section 19 (1) that no salaried servant of the Government should be eligible for election as Mayor or Deputy Mayor of the Corporation and as General Secretary.

*Mr. Eubank* remarked that no such provision existed in Bombay. The matter of the selection of its Mayor might be left to the Corporation of Karachi. In the

case of a small borough municipality, the provision might be suitable, but not for a big City like Karachi. The amendment, on being put to vote, was lost.

**30th. AUGUST** :—The question of municipal servants convicted of offences, being debarred from drawing pay or allowances or of being reinstated except in the case of conviction for ordinary offences by a majority vote of two-thirds of the Corporation, and when convicted for political offences, gave, in addition, an undertaking to the Collector to abstain from such activities, came up for consideration as an amendment to Clause 44. This, however, was withdrawn on the understanding that it should be taken up when Clause 47 was discussed.

When Clause 47 came to be discussed, the President, on a point of order raised by *Rao Bahadur Kale*, ruled that the amendment was not within the scope of the clause.

The House, however as previously agreed, decided to consider the same as a separate clause to-morrow, as time did not permit of a lengthy discussion to-day.

**31st. AUGUST** :—An amendment by *Syed Miran Mahomed Shah* proposed an alteration, making the penalties applicable only when conviction was for an offence punishable with imprisonment exceeding six months.

The House, after the matter was taken to a division, declared itself in favour of the clause, as amended by a majority of 24 votes.

Mr. *Jamshed Mehta* moved an amendment to Clause 96 to make all vehicles and animals, used for riding and carrying burden, brought into the city, but kept outside its limits at night, taxable as was done under the Municipal Boroughs Act.

Mr. *Erobank* cited the case of the Burma Shell Oil Company, whose lorries came within the limits of the Bandra Municipality to fill in petrol from the tanks situated there, and were taxed. The company had contested the claim. He therefore opposed the amendment, which was rejected.

**1st. SEPTEMBER** :—Mr. *Jamshed Mehta* proposed the incorporation of the whole of the Prevention of Prostitution Act as an amendment to Clause 181, which he desired to be deleted.

On the *Legal Remembrancer* explaining that the Prostitution Act could be applied to the city and that the motion was unnecessary, the mover withdrew the same.

Rapid progress was made afterwards and the various clauses of the Bill were passed before the tea interval.

The House then took up amendments to the schedules.

Amendments to the schedules were disposed of in an hour.

*Sir Rustom Vakil*, Minister-in-charge, opposing the third reading, thanked the House for the patience with which the numerous clauses and amendments had been discussed. He had thought that in view of the expected separation of the Sind, members from that province would not take much interest in the debate. He had been pleasantly surprised as all had given great assistance.

#### INSOLVENCY ACT AMENDING BILL

The Bill to amend Presidency Towns Insolvency Act of 1909, in its application to the town of Bombay, was then introduced by Mr. *Bell*, Home Member. The object of the Bill was to transfer certain funds amounting to Rs. 28 lakhs from the Official Assignee to the Government of Bombay.

The Bill was passed without a discussion.

#### BILL TO AMEND DISTRICT POLICE ACT

The Home Member then introduced the Bill to amend the Bombay District Police Acts of 1902 and 1890. The Bill, the mover said, was brought forward to settle the never-ending Mayali problem. A similar Bill, passed in 1929, was intended for the times of emergency when the Commissioner of the Police had to exterm leaders of gangs, but power was needed to deal with the hundreds of hooligans that were behind the riots. If such men who had three previous convictions came to Bombay (including the Bombay suburban area) and abused the city's hospitality, they would be exterm.

## HABITUAL OFFENDERS' BILL

**2nd. SEPTEMBER** :—A Bill seeking to empower the police in Bombay City and suburbs to exten habitual criminal offenders was passed by the Council to-day. The Home Member, introducing the measure, said that criminals, with more than three convictions, would come within the purview of the Bill.

Members from Bombay City supported the measure, while some members from the mofussil doubted the advisability of turning loose criminal characters in mofussil places, where the police administration was less efficient.

The motion seeking to refer the Bill to a select committee was rejected.

## ADDITIONAL POLICE IN N. KANARA

**5th. SEPTEMBER** :—That the cost of the additional police force stationed in the Kanara District since March last, shonld be borne by the general tax-payer and not by the inhabitants of the locality as directed by the Government, was the subject of a non-official motion to-day in the Council.

The mover, while admitting that Kanara had been the scene of Congress activitics four years back, contended that there had been no act of lawlessness in recent years to warrant the continued existence of additional police and at any rate the people of the locality should be penalised for it.

The Home Member mentioned a series of "acts of lawlessness" in Kanara, and justified the existence of the police on the ground that peace had been restored in the area only after the imposition of additional police. The benefits of peace resulting from the step were being enjoyed by the inhabhitants of the area. As such it was only just that they should pay for it.

The motion was ultimately rejected.

The Council sat on the 6th. 7th. and 8th. and prorogued on the 9th, after passing a Bill for the improvement of the livestock of the Presideney.

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# THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

MADRAS—31st. JULY to 14th. OCTOBER 1933

The Madras Legislative Council commenced a three-days' session on the 31st. July 1933. Sir Mahomed Usman, Home Member, moved the Government for the grant of a further sum, not exceeding Rs. 17,100, for the additional staff of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Special Branch and to provide increased provision under rewards.

The Home Member said he was justified in asking for the additional grant considering the fact that a big plot was unearthed last week in Madras, the object of which was to commit dacoities, robbery and murder. The conspiracy had extended outside into the districts and 23 arrests had been made in this connection. The Home Member appealed for co-operation of the House for eradicating the evil. The House unanimously agreed to the grant being made.

## MADRAS LOCAL BOARDS AMEND. ACT

The Bill for further amending the Madras Local Boards Act in order to give freedom to depressed classes to use public wells and roads was passed into law.

The Council then rose for the day.

**2nd. AUGUST :**—The Council concluded its session to-day with the discussion of the adjournment motion by Mr. Basheer Ahmed relating to the recent Government order about re-employment of persons thrown out from service on account of retrenchment.

The mover pointed out that the net result of the order would be to throw out of work a number of young men, well trained and efficient. He urged the Government to come to their rescue by bringing about compulsory retirement of men who had put in a service of 25 years or more.

Sir Archibald Campbell, Revenue Member, replying, said that the whole question was being re-examined in the Secretariat and correspondence would be opened with the Government of India. He would do all in his power in this regard. The motion was withdrawn.

The Council next unanimously passed a resolution recommending to the Government to take early steps to investigate the possibilities of establishing a broadcasting service for the presidency.

## GOVERNOR'S SPEECH

The Autumn Session of the Council commenced on the 30th. October 1933. In the course of his speech opening the Council, the Governor said :—"When I last addressed the legislature I announced that I intended to extend the life of the Council but that at the moment I was not prepared to say for how long. I have now decided the extension to be of one year from the date when the Council would normally cease to exist and a notification will be issued to that effect."

Referring to terrorism, His Excellency said :—"Since my last speech to the Council there has been an attempt mainly by people from other provinces to introduce terrorism into this presidency—an attempt which failed utterly. It failed not only because of the efforts of the police who as usual behaved admirably but also because of the assistance in combating the menace given to the Government by all sections of the community and I desire to pay a public tribute for that assistance."

The Governor added that the general public gave courageous and loyal support to the police in the actual capture of offenders and the attitude of the presidency showed whatever may be the case elsewhere the people of Madras have no belief in or use for terrorism. They realize as a whole, though some misguided individuals do not, that such methods do not advance their cause one iota and I can say from my own personal knowledge the only result of such actions is to make infinitely more difficult the task of framing and carrying through the British Parliament the scheme of self-government that will be acceptable."

## ESTATES LAND ACT AMEND. BILL

**31st. OCTOBER:**—By 38 to 65 votes, the Council rejected to-day a non-official amendment postponing consideration of the Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill for six months. The Revenue Member winding up the debate reminded the House that the bill had been on the anvil for a long time and a considerable amount of work and thought had been bestowed thereon by many eminent persons. It was most desirable that an Act, admittedly defective, be not left unamended any longer.

Mr. Sami Venkatachalam's amendment that the consideration of the bill be referred to till his own bill had reached the same stage was, also, similarly rejected. The latter next moved that the official bill be recommitted to the select committee with instructions that the provisions of the private bill be incorporated therein.

The House at this stage adjourned.

## PUBLIC LIBRARIES BILL

**10th. NOVEMBER:**—In the Council to-day Mr. Bosheer Ahmed's Public Libraries Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

The objects and reasons of the Bill state that the Madras Corporation, the District Municipalities, the Taluk Boards and the village Panchayats have at present powers to establish and maintain libraries, but the enactment does not provide any organisation of control that would foster the growth of a comprehensive system of Libraries. There is, moreover, no adequate provision for undertaking schemes for the removal of illiteracy among the adults. The Bill aims to satisfy the above requirements.

## REMISSION IN LAND REVENUE

**11th. to 14th. NOVEMBER:**—The Council to-day postponed till next session the further discussion of the non-official resolution urging twenty-five per cent remission land revenue of ryotwari lands.

Mr. H. J. Stokes, Finance Member, replying said that if remission was granted the Government would lose 147 lakhs of rupees and the expenditure of the Nation Building Departments would be curtailed.

Sir Archibald Campbell, Revenue Member, said that the Government had called for reports of ryots's condition from Collectors which were expected by the 15th November, after which the Government would consider the matter.

The House then considered a non-official resolution urging the necessity to create Andhra province simultaneously with the inauguration of the new constitution, discussion of which was postponed at the last session, and voted down several amendments, including the formation of the Kerala Province and appointment of a Committee to report on the distribution of the presidency on linguistic basis. The original motion was carried with an amendment that the Karnataka province also be formed simultaneously.

## ESTATES LAND ACT AMEND. BILL

"We are anxious to stop all agrarian discontent and as far as we can to see that landholders and tenants work together for the improvement of the land which they both share alike and exercise their rights in a friendly manner and in the best interest of both". Thus concluded Sir Archibald Campbell his speech moving the third reading of the Bill to amend the Estates Land Act which was passed into law by the Council after a protracted session on the 14th November. The Revenue Member was congratulated by the Opposition leader and others on the able way in which he piloted the bill.

The house then adjourned.

# THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AUTUMN SESSION—NAGPUR, 24th. JULY to 1st. AUGUST 1933

## THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

The Autumn Session of the C. P. Legislative Council commenced on the 24th. July 1933 with the hon. Mr. S. W. A. Rizvi, President, in the Chair.

Addressing the members of the Council the Governor referred to the prevailing financial depression and stressed the economic position of the province, which was working to a surplus, albeit a small one. His Excellency dwelt lengthily on the remission of arrears of land revenue and taccavi advances allowed to distressed agriculturists for the year ending September, 1932. Out of 21 half lakhs 18 half lakhs were remitted in the former while in the latter out of 31 half lakhs 19 lakhs were remitted.

The Governor explained that the present session was summoned earlier to enable the members to express their views on the White Paper. His Excellency did not attempt to influence the members in any direction but remarked : "The experience of the last seven years has shown that, given goodwill on both sides and a common desire to do what is best for India, it has been possible even under the existing constitution for the executive containing advanced elements to function without either loss of national spirit or the application of special checks. Indeed, the more I see the practical working constitutions the more I have come to feel that one can attach too much importance to their details. If the will to work the constitution is there it will work and the better it is worked the more quickly will the safeguard it contains drop off through disuse. On the other hand, should the desire to work the constitution be absent, it is idle to worry over the details for the sooner it is suspended, as it had to be here in our unregenerate days, the better".

His Excellency expressed sorrow at his impending retirement. As this was the last time he addressed the members, he bade the members farewell.

Concluding, he said, "I have never been content with the old men to dream dreams of what India used to be, but with young men, have preferred to see visions of what is yet to come. These visions I shall take with me to my new home beyond the seas and there, though far away, shall ever pray for their fulfilment."

## C. P. PRIMARY EDUCATION AMEND. BILL

The hon. Dr. *Punjabrao* then presented the report of the select committee on the C. P. Primary Education (Amendment) Bill and moved for its final reading. Mr. K. P. *Pande* deprecated tinkering with primary education often without a clear-cut programme. The motion was carried by 36 votes to 21 and the bill as amended by the select committee passed into law. The bill empowered private primary schools in compulsory areas to charge fees.

## C. P. LAND REVENUE AMEND. BILL

The hon. Mr. E. *Gordon's* C. P. Land Revenue (Fourth Amendment) Bill as well as the hon. Rai Bahadur G. P. *Jaiswal's* C. P. Municipalities (Amendment) Bill were referred to select committees without discussion.

## C. P. EXCISE AMEND. BILL

The hon. Rai Bahadur G. P. *Jaiswal* introduced the C. P. Excise Amendment Bill and moved for reference to a select committee. The bill aimed at providing more stringent provisions to deal with habitual excise offenders. Mr. K. P. *Pande* opposed on the ground that arming excise officials with such drastic powers would be a source of trouble to the people. After the Minister justified the bill, the House carried it by 34 votes to 31.

## C. P. OPIUM SMOKING BILL

The hon. Rai Bahadur G. P. *Jaiswal's* next bill to amend the C. P. Opium Smoking Bill, which made it penal to possess a mere pipe or an apparatus for the purpose of smoking opium or of preparing opium for smoking purposes, was intro-

duced and moved for reference to a select committee. The motion was carried without discussion.

#### C. P. LOCAL SELF-GOVT. AMEND. BILL

The C. P. Local Self-Government (Second Amendment) Bill of Rai Bahadur G. P. Jaiswal, the *C. P. Cattle Diseases Bill* of Dr. Deshmukh and the *Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill* of the hon. Mr. E. Gordon were circulated for eliciting public opinion.

The *C. P. Village Panchayat Amendment Bill* of Rai Bahadur G. P. Jaiswal designed to enable women to become members of the panchayat was opposed by Mr. Khaparde, the Nationalist leader, who remarked that village women lacked education and their presence on panchayats would not be conducive to its peaceful working. After Seth Sheolal's opposition, the House carried the motion by 34 votes to 10.

Dr. Deshmukh's *C. P. Hindu Religious and Charitable Trust Bill*, which was moved for being circulated for eliciting public opinion, evoked the greatest controversy of the day. The bill aimed at undertaking legislation for the purpose of securing better management and administration of Hindu religious and charitable public trusts. Mr. Khaparde, Seth Sheolal and Mr. K. P. Pande ranged themselves in the opposition, the crux of their argument being that it would generate communal bickerings and the condition in the province was not justifying it. Messrs. Chaobal and Sapkal, Thakur Mammohan Singh and Mr. C. B. Parakh expressed themselves in agreement with the Minister. The bill was ultimately carried by 37 votes to 11.

Before the House adjourned for the day, the President referred in touching terms to the sad demise of Mr. Sen-Gupta whom he regarded as a patriot of the first order. Mr. Khaparde, the hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Leader of the House, Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Hussain and Mr. R. W. Fulay associated themselves with the feelings of regret expressed by the President.

#### SUPPRESSION OF INDIAN OFFICERS

**25th. JULY:**—There was prolonged debate in the Council to-day on a resolution moved by Mr. Parakh (Nagpur) urging the Government to reconsider its policy resulting in the supersession of senior Indian officials by Europeans.

It was thrown out, 21 voting for it and 37 against it.

In moving his resolution, Mr. Parakh referred to four appointments recently made by the Government and alleged that it had been pursuing a policy systematically ignoring the claims of senior Indian officers. No Indian had ever had the privilege to hold the appointment of Judicial Commissioner. In making the appointment of the present Judicial Commissioner, the Government had ignored the claims of the two Indians who held the posts of Additional Judicial Commissioners.

Messrs. Rajurker and Seth Sheolal supported the resolution.

Speaking on behalf of the Government, Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Home Member, defended the selection to the posts referred to by Mr. Parakh. The appointment of the Chief Engineer, Building and Roads, was strictly impartial and went to the fittest man. The appointment of Settlement Commissioner was made at a time when very few officers were returning from leave and was not an isolated one. To select one link from the chain for attack, was going beyond the limits of fair criticism. He repudiated the suggestion that in appointing Mr. Lilly as Settlement Commissioner the Government was actuated by any racial motive. It was very easy to be critical without being correct. In making the appointment of Judicial Commissioner, a European had been superseded along with two other Indians. It was unfair to discuss the merits of High Court Judges on the floor of the House.

As regards the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Gordon, as member of the Governor's Executive Council, the Home Member stated that under Section 47 (1) of the Government of India Act, the appointment was made by His Majesty and the Governor-in-Council was not concerned with the matter. Under section 92 of the same Act, if a vacancy occurred in the office of a member of the Executive Council and there was no successor on spot, the Governor-in-Council supplied the vacancy by appointing a temporary member, pending the receipt of orders. The Hon. Mr. Gordon was appointed on the distinct understanding that his appointment was a temporary one and that he would have no claim for a permanent appointment. There had been no racial preference and the charge levelled against the Government was imaginary.

Mr. Shareef (Nagpur) opposed the motion on the ground that the Government had made appointments for administrative reasons and they meant no reflection on Indian officers.

Mr. Kanikher supported the resolution, as he felt that the Homo Member had made out no solid case in favour of the appointments.

Winding up the debate, Mr. Parakh observed that the attitude of the Government briefly was "We have done it. Right or wrong we stand by it". He thought that the Government had failed to give effect to the wishes of the people.

Mr. Parakh's motion, when pressed to a division, was lost as stated above.

#### DEBATE ON THE WHITE PAPER

**26th. JULY:**—The Council spent the whole of to-day in discussing the White Paper. After question time, which occupied about forty-five minutes, the Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Home Member, moved that the proposals for Indian constitutional reforms, contained in the White Paper, published on 18th March last, be taken into consideration. He requested the members to discuss the proposals with restraint and dignity. He announced that Government members would not take part in the discussion. He also sounded a note of warning that it would be unwise to discuss the Communal Award and raise controversial issues.

After some discussion, the President decided that, out of the five amendments tabled by the members, the one standing in the name of Mr. Choubal (Amraoti) should be taken up, since it was the most comprehensive of all.

Mr. Choubal moved his amendment which consisted of twenty-four clauses expressing "the considered opinion of the Council that the White Paper proposals are inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, and have created deep mistrust in millions of His Majesty's subjects as to the motives of the British Government and the India Government" and opining that unless they are substantially modified in the directions suggested, it would not be possible to ensure the willing co-operation of all sections of His Majesty's subjects and restore peace and contentment in the country. Mr. Choubal submitted that:

(1) Any parliamentary enactment should make it clear that India would be an autonomous community within the British Empire equal in status and in no way subordinate in her internal sovereignty, to any authority outside India.

(2) An honourable Federation of British India and Indian States should be established.

(3) In as much as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of every member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all laws touching succession to the throne or royal style and titles should be submitted for assent to the future Federal Legislature.

(4) The proposals are over-weighted by safeguards, which are demonstrably in the interests of Britain, British trade and the British members of the civil and military services.

(5) The Secretary of State's office should be abolished and any administrative control under the Act should be transferred to the Secretary for Dominion Affairs.

(6) The inauguration of Federation should not be dependent on the prior establishment of a Reserve Bank.

(7) A declaration of fundamental rights of citizenship should form part of the Act.

(8) No special powers should be conferred on the head of the Government, Central or Provincial.

(9) Provincial autonomy should be unrestricted and full.

(10) There should be complete transfer of the Indian army to the Federal Government.

(11) The British army should be transferred to Imperial control and the cost of its maintenance should be shared by the British Government, the Indian Government and other members of the Commonwealth, as determined by mutual agreements.

(12) Only such share of the debt of the Government of India should be transferred to the Federal Government as may be fixed by a statutory board appointed by the British and Indian Governments after examining the equity of Indian liability for old public debts.

(13) A statutory railway authority is unnecessary and in any case its creation may be left to the new Federal Government.

(14) Provision for a Supreme Court should be made in the Constitution Act.

(15) No member of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment

as Governor-General, Deputy Governor-General or Governor, permanent or acting, or as the Chief Justice of a High Court.

(16) The Federal Government and the Provincial Governments should have complete power to enforce all disciplinary action against the All India services.

(17) The Governor should be debarred from consulting members of the services, except through the Ministers.

(18) The Governor should be debarred from exercising any direct or indirect control over the Criminal Investigation Department or the special branch police.

(19) No member of the Indian police service should be eligible for appointment as Inspector-General of Police.

(20) The Public Services Commission should make recruitment to the Indian Civil and Police services.

(21) The pensions and provident funds of All-India services should not be transferred outside India.

(22) A chartered High Court should be constituted for the Central Provinces.

(23) The interval between the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and Federation should be more than eighteen months.

(24) If Simla is to be the summer seat of the future Federal Government, it should be excluded from the administrative control of the Punjab Government.

In moving his amendment, Mr. Choubal observed that the strongest political force in India was Congress Nationalism and it was this force which the Government were not prepared to recognise. In their unwiseom they were out to kill it and its exponents, as if by slow poison.

Continuing, Mr. Choubal observed that a Governor, armed with special powers and responsibilities, would be an all-powerful factor. The Ministers and legislatures would undoubtedly be emasculated.

Mr. C. B. Parakh (Nagpur), Mr. Kharparde (leader of the Nationalists), Mr. M. Y. Shareef, Seth Shecol, Seth Thakurdas, Mr. Fulay (Labour), Mr. S. M. Rahaman (Akola) and Thakur Manmohan Singh participated in the debate.

Mr. Kharparde stated that goodwill was absent on the British side. The Governor would, under the new constitution, be invested with powers which would virtually make him the sole master of the situation, and to expect that Indians would be satisfied with such a constitution was, he observed, an insult to their intelligence.

Mr. Fulay appealed to the Government to release all political prisoners.

Mr. Rahaman stated that the whole country was unanimous in demanding responsibility at the centre, simultaneously with provincial autonomy and there would be discontent from one end of the country to the other, if the Central responsibility was not conferred.

**28th. JULY :—**After six hour's debate, the Council carried to-day Mr. Choubal's amendment, characterising the White Paper proposals as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Just when Mr. Choubal's amendment, consisting of twenty-four clauses, was being put to vote, Mr. S. M. Rahaman (Akola), urged that the clauses referring to the British Army in India and to laws touching succession to the throne of Royal style and titles, be put separately as some Muslim members opposed the same.

Mr. Kanitker (Buldana), who opened to-day's discussion urged that at least in the provinces communal electorates should be done away with. He deplored that in respect of Berar the Council's wishes had not been respected.

Khan Bahadur Tarapore (Democrat) observed that he could see the difficulty of evolving a constitution which would satisfy thirty-five crores. He paid a tribute to Sir M. Butler, retiring Governor. He urged that the Reforms scheme, though overruled with safeguards, deserved a fair trial. Concluding, he felt that the Congress was to blame if the White Paper was unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Rao Bahadur Kothare (Berar Commerce) complained that Commerce was inadequately represented in the Provincial Council.

Mrs. Rama Bai Tambe pleaded for a revision of the qualifications of women voters. She could not understand why higher educational qualifications should be imposed in the Central Provinces when more advanced provinces had laid down only literacy as a qualification. She also deprecated communal electorates and insisted that the three seats allotted to women should be classed as general seats.

Mr. Kedar (Leader, People's party) observed that, armed with a special secretariat, the Governor would be overruling Ministers in almost every case. They did not want anyone to step in between the Ministers and the Governor. He thought that with the transfer of real power to popular Ministers, safeguard would be meaningless and obsolete. Continuing, Mr. Kedar paid a tribute to the members of the Indian Civil Service in C. P. who, he observed, had given loyal and willing co-operation to the Ministers during the last eight or ten years. He also paid a tribute to Sir M. Butler, who had never overruled the Ministers. Given such officials, safeguards were meaningless. He did not see the seeds of Dominion Status in the White Paper.

#### NO CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS

The President then announced that fifteen motions of 'no-confidence' had been tabled against the Ministry, consisting of Dr. Purushottam Deshmukh and Rai Bahadur Gajadhar Prasad Jaiswal. The first motion was that of Mr. K. P. Pande (People's Party) against both the Ministers. The President held the same to be in order and leave to admit the same was granted by the House, twenty-seven members having stood up in their seats.

Nine similar motions against individual ministers were admitted. Four motions were withdrawn.

A mild surprise was caused when the motion of Mr. Khaparde was rejected by the House, the requisite members not having stood up.

After some discussion, the President fixed 31st. for the motions being taken up.

**29th. JULY:**—The Council devoted the whole of to-day to discussing non-official Bills. Question time was dull and occupied only about half an hour.

#### C. P. STATE AID TO INDUSTRIES BILL

Seth Thakurdas (C. P. Commerce) presented the report of the Select Committee on the Central Provinces State Aid to Industries Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, and moved that it be taken into consideration.

Mr. C. B. Parakh (Nagpur) suggested that State aid to industries in the form of loans, be enhanced from 50 to 75 per cent, which the President ruled out, since such a change required the previous sanction of the Governor.

As a protest against the ruling of the Chair, Mr. Parakh withdrew all the five amendments standing in his name. The Bill was then passed.

#### UNIVERSITY ACT AMENDING BILL

Mr. Mangalmurti's Nagpur University Amendment Bill giving permission to library clerks and librarians to appear for university examinations as private candidates, was passed into law in spite of opposition from the Treasury benches.

#### JUVENILE SMOKING AMEND. BILL

Mr. Gokulchand Singhai's (Damoh) Juvenile Smoking Amendment Bill evoked a lively debate, and was ultimately referred to a Select Committee. The object of the Bill was to amend the Juvenile Smoking Act, 1929 which had remained almost a dead letter. The Bill proposed to penalise owners of factories where children were detected smoking.

Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, Revenue Secretary, opposed the Bill on behalf of the Government. Public opinion, he said, was opposed to the Bill. Further, he contended that the proposed amendment would involve the unemployment of a large number of children under sixteen now employed in factories, since bidi factory owners had refused to shoulder responsibility in the matter.

Mr. S. M. Rahaman (Akola) supported the Bill, as he felt it would go a long way to implement the recommendations of the International Labour Conference and discourage child labour.

Mr. Fulay (Labour) supported the Bill and hoped the objectionable features of it would be eliminated in the Select Committee stage.

Mr. Yusuf Shariff of Nagpur opposed the Bill. He could not understand why factory owners should be punished for the acts of their employees.

Seth Sheolal also opposed the Bill as he felt that he impeded the growth of the industry.

The motion that the Bill be referred to a select committee was carried by 34 votes to 28.

## PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION BILL

Mr. Kolhe moved that the Public Services Commission Bill (introduced in January last year) be referred to a select committee.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Rahaman (Akola) and Mr. E. Gordon, Finance Member. Both the speakers believed that the Bill was impertinent since the White Paper contained a similar proposal. Mr. Gordon added that there were administrative and financial difficulties in the way of establishing a Public Services Commission at this juncture.

Mr. Kolhe pressed his motion, which was declared carried. On a division being claimed by the Government, the Bill was thrown out by 31 votes to 21.

## GOVT. SERVANTS AND LOCAL BOARD ELECTIONS

Mr. Fulay (Labour) moved that his Bill, prohibiting Government servants from contesting elections to local bodies, be referred to a select committee.

The Government accepted the motion, which was carried.

## LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT ACT AMENDING BILL

Mr. Kolhe next moved the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Amendment Bill, removing the disqualification of pleaders convicted and disqualified from practising, from contesting the elections to local bodies.

Mr. Sukthanker, Revenue Secretary, opposed the Bill.

Messrs. Singai, Rahaman and Choubal supported the Bill, which was referred to a select committee, the Government not challenging a division.

A Bill authorising local bodies to make by-laws prohibiting the employment of women and children at night in public places was, on the motion of Mr. Fulay, referred to a select committee.

Mr. Fulay's motion for the circulation of the *Unregulated Factories Bill* for eliciting public opinion, was defeated by 36 votes to 14.

## INDUSTRIAL DEBTORS BILL

Shortly before adjourning, the House rejected Mr. Fulay's motion for reference of the protection of Industrial Debtors Bill to a select committee. The Nationalists voted against the Bill, while the Government refrained from voting.

Six other Bills were introduced and circulated for eliciting public opinion.

**31st. JULY:**—The Council spent the whole day in discussing non-official resolutions. At one time, attendance was so thin that business had to be suspended for some time for want of a quorum.

Mr. Yusuf Shareef (Nagpur) moved a resolution that in furtherance of the aims and objects of the Mussalman Wakf Act of 1928, a central committee be appointed to investigate and report whether the various wakf properties were being properly managed or not.

The resolution was opposed by the Government, but the House accepted the same.

## PENSION FOR MENIALS

Mr. Fulay's resolution recommending the grant of pensions to Government menials in the same manner as to clerical and other Government employees, was carried by 36 votes to 12.

Resolutions discussed by the Council, to-day, related to agricultural indebtedness and education of the Depressed and Backward Classes.

Mr. Kanitkar, in a resolution, urged that the Government should float a loan of a crore of rupees with a view to satisfying creditors compounding claims before the Debt Conciliation Board.

Mr. Gordon, Revenue Member, opposing, pointed out that the financial stringency did not permit the Government to make such commitments. The Government had demonstrated their active sympathy with the peasants in their present plight by granting enormous remissions and suspensions of land revenue.

Pressed to a division, the resolution was rejected by 26 against 24 votes.

## DEPRESSED CLASSES EDUCATION

Mr. S. M. Rahaman wanted the Government to allot Rs. 10 lakhs in the course of the next five years, for the rapid expansion of education of Depressed and Backward Classes.

The resolution was, however, withdrawn when Mr. Jones, Director of Public Instruction, and Dr. Deshmukh, Education Minister, explained the Government attitude, saying that he stood firmly for the removal of the disabilities of these classes, and hence always insisted on education in common schools, but were reluctant to accept the resolution on the grounds of financial stringency.

#### BERAR AND THE FUTURE COUNCIL

Mr. Chabal urged that 40 seats out of 112 be allotted to Berar in the proposed Provincial Legislative Council under the next constitution, in view of its financial and political importance.

Mr. Gordon, on behalf of the Government, stated that they were not prepared to express any opinion, as the matter was entirely one for the British Parliament to decide.

The House rejected the resolution by 20 to 12, the officials not voting. The House then adjourned.

#### NO-CONFIDENCE ON MINISTERS WITHDRAWN

The curtain fell on the Ministerial tangle to-day, when the hon. Rai Bahadur G. P. Jaiswal, Minister for Industries, announced in the Council that he and his colleague Dr. Deshmukh, had resigned.

'With your permission, Sir, I propose to make a brief statement. I and my hon. colleague, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, were appointed Ministers as nominees of the Democratic Party in December 1930. The situation which has now been created in the Legislative Council by differences of opinion appears to make a reconstruction of the Ministry necessary. In the circumstances we have tendered the resignation of our respective offices to his Excellency the Governor.'

#### LOANS FOR AGRICULTURISTS

**1st. AUGUST:**—Business in the Council was suspended to-day for some time for want of a quorum.

Seth Thakurdas's resolution urging the reduction of the scale of process fee to its previous level was carried by 42 votes to 14.

Mr. Rajurkar next moved that the Government should provide all agriculturists with takkavi loans to the extent of fifty per cent of the proportion of their land revenue in the months of July and August every year, to be recovered along with the land revenue of the year.

Mr. Sapkal supported the resolution.

Opposing the resolution, Mr. Gordon said that the proposal would lead to bankruptcy as money would be had for the asking. The proposal would involve the Government in a heavy financial liability to the extent of Rs. 162 lakhs, and would result in demoralisation of the agriculturists.

Mr. Rajurkar pressed his resolution, that the credit of the agriculturists was at a low ebb and they looked for Government help in their plight.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by 30 votes to 22.

#### THE JAPANESE BOYCOTT

Mr. Kolhe (Yeotmal) next moved a resolution recommending to the Government to communicate to the Government of India the considered opinion of the Council, that they should take steps immediately to protect the cotton-growers of this province from the evil effects of the boycott declared by Japan.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Kolhe said that the Indian agriculturist had been already suffering from low prices and bad harvests. The Japanese boycott meant a loss of Rs. 20 lakhs in respect of short staple cotton which Japan consumed every year. Berar which produced this cotton would be the worst sufferer on that account. It was expected that the Ottawa Agreement would increase the demand of the British mills for Indian cotton, but the hope had not materialised. It was fashion for Indian mill-owners to represent the Japanese threat as a mere bluff, but facts were otherwise. Already, the prices of Indian cotton compared very unfavourably with American cotton prices. The Japanese boycott was real, as could be seen from the present day market conditions in Berar. A protective tariff alone would not help to remedy the situation. Concluding, Mr. Kolhe urged that the Government should settle this matter amicably with the Japanese delegation visiting this country shortly.

Rao Bahadur Kothare (Berar Commerce) and Mr. Rahaman (Akola) supported the resolution.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Financial Secretary said that the Government were in sympathy with the object of the resolution and would forward a copy of the proceedings to the Government of India. The Government were anxious to safeguard the interests of the cotton growers if they were threatened. On the other hand, Japan had declared a boycott only a couple of months ago, and it was yet premature to judge its effect. The Government were watching the situation and would take all the steps necessary to protect the agriculturists.

Mr. Kolhe's resolution was then unanimously carried.

This brought the business of the session to a close. The Council adjourned sine die. (From the 'Hindu,' Madras).

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## THE U. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

WINTER SESSION—LUCKNOW, 6th. to 20th. DECEMBER 1933

### EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES

The Winter session of the United Provinces Legislative Council opened on the 6th. December 1933 with Sir Sitaram, President, in the chair. There was a change in the appearance of the Council Hall, owing to arrangements for improving the acoustics in the hall. It was evident that although the acoustics were not perfect, they had definitely improved.

Among the resolutions passed was one recommending to the Government that the present canal rates should be reduced to one-third.

Another resolution, on which a division of 42 against 22 votes was obtained, recommended to the Government to take practical measures for meeting the educational needs of the backward classes, that a conference be convened by the Education Department to consider the educational needs of the backward classes including Moslems and Indian Christians residing in rural areas, and that the Government should set apart funds for providing educational facilities for them.

### U. P. MUNICIPALITIES ACT AMEND. BILL

**7th. DECEMBER:**—The House passed 41 to 40 votes the Bill amending the U. P. Municipalities Act II of 1916. The Bill was intended to make the position of the chairman of a board secure in the discharge of his duties because on account of party quarrels, members of the opposition, merely led by a party spirit, sent a motion for a vote of no-confidence against the Chairman.

After further scrutiny of votes, it was found there was a tie and the President gave his casting vote in favour of the Opposition, as the existing law could not be changed with the help of the casting vote.

Consequently the Bill, as amended, was thrown out.

After some discussion, the Council passed the Bill to suppress immoral traffic in the United Provinces as amended by the Select Committee. The House then adjourned.

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PROVINCE

**8th. DECEMBER:**—An interesting debate took place in the Council to-day on Mr. C. Y. Chintamoni's resolution recommending to the Government to set up a committee for drawing up a five years' plan of economic development with instructions to report also on the financial measures necessary to give effect to their recommendations.

Initiating the discussion Mr. Chintamoni gave a graphic description of the grave economic depression all over India and particularly in the United Provinces where the ranks of the hungry masses and discontented classes were swelling by leaps and bounds,—a state of things which foreboded a grave menace to ordered

progress in the country. He concluded by suggesting to the Government that the acceptance of the recommendations of the committee proposed by him was best calculated to bring about peace and contentment in the country.

The Minister of Industry and Agriculture speaking on the motion assured the mover that the Government were doing their best in these matters and incidentally informed the House that the Government had already undertaken an economic survey of the Province as proposed in the resolution. He, however, did not propose to oppose the resolution.

The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned. The resolution was accepted by the Council on the next day, the 9th December.

#### OUDH RENT ACT AMEND. BILL

**11th. DECEMBER:**—The Government suffered the first defeat of the session in the Council to-day when the Bill to amend the Oudh Rent Act was rejected by 36 to 28 votes. The object of the Bill was stated to be to bring the provisions of the Oudh Rent Act into line with those of the Agra Tenancy Act.

The Council then voted supplementary and excess demands for 1933-34 to the extent of Rs. 12,00,000.

#### OPIUM SMOKING AMEND. BILL

The Bill to amend the law relating to opium smoking in U. P. was introduced and referred to a select committee. The existing Act, which made smoking of opium in company penal was considered insufficient to implement India's undertaking given at the Geneva Opium Conference in 1924-25 to suppress opium smoking as speedily as possible. The present Bill provided for registration of smokers and fixation of a quantitative limit for possession of prepared opium other than opium lawfully obtained.

The Council further passed a bill to amend the U. P. Municipalities Act No. II of 1916. The House then adjourned.

#### AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

**13th. DECEMBER:**—Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Finance Member, brought before the Council to-day for consideration the measures embodied in the U. P. Agriculturists Relief Bill which were expected to give definite relief to the agriculturists of the province. The Bill had been exhaustively dealt with in the Select Committee, and drastic changes had been proposed.

After six days' keen and contentious debate, the Council passed the Bill on the 19th December.

The Act was of immense importance to the agriculturists of the United Provinces, as it was intended to offer relief to those who were heavily indebted to money lenders by reducing their liabilities. It sought to give relief to the agriculturists by reducing the rates of interest both in regard to future and past loans by empowering the courts of law to fix instalments for payment by agriculturists of amounts decreed; and made very liberal provisions for the redemption of mortgages of lands. Care however, was taken not to unduly restrict the credit open to the agriculturists.

**20th. DECEMBER:**—The Council to-day discussed the report of the Rent Revenue Committee on the scheme for a fluctuation of a rent and revenue with the major fluctuation in prices. Mr. A. C. Turni, Special Revenue Officer, explained the scheme of revenue remission. The introduction of his scheme generally was proposed by landlord members of the Council.

#### THE U. P. WAQF BILL

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain introduced the Waqf Bill, with the object of supervising and controlling Waqfs in U. P. The Council referred the Bill for circulation and adjourned *sine die*.

# THE FRONTIER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AUTUMN SESSION—PESHAWAR, 6th. to 13th. NOVEMBER 1933

## ARMS ACT AMENDING BILL

The N. W. Frontier Legislative Council commenced its Autumn Session on the 6th. November 1933 at the Victoria Memorial Hall, Peshawar. There was a large non-official attendance. *Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghafour Khan*, the President, presided.

Mr. Cunningham moved for consideration of the Indian Arms N. W. F. P. Amendment Bill.

Mr. Cunningham said that the effect of the Bill would be that a prosecution might be brought against persons possessing unlicensed weapons, without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate, which was necessary under the present law. It was recently discovered that the practice followed in this province for the last thirty years was illegal. The District Magistrate's sanction was never applied for, and the law had remained unnoticed. But the procedure had proved to be perfectly satisfactory.

*Malik Khuda Baksh*, on behalf of the Independent Party, moved for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion by the 15th February 1934. The Bill affected the liberty of the subject. The leaders outside the House should be consulted. The legislators in 1878, when the Arms Act was passed, were actuated by a spirit of statesmanship, in providing this provision requiring the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. He was opposed to the immediate consideration of the Bill.

*Sardar Raja Singh*, supporting the motion for immediate consideration of the Bill, said that if the matter was considered dispassionately, it would be seen that no right was being taken away from the accused. No movement had been set afoot for the application of this provision in the province, which indicated that there had been no encroachment on the liberty of the subject.

Mr. Noor Balsh (Progressive Party) also supported consideration of the Bill, as the amendment sought to be made was only of a technical nature. There was no necessity for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

Mr. Ghulam Fabbani opposed consideration of the Bill holding that a check on the police activities was essential. He said that there was no reason to remove the safeguard, when the Government were not prepared to reduce the license fee for arms, when the special condition for the Frontier made it necessary for the people to keep arms to defend themselves.

Mr. Abdul Rahim (Liberal) strongly supported the motion for circulation. He thought that the previous sanction of the District Magistrate was necessary, lest the police should misuse their powers.

Mr. Cunningham, replying to the debate, observed that the Bill did not involve any matter of acute public controversy. He did not agree with the Leader of the Independent Party that every measure affecting public liberty should be circulated for eliciting public opinion. The issue before the House was simple and clear-cut, and he could not see who would be consulted, besides the members of the House.

*Pir Baksh* (Independent Party) said that the Government wanted to sacrifice the interests of its subjects, for the sake of convenience. He requested the House to agree to the motion of the circulation.

The motion for circulation was pressed to a division, and carried by 20 votes to 12 votes.

## LEGAL PRACTITIONERS BILL

The Home Member, then moved that the North-west Frontier Province Legal Practitioners Bill, to enforce the provisions in the province of Legal Practitioners' Act, 1879, with all its amendments, be taken into consideration. He referred to the recommendations of the Niamatullah Committee, appointed by the Governor-General in 1931 to examine the laws in force in the North-west Frontier Province, which had suggested the introduction of the Legal Practitioners Act 1879 *en bloc* in the province. The Bill was intended to bring the province into line with the rest of British India in this respect. Suitable rules would be made when the Bill was passed. The measure too was of a technical nature.

*Malik Khuda Bux*, Leader of the Independents, again moved for circulation by February 1934, as many provisions of the Act had become redundant, and the opinions of the Bar Association would be invaluable.

The Home Member agreed to the motion, and the Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion. The House then adjourned.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS

6th. NOVEMBER :—The Council held a short sitting to-day to vote supplementary demands.

*Pir Balksh Khan* (Independent Party) moved a token cut of five rupees in respect of Irrigation, and proceeded to criticise the general irrigation policy.

On an objection being raised by the Legal Remembrancer, the President ruled that the general policy could not be discussed, at this stage, upon which the mover withdrew the cut.

The supplementary demands were passed without discussion, except in the case of Agriculture.

*Rai Saheb Ruchiram* moved for the total rejection of the sum of Rs. 2,460 under the head "Establishment—Director of Agriculture". He said that the demand was an unnecessary burden on the present deficit budget.

*Rai Saheb Meher Chand Khanna* and *Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim* supported the amendment which however, was rejected.

The supplementary demand was passed after Sir *Abdul Qaiyum*, Minister, assured the Council that the appointment of the Director of Agriculture was only an experimental one for two years.

#### CONDITION OF KOHAT DEBTORS

9th. NOVEMBER :—The Council discussed non-official resolutions to-day. Replying to the debate on the resolution of *Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan* recommending to the Governor in Council to introduce the Punjab Money-lenders' Bill into this province, Mr. *Cunningham*, Home Member, said that the Government would introduce in the next session a bill on the lines of the Punjab Money-lenders' Act.

The only other resolution discussed was that of *Malik Khuda Baksh Khan's* recommending to the Governor in Council to appoint an enquiry committee to study the condition of Kohat debtors, 1924-25, and to recommend in deserving cases for entire or partial remission.

In the case of the rest the number of instalments by which the loan is payable be increased from 20 to 50 and the clause of default by which the total amount becomes payable on non-payment in three successive instalments be deleted from the conditions imposed by Government in 1925 while remitting interest.

The mover traced the history of the debts which amounted to Rs. 10 lakhs and was granted by the Government of India to the sufferers of communal riots of 1924-25, the loan being refundable in 10 instalments. Later due to trade depression the number of instalments was increased to 18 and the interest was remitted. The instalments were now being realised from the debtors and legal proceedings had been necessitated in a number of cases. Owing to the intensity of trade depression the economic condition of the people had gone from bad to worse and it was but desirable that an enquiry be instituted.

A number of members of all sections of the House participated in the debate. *Mr. Ghulamrabbani* and *M. Noorbaksh* of the Progressive Party opposed the resolution.

*Mr. Cunningham*, Home Member, said that the Government could not afford to forego the repayment of debts and enquiries were already being made by the deputy commissioner in deserving cases. The resolution was, however, pressed to a division and passed by 17 votes to 16. The House then adjourned.

#### NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

13th. NOVEMBER :—The Council passed two non-official Bills today, namely, (1) *Pir Balksh's Punjab Municipal North West Frontier Province Amendment Bill* empowering the municipal committees in the Frontier to prohibit the keeping of brothels and the residence of prostitutes and (2) *Rai Saheb Meharchand Khanna's Juvenile Smoking Bill* as reported by the select committee.

These two Bills were the first non-official measures by the Council since its constitution a year-and-a-half ago. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

# THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

SPECIAL SESSION—SIMLA, 26th. to 31st. JULY 1933

## THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

A brief special session of the Punjab Legislative Council was opened by H. E. Sir Herbert Emerson, the Governor, at Simla on the 26th July 1933. In the course of his speech, His Excellency said :—

"If our expectations are fulfilled, there remains but a short time before the Punjab will be under a system of Government very different from that which now obtains. I can conceive of no better way in which all who are interested in the success of the reforms can spend the intervening period, than by helping to secure greater concord between the various communities and sections of the population which, in the peculiar circumstances of this province, is an essential condition for administrative stability".

His Excellency was glad that, already, attention was being directed, in an increasing degree, to the importance of obtaining a Government which would ensure stability by the only means possible, namely, through the general confidence which it would inspire in all sections of the people (cheers).

His Excellency devoted a greater part of his address to the economic situation. After adverting to the catastrophic fall in prices and the serious depletion of the reserves, built up during years of prosperity, Sir Herbert Emerson pointed out that there were happily redeeming features. Nowhere in the province had there been anything in the nature of privation, and even in Hissar District, the extent to which relief had been necessary was surprisingly small. The price of wheat had gradually risen in the recent months from Rs. 1-4 to nearly three rupees, and the value of the other grains had shown a similar tendency. There was ground for the hope that worst of the storm was over, and with a return to confidence, it was reasonable to expect that machinery of credit would become less clogged. There had been no marked increase in the transfers of land, and the cultivator was able to obtain adequate supplies of seed. Their canal system was the finest of India and perhaps in the world. The prevalent system of grain rents, adjusted itself automatically to the rise or fall in prices so that there was no clash of interests between the landlords and tenants as it occurred elsewhere.

His Excellency have expressed his admiration for the spirit of the people, who, in the face of misfortune, and real sacrifices had kept unimpaired the tradition that the payment of Government dues was matter of honour. The Government would urge, whenever necessary, the claims of the province on the Government of India in matters like retention of the import duty on wheat and railway freight on agricultural produce.

## NO CHANGE IN LAND REVENUE POLICY

The Governor assured the Council that there was no change in the generous land revenue policy, followed by the Government. Sir Herbert further informed them that in addition to suspensions and remissions granted under the ordinary rule, there had been remissions of over nine lakhs for the last rabi crop on account of the price factor alone.

On the question of water rates, the Government had appointed a committee to report whether, in view of the present economic conditions, any readjustment in the occupier's rates was necessary, and if so how this could best be effected with as little loss as possible to the provincial revenues. His Excellency stated that the Government would give the most careful consideration to the recommendations of the Committee. He further stated that the resettlement of Lyallpur District would be taken in hand early in the cold weather. A scheme was under examination whereby practical co-operation would be secured of the departments concerned, in the matter of supply of superior seed for wheat cultivation.

Referring to the financial position of the province, H. E. the Governor pointed out that the budget was largely a gamble in prices. As long as uncertainty continued regarding the upward movement of agricultural values, so long would their position be one of an unstable equilibrium. His Excellency said : "The Council will

not forget that it shares with the Government a position of trust, the responsibilities of which are more exacting, because subject to the will of Parliament, both the Government and the Council will shortly hand over their trusteeship to others. It is particularly incumbent on us that we should not embarrass the Government of the future by ill-considered action."

As regards law and order, the Governor stated that the peace of the province was undisturbed by any subversive movement, and expressed the appreciation of the Government of the manner in which the people, as a body, had refused to associate themselves with the programme of those who would undermine the foundations of Government. He thanked the Legislative Council for their uniform support in granting the powers necessary to control the mischievous actions of the small and misguided minority.

In particular both the Council and the people had shown in no uncertain manner that they held in hatred and contempt, those who would vainly try to terrorise the community and administration by methods of secret assassination. So far at least as this province was concerned, the people and the Council had furnished a reply to those who doubted the wisdom of the present proposals relating to the transfer of law and order to responsible Ministers.

Concluding, His Excellency observed : "When the time comes for the Council to give over charge to a body more widely representative and with far larger powers, it will have the satisfaction of knowing that it has itself contributed mainly to its own supersession by the sense of responsibility it has consistently shown, and by the political consciousness it has developed in the province."

#### OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**27th. JULY:**—The Council sat to-day for four hours and discussed two resolutions.

Mr. Haibat Khan Daha, the mover of the first resolution which related to water rates, was willing to withdraw it because a committee had been set up, but a number of members objected to the withdrawal, and the President, following parliamentary practice, ruled that even if one member objected to the withdrawal, the resolution should be discussed.

Eventually the resolution, discussion on which had been adjourned from the previous session, was passed by 31 against 26 votes. The resolution ran : "That the powers of the canal authorities regarding grant of kharabs be taken from them and transferred to the revenue authorities on all canals in the Punjab."

The next resolution, which was moved by Mr. Mubarak Ali Shah, recommending to the Government to convey to the Government of India, that the schedule of railway freight was extremely detrimental to the interests of the province in general and to agriculturists in particular received general support, but the debate on it had not concluded, when the House adjourned.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**28th. JULY:**—Two non-official resolutions were discussed to-day in the Council, which held a four hours' sitting.

#### LAHORE MUNICIPAL SECRETARSHIP

Question time was rendered lively because of a series of supplementary questions in connection with the appointment of Mr. Agha Mahomed Safdar as Secretary of the Lahore Municipality.

Dr. Narang read extracts from the Lahore Commissioner's letter refusing to sanction the appointment of Mr. Safdar as Municipal Secretary on the ground that Mr. Safdar had been Taxation Officer since 1926, and from a perusal of the Dobson Committee report, he was satisfied that no official who held a post of responsibility in the Taxation Department in recent years was fit for promotion as Secretary of the Municipality.

Mr. A. Khan drew the Government's attention to Sir Zafar Ali's statement, absolving Mr. Safdar of the charges levelled against him.

Mr. Mahomed Din Malik pointed out that the previous Commissioner had sanctioned the appointment until 31st July, and the Municipality had asked the Commissioner to reconsider his decision. He asked whether, in the circumstances, the Government would give a chance to the Municipal Committee to come to a decision before the end of July.

Dr. Narang informed the House that action was being taken,

## RESOLUTION ON RAILWAY FREIGHTS

The House adopted the resolution of Mr. Mubarak Ali, conveying to the Government of India the Council's opinion that the schedule of railway freights was extremely detrimental to the interests of the Province, particularly to agriculturists.

During the debate, Sir Sikandar Hyat repelled the charges that the Railway Board had been altogether unresponsive to their representations, and pointed out how in 1931, the Railway Board had accepted the Punjab Government's request and reduced the rate by a third, as a result of which there had been a remarkable increase in the export of wheat. He added that, owing to the deficit railway budget, the original rates were restored. He assured the Council of the Government's sympathy with the resolution, which he promised to forward to the Government of India.

## CORRUPTION IN THE PROVINCE

The second resolution, though withdrawn by Khan Bahadur Habibullah after Sir Henry Craik's reply, roused considerable interest, as the mover asserted that bribery and corruption had largely increased in the province. The resolution suggested the appointment of a senior officer on special duty to report upon the best means of maintaining closer touch between the officials and the masses.

Sir Henry Craik observed that there was closer touch between the officers and people compared to what was the case ten years ago and referred to the extra burden placed on executive officers for supplying answers to questions raised in the Council with regard to the various branches of the administration. The Punjab Government had suggested to the officers to go on horseback and spend some days on tour.

As regards the charge of corruption and bribery, Sir Henry was glad that the assertion came from an elected member at a time when similar statements made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer before the Joint Select Committee had been challenged by so many higher authorities including ex-Viceroy.

Sir Henry Craik added: "I am told by visitors who see me from all the districts of the province that this statement is true. It is regrettable and is a very grave reproach on the administration that, in these days of education and greater enlightenment, the system should get worse. I do not think the Government are to blame. They have made every effort to eradicate the evil, unless public opinion shuns both the giver and the taker of bribes".

Concluding, Sir Henry advised Khan Bahadur Habibullah to withdraw the resolution, and allow the Zamindars' Deputation, which was shortly meeting the Government, to discuss the question of closer contact between officers and people.

**31st JULY:**—The Council adjourned *sine die* to-day after meeting for three days. The much talked of Communal formula was evidently dropped considering the very little attention that was devoted to the question. Apart from the resolution of Khan Bahadur Habibullah, who recommended that a senior officer of Government be placed on special duty to investigate the prevalence of corrupt practices in the provincial administration and the Government Bill to amend the Punjab Land Revenue Act, there was no business worth a special mention. There was however, some amount of liveliness in the Council, the members generally speaking in their own mother tongue.

It was interesting to observe how very much everyone seemed to be interested in agriculture and land revenue and to observe how intensely rural-minded the general outlook of the members was.

# THE BURMA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AUTUMN SESSION—RANGOON, 8th. to 18th. AUGUST 1933

## THE GOVEENOR'S OPENING SPEECH

At the opening of the Burma Legislative Council session at Rangoon on the 8th. August 1933, H. E. the Governor addressed the members as follows:—

I have come to address you again to-day because the Memorandum relating to Burma presented to the Joint Select Committee by the Secretary of State on 3rd August, and referred to by him in his statement to the Committee on 21st July, has this morning been issued for publication simultaneously in England, India and Burma, and I wish to emphasize to you and through you to the people of Burma certain of its salient features. You have copies in your hands together with the covering note by the Secretary of State which explains the nature of the memorandum. The first point which I wish to bring out is that no decision either for separation or for federation is involved by the issue of this memorandum. The situation as I understand it is the Parliament has appointed a Joint Select Committee of both Houses to report to it on the proposals which His Majesty's Government have put forward for the future constitution of India. As Burma now forms part of India its future is inextricably involved in the consideration of the future constitution of India and must therefore be taken account of by the joint Select Committee in the recommendations that it makes to Parliament. For reasons which you all know, and which are set forth at length in the introduction to the scheme and referred to in the covering memorandum, His Majesty's Government have been unable to put definite proposals for the future of Burma before the Joint Select Committee and in the footnote to paragraph 45 of the Introduction to the Indian White Paper, which does contain His Majesty's Government's definite proposals for the Indian constitution, Burma is specifically excepted from consideration in regard to the proposals therein made. The "Scheme of constitutional reform in Burma if separated from India" which you have in your hands does not constitute recommendations which His Majesty's Government specifically advise should be adopted. I am merely emphasizing because I do not wish you to overlook it, the statement in the covering memorandum. The scheme is in effect a redaction to concrete details of the constitution outlined by the Prime Minister in his speech on 12th January, 1932, and, in order to make them more intelligible, these details have been drawn up on the lines of the Indian White Paper. Though we have heard during the past year a very great deal of the Prime Minister's constitution, I think that the ideas of a very many of us on the subject of what it actually means in practice have been very vague and there has been a tendency to take this sentence or that from the Prime Minister's speech and to build on the basis of it an isolated castle in the air or an imaginary deep dungeon. We already have the Indian White Paper and the statement in this covering memorandum that should the Joint Select Committee take the view that Burma should be included in the Indian Federation, the proposals of the Indian White Paper, subject to some consequential adjustments would apply to Burma in the same way as to any other Province gives us the basis for a comparison. It is now possible not only for the members of the Joint Select Committee but also for each one of us to study the picture as a whole and see the details in their proper proportions. This is what I asked you to do; put aside the preconceived ideas and political slogans and examine the scheme fairly and squarely on the basis that it is a general picture of the sort of Bill that would be required if it were decided to separate Burma from India.

I repeat that this scheme does not constitute the specific recommendations of His Majesty's Government. The terms of reference to the Joint Select Committee charge it with consideration of the whole question of the future constitution of India which, of course, at present includes Burma. The question having been remitted to the Committee it would be inappropriate for His Majesty's Government to pronounce a decision on the question of the separation of Burma from India.

pending the Committee's report. But the Secretary of State will be prepared to state to the Committee when it reassembles his views on this question and he will also, I understand, suggest to the Committee that it should take into consultation a representative delegation from Burma, not exceeding ten in number, before examining in detail the constitutional memorandum which he has submitted and before it frames any recommendation to Parliament. As the Secretary of State has indicated in his covering memorandum, he will probably have additional proposals or modifications of the constitutional memorandum to recommend to the Committee, when the time comes to examine it. This, I understand, is the procedure which the Secretary of State contemplates, but it is of course for the Joint Committee itself to decide whether and on what point it would wish to have the views of the delegates from Burma and the date at which such delegates should be invited to attend; and as the Secretary of State's statement of July 21st indicated the Committee will be invited to consider these matters after its reassembly in the autumn.

#### COURT FEES AMENDMENT BILL

After the Governor's speech, the Bill to amend the Court Fees Act, for revising court fees in Burma and other purposes, moved by the *Finance Member* raised a storm of protest from non-officials including Europeans, who objected to increasing such fees, particularly at the present time, remarking that the Bill would deter people from seeking justice. The Government benches pointed out that the Bill attempted to cover the heavy deficit between receipt and expenditure in the civil administration.

The motion was passed to a division and rejected by a majority of 35 votes, the Government suffering a defeat. The Council then adjourned.

#### PLEA FOR ECONOMIES IN ADMINISTRATION

**9th. AUGUST** :—The Council commenced to-day discussion of non-official resolutions. Two motions were carried.

The first motion ran :—In view of the Burma Government being in a debt of over Rs. 6 crores, the Council urges the Government to appoint a committee of elected members to make recommendations for effecting economies in the administration, and reductions in the expenditure of the Government."

The *Finance Member* opposed the motion on the ground that a similar committee was being appointed as announced by the Governor, but the motion was pressed to a division and carried by a majority of sixteen votes.

#### ALLOWANCES TO MEMBERS

The other motion which urged the stopping of allowances to the members of the Council and the granting of the actual fare by third class, was amended, recommending to the Government to appoint a committee to consider and make recommendations regarding the allowances to be paid to members and their travelling expenses. The amended motion was carried, Government supporting the same. The Council then adjourned.

**11th. AUGUST** :—Non-official business concluded to-day, and the Council adjourned till the next day which was an official day.

Several amendments to the *Finance Member's* motion for consideration of the Burma Memorandum were given notice of by the Anti-Separationists, with a view to opposing the motion and raising the question of Burma joining the Indian Federation on the lines of the resolution passed in the last December session.

#### EDITOR APOLOGISES TO PRESIDENT

**14th. AUGUST** :—When the Council resumed its sitting this morning to transact official business the *Finance Member* (*Mr. T. Couper*) as the leader of the statement which appeared on Saturday and Sunday in a daily newspaper. On Saturday the *Rangoon Daily News* under the 'Notes on News' column in connection with the adjournment motion moved by *Mr. Ganga Singh* to discuss and disapprove of the Government action to abolish the Circuit Court at Mandalay, wrote: 'It is most unfortunate that the motion was talked out. Hardly two hours President could have used his discretion and allowed another half hour but we fear

this was not done because it was known that another defeat faced the Government. The Finance Member thought that it was a plain and straightforward accusation. It was an accusation that the President in the exercise of his discretion acted deliberately so as to be unfair to the Opposition and to favour the Government from undergoing another defeat.

Continuing, the Finance Member said that on Sunday the same paper wrote: 'It has been brought to our notice that the paragraph dealing with the adjournment motion has been taken exception to. We wish to state that a careful perusal of the paragraph will show that it was not meant as any reflection on the action of the President. What we meant was that in an important matter such as this if only the President had allowed the debate to continue for a few minutes longer the motion would not have suffered the fate of being talked out'. The leader of the House thought one would have accepted that when the matter was brought to the notice of the paper it would have tendered an apology. The second paragraph was not an apology but an evasion of an apology. It was an aggravation of the original offence. The accusation made by the paper was both fabulous and false. He said all members were not immune from criticism but he said criticism by that paper was not fair, and the paper went beyond the bounds of fair and legitimate criticism. It was a reckless and unfounded aspersion which was resented by the Council. The Finance Member then explained what happened in the Legislative Council and asked the President to take action against the paper.

Mr. H. C. Khoo, chief whip of the people's party, endorsed what the leader of the House uttered and suggested that suitable action should be taken against the offending paper.

Mr. C. J. Wedhouse associated himself with the remarks made by the Finance Member and hoped the President would take action. Mr. Ganga Singh agreed with the remarks made by the previous speakers but said that before taking any action the President should ask the editor to make a suitable apology. They must give him a chance before taking any action and hoped the Finance Member would agree.

Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji said he fully endorsed the statement already made by other members and felt that everyone of them must do their duty in maintaining the dignity of the House and the chair. But as this was one of the first cases of its kind in Burma he would request that the President should give a chance to the paper to tender due apology.

Saw Pe Tha, Deputy President, said it was an unjustifiable remark against the President and associated himself with the words uttered by the other speakers.

The President, Sir Oscar de Glanvile, said, he did not like to take notice of such matters but an insult was as much an insult to the chair as it was to the House and members had followed the constitutional practice in asking that action should be taken against the paper. The press gallery was in control of the President and so he proposed to deal with the matter in such a manner as would have the approval of the House and the order he proposed to pass was that unless suitable apology was forthcoming by to-day (Monday) the representatives of the paper concerned would be excluded from the public gallery and the press gallery.

#### BURMA LOCAL GOVT. AMENDING BILL

**15th. AUGUST :—**Voting by the Minister for Local Self-Government and the Secretary to the Department on opposite sides, as a result of free voting by the Government benches on a non-official amendment, was a noteworthy event in the Council proceedings to-day during the discussion of the Local Government Amending Bill, which was ultimately passed.

U Ba Pe moved an amendment to substitute certain words in one of the clauses. This amendment was immediately afterwards accepted by the Minister in charge, but was strongly opposed by several speakers.

At this stage, the Local Self-Government Secretary, after explaining the clauses, informed the House that the official members would be free to vote on the amendment. The amendment was put to vote and rejected by a majority of eight votes.

The members of the Executive Council and the Minister for Forests remained neutral, and the Minister for Local Self-Government with three other officials voted for the amendment, while the Departmental Secretary and the Financial Commissioner voted against the amendment, the remaining officials being absent at the time of voting.

## DEBATE ON THE BURMA MEMORANDUM\*

**17th. AUGUST:**—The *Finance Member* moved to-day for the consideration of the Secretary of State's Memorandum outlining the scheme of reforms for Burma if separated from India. He informed the House that officials would not participate in the discussion.

The *President* ruled out three Anti-Separationist amendments, rejecting the scheme, pointing out that these were irrelevant motions, there being no proposal for acceptance or rejection of the scheme. The *President* needed to the Anti-Separationist desire for an hour's adjournment of the House, to consider the situation,

*Dr. Ba Maw* and *U. Chit Hlaing*, leaders of the two Anti-Separationist parties made statements that no useful purpose would be served in participating in the discussion, as they adhered to the Anti-separation policy. When the discussion started, both the Anti-Separation parties walked out of the Council.

**18th. AUGUST:**—The motion for the consideration of the Secretary of State's memorandum was further discussed to-day.

The speakers included both the Ministers and the members of the People's and the Independent parties and European, Indian, Karen and Anglo-Indian representatives. These criticised the details of the proposals laid down in the memorandum.

The Burmese members, all Separationists, expressed their dissatisfaction with the proposals, as falling far short of the national aspirations. They strongly urged control of immigration, abolition of communal representation, and the inclusion of a provision for the automatic growth to full responsible government. They remarked that the Governor's powers were too wide.

*U Ba Pe*, Leader of the People's Party, observed that his party's views had been already placed before the Burma Round Table Conference. So he touched a few points, and said that at the same time, he would not be giving a final opinion, as the proposals were not final.

*Sir J. A. Maung Gyi*, Forest Minister, giving his views as an elected member and as leader of the Independent Party, said that his party, consisting of Indians and Burmans, approved of the scheme and wished that this had been published

\*In December, 1932 the question of separation from India on the basis of the Constitutions outlined by His Majesty's Government, or of inclusion, as a British Indian Province, in the Indian Federation, formed the subject of a protracted debate in the Burma Council. The Council, eventually, on 22nd December, adopted the following resolution:—It (1) opposed the separation of Burma from India on the basis of the constitution outlined by the Prime Minister on 12th January 1932; (2) emphatically opposed the unconditional and permanent federation of Burma with India; (3) promised continued opposition to the separation of Burma from India except on certain conditions; and (4) proposed that, in the event of these conditions not being fulfilled, Burma should be included in the Indian Federation on special conditions differentiating her from other Provinces and including the right to secede at will from the Federation.

Such a Resolution indicated no clear choice between the alternatives that had been placed before the Council. But it was hoped that, in the light of the Indian White Paper published in March 1933 and in the light also of the statement made by the Secretary of State for India on 20th March in answer to questions in the House of Commons, as to the nature of the two alternatives still open for choice by Burma, the Council might yet give a less equivocal indication of the desire of the people of Burma in respect of the two courses offered. Accordingly, a special session of the Council was, at the request of the majority of the party leaders, summoned for 25th April 1933 and was held between that date and 6th May. This special session proved entirely unfruitful. It was prorogued on 6th May without any resolution being adopted either for Burma's inclusion in the Indian Federation or for the separation of her Government from that of India. As a result, there was available no other authoritative indication of the considered view of the representatives of the people of Burma as to the course which should be adopted than that contained in the negative and conditional Resolution of 22nd December 1932. In the second paragraph of that Resolution the Council expressed itself as emphatically opposed to unconditional and permanent Federation with India. There was an almost unanimous opinion in favour of ultimate separation from India and against federation on the same terms as the other Provinces of India.

before the last general election, as there would have been a different set of people in the Council.

Europeans urged that there should be continuity of the existing rights and privileges for trade and protection of the personnel of the police from interference by the Minister. The protection of Indian minority rights was urged by Indian members, who asked for protection of Labour and the treatment of both immigrant and indigenous Indian labour on a footing of equality with Burmese labour.

The representative of the Anglo-Indian community asked for two seats in the future Council and for the retention of communal representation as at present.

The Karen representative pleaded for equal share in the administration of the country with Burmans. The Council was at this stage prorogued.

## THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

*AUTUMN SESSION—SHILLONG, 11th to 16th SEPTEMBER 1933*

### THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

His Excellency Sir Michael Keane, Governor of Assam, opened the Autumn Session of the Assam Council at Shillong on the 11th September 1933. Addressing the House His Excellency referred to the financial position of the province when he had addressed the House a year ago and said that it remained the same when he addressed the Council again last March and at the present moment was still the same. If there was any difference it might be said that the clouds of financial anxiety were now darker and even lowering. At the end of the present financial year the province would be in debt to the extent of at least a crore and a quarter and the present prospect was that as days went on the province was simply accumulating debts with no means of stemming the tide of losses. The Government had made all possible retrenchment in expenditure and there was nothing really left to do, except pruning, but prunings could no longer cover either the deficits or the debts.

Some people had suggested drastic retrenchment in the departments of Education and Local Self-Government. In regard to this His Excellency said that education had perhaps suffered the least, but he believed that those departments were the last resources they had to turn to. Another suggestion that had been made was to carry on with one member and one Minister. He believed that a reduction like that would mean the breaking away from the principle of increasing association of representatives of the people with every branch of administration—a cardinal principle of the great constitutional changes that were made in 1921. He believed it was simply a counsel of despair. The question had been discussed in the past, but discussed only to be dropped. His Excellency added that such a step would be illegal. His Excellency said that the great three heads of revenue had failed to retrieve the financial condition of the province and any proposal for extra taxation at the present juncture was also out of the question.

But there was one great source of revenue, namely, oil, last year's return showing an outturn of 12 million gallons of petrol and 23 million gallons of kerosene oil, totalling 35 million gallons yielding a crore and a quarter of rupees in duties. A province like Assam which had been a source of this revenue although harassed by poverty and too poor to have a university or a high court or training college or even a single hospital for women throughout the length and breadth of the country was not allowed to touch a single pie of this one crore and a quarter of the income, the whole amount going to the Central Government. It was naturally difficult for the province to acquiesce in the justice of that arrangement. The province had made every effort to get representation in the Third Round Table Conference to present their case, but failed, whereas Bengal could find representation, though not in an official, in the person of Sir N. N. Sarkar and succeeded in establishing her claim to the jute excise duty. It was true that there was a talk that Assam would get a subvention or subventions, but His Excellency maintained that Assam's claim was for justice and not for charity. Assam fully realised the

difficulties of the Central Government, but would respectfully urge that while sacrifice was required from all for the sake of the Central Government, it should not be a poor province like Assam that should be asked to make the greatest sacrifice of all. His Excellency then referred to a bright spot in Assam's economic outlook, namely, the tea industry. He congratulated the industry on their prospects which were more promising at the present time than during the last three years and said that their success was due to their own efforts. That was a prospect, he thought, which would react favourably on the whole province. His Excellency concluded by referring to the political condition of the province which he was glad to note was one of profound quiet. The Government had won peace by firmness and he said that the breakers of law might rest assured that with equal firmness and without bitterness, anger or revenge they would maintain it.

#### ADJOURNMENT MOTION LOST

**12th. SEPTEMBER :**—Non-official business was done in the Council to-day. The resolution of Mr. *Brindaban Chandra Goswami* that provision should be made in the next year's budget for improvements in Berry White Medical School, the only medical school in the province, was carried without a division.

Mr. *Jogendranath Gohain*'s motion regarding the formation of a committee to consider and solve the problem of unemployment among indigenous middle class people of the province was discussed but was not concluded due to the adjournment motion of Bahu *Sanat Kumar Das* regarding the flood havoc in August in Cachar and Sylhet. The adjournment motion was lost after full discussion by 30 votes against 7.

The Hon'ble President drew the Hon. Member's attention to the responsibility involved in bringing adjournment motions which were tantamount to a censure on the Government in a light hearted spirit. The Council then adjourned.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**13th. SEPTEMBER :**—The Council devoted the whole of to-day to non-official business. The resolution of Mr. *Jogendranath Gohain* for appointment of a committee to solve unemployment in the province was carried by 22 votes against 11.

Resolutions of Maulavi *Abdur Rahim Chaudhury* and Bahu *Birendralal Das* for appointing a member of the Indian Medical Service as the Director of Public Health to be discontinued as a measure of economy were withdrawn.

The resolution of Maulvi *Munawar Ali* to the effect that enforcement of the Assam Local Rates (Amendment) Act, 1932 should be kept in abeyance till the province was relieved of the present economic distress was withdrawn.

The resolution of Mr. *Bepin Ch. Ghose* that the day of the demise of Deb Damodar be observed as a public holiday was withdrawn.

The resolution of Rai Bahadur *Nilambar Dutta* recommending that the proposed enhancement in the rates of land revenue for ordinary and special cultivation as a result of settlement operations, now going on in Lakhipur district, be postponed for next three years on consideration of the present economic depression and the condition of raiyats was withdrawn on the assurance of the Government. The Council then adjourned,

#### REDUCTION OF LAND REVENUE

**14th. SEPTEMBER :**—The Council devoted the whole of to-day to non-official business. The only important resolution passed was that of Sj. *Rohini Kumar Chaudhury* recommending reduction of fifty per cent. land revenue payable for the year 1933-34.

Maulavi *Munawar Ali* moved that this Council does approve of the annexed memorandum and authorise its president to sign it on behalf of members of the Council and to submit to the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee as early as possible by such agency as he thought fit.

The memorandum dealt with the financial problems of the province and prayed to the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee for the favour of laying it before the members of the joint Select Committee for consideration before they proceed to make their report on the White Paper proposals. The memorandum detailed among other things the want of a University in the province, a High Court and an Agricultural College, want of funds for general education, want of hospitals and dispensaries commensurate with the needs of the province, want of a central prison and want of forest roads, also the heavy fall in opium revenue due to the

present opium policy. The important remedy it suggested was the duty from oil produced in the province which should be handed over to the province. As regards the prospects for 1933-34, there was a heavy fall under land revenue, excise and stamps during the first quarter and the prospects for the remaining portion of the year were gloomy.

The memorandum prayed in the name of fairness, justice and equity for safeguarding the very existence of the province and enabling it to have the amenities of a civilised and autonomous Government to provide in the constitution act for allocation to Assam of the entire proceeds of the excise duty on petrol and kerosene manufactured within the province.

#### ASSAM MONEY-LENDERS' BILL

**15th. SEPTEMBER** :—The Council to-day took up official business. The Hon'ble *Sir Saadulla* introduced the Assam Moneylenders' Bill 1933 and the motion for circulation for eliciting public opinion was carried, the object of the Bill being to make better provision for control of money-lending and give additional powers to courts to deal with money-leaders in Assam. The Bill in the main followed recommendations of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee of 1931. The Bill contained no provision for licensing of money lenders. Following the recommendations of the Central Banking Committee the Bill also contained no provision for fixing an absolute maximum rate of interest.

Demands for supplementary grants and excess grants were allowed.

The most important of the demands was a grant of Rs. 20,000 for a women's hospital at Shillong. The non-recurring cost in building sanitary fittings etc. was estimated at one lakh, out of which the Red Cross Society, Assam branch, collected donations amounting to Rs. 40,000 and the Government proposed to meet the balance of Rs. 60,000. The recurring cost was Rs. 18,000 annually and Government proposed to make an annual grant of Rs. 16,000 for running the situation. Out of the sum of Rs. 60,000 to be met from provincial funds, a sum of Rs. 20,000 would only be required for the expenditure during the current year and this amount was granted to-day.

*Maulvi Munawar Ali's* resolution regarding keeping in abeyance the operation of the *Assam Local Rates Amendment Act* of 1932 was passed by the Council.

**16th. SEPTEMBER** :—In the Council the discussion was continued on *Sir Muhammad Saadula's* motion, moved yesterday, for grant of an additional sum of Rs. 667 under the head 'expenditure in England' so as to cover the overseas pay proposed to be paid by Government to Mr. Woodford Livestock, dairy expert for Jauain to March 1934. Mr. Woodford was taken in 1929 (1st January) on a five years' contract and Government's present proposal was to keep Mr. Woodford on a permanent basis on the new scale of pay on completion of contract.

Before the commencement of the discussion the Hon'ble President pointed out certain irregularities in this demand in that Mr. Woodford's pay for a whole year was budgeted for in the last March session, instead of for 9 months which would complete the period of contract and the matter was not brought to the pointed notice of the House. The consent of the Council to the demand would mean their consent to retention of Mr. Woodford permanently which matter had not yet been considered by the Council. As want of consent of the Council to grant the sum asked for, would not embarrass the Government as Mr. Woodford's pay had already been provided for a whole year, the President suggested that the matter might conveniently be brought before the Council in the next March session when members would have an opportunity of expressing their views on the question. On this understanding the demand was withdrawn. The Council was then prorogued.

# THE B. & O. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The monsoon session of the Bihar Council opened at Ranchi on the 29th August 1931. After interpellations, the Council proceeded with the discussion of supplementary demands. A supplementary demand for Rs. 10,000 for reorganisation scheme of the excise department aroused opposition from non-official members. Several members criticised the scheme holding that increased expenditure on the scheme would not be justified in view of the decline of excise revenue and the Government had not established urgency of the demand which could be brought in time for the next budget.

Sir Ganesh Dutt Singh, Minister for Excise defended the demand. It was pointed out that reorganisation was designed to increase supervision and give Excise Superintendents more time to get out in districts and suppress mal-practice and stimulate increased activities against smugglers, illicit distillers and thus safeguard the excise revenue. The scheme was an experimental one for two years and Government contemplated creation of an additional post of a Deputy Commissioner of Excise, abolition of five existing posts of Superintendents, including one of the selection grade, and the creation of nine posts of Deputy Superintendents and increase the number of Inspectors from forty to sixty-one. The demand was passed 43 voting for and 26 against.

30th. AUGUST :—The Hon. Mr. J. A. Hubback introduced the *Bihar & Orissa Cess (Amendment) Bill*, 1933, and moved its reference to a Select Committee. The main change proposed in the Bill was to give the Collector the discretion to decide whether revaluation should be made not in the existing provision of the law, making it obligatory on the Collector to make revaluation if an application for one is filed and the particular party, at whose request and for whose benefit revaluation was made, was required by amending the Act to pay its cost.

The landlord members opposed the Bill. A Non-official amendment for the circulation of the Bill was passed by the Council, 43 voting for and 28 against it.

31st. AUGUST :—The Council discussed non-official resolutions to-day. Mr. Monindranath Mukherjee moved the first resolution, urging that the Jharia Water Board should be empowered to appoint the engineer of the Board and be vested with other powers of control over him.

Mr. Abdul Ghani, Mr. Kalyan Singh and Mr. Srikrishna Prasad supported the resolution. The Government, opposing the resolution, pointed out that they could not divest the responsibility of control over the engineer as the efficiency and safety of the water works supply which was one of the biggest in India, depended on the efficiency of engineer. Considerations of the health of the workers and the mining population and the vast sum advanced by the Government towards the supply must weigh with the Government, and control could not, therefore, be transferred without incurring a risk. The resolution was carried by 36 votes to 35.

Mr. Mahammed Shafi's resolution regarding the establishment of an institute in the province for the training of the workers in rural welfare and rural reconstruction and Khan Bahadur Saghirul Huq's amendment for developing the existing institute for the purpose were under discussion when the House adjourned.

15th. DECEMBER :—At the special session of the Council convened for the election of the President in place of Mr. Nirsu Narayan Sinha who was appointed a Member of the Executive Council, Mr. Rajandhari Sinha was elected President securing 50 votes against 48 secured by the rival candidate, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Khan Bahadur Shah Mahomed Yehyn, the Muslim candidate, was eliminated in the first ballot, securing only 23 votes.

The approval of his Excellency the Governor to the election of Mr. Rajandhari Sinha as President being communicated to the House, he was the recipient of congratulations from all sections.

After making a special order for the continuance of the *Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill*, the *Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act Amendment Bill* and the *Bihar and Orissa Municipalities Act Amendment Bill*, the Council was prorogued.

# THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA

OPENING DAY—AJMER, THE 14th. OCTOBER 1933

The fifteenth session of the Hindu Maha Sabha met at Ajmer on the 14th. October 1933 before a large gathering, including a large number of ladies and amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and shouts of "Hindu Dharma ki jai." The proceedings commenced with the girls of the Kanya Gurukul, Baroda, and Master Mohan providing music exhorting Hindus to awake and arise.

Among those present on the dais were : Raja Narendranath, Mr. Hariji (inventor of the Hindi linotype) Rev. Pagadar (China), Dharanadity (Nepal), Mr. Asagage (Burma), Mr. Rattapala (Sind), Mr. K. Srinivas (Ceylon), Baba Savarkar, Mr. Padamraj Jain, Anandpriya (Gujarat), Mr. Damram Bagai (North-West Frontier), Mr. Nekiram Sharma, Mr. Narendranath Das (Bengal), Mr. Narayan Dutt (Delhi), Mr. Srinivas Chetty (Madras), Mr. Dharamvir (Lahore), Mr. Jotishanker Dixit, Mr. Jagatnaraivali and Mr. Gaurishanker, General Secretaries, and Mr. Ganpat Rai, Secretary of the Maha Sabha.

After welcoming the delegates and visitors, the *Chairman of the Reception Committee*, in the course of his address in Hindi, said that the Hindus were passing through the most critical time known in their history, and must unite if they wanted to exist as a community. This Conference, he said, had been convened to tackle the most important problem, affecting the existence of Hindus, and none could accordingly guide them better than Bhai Parmanand, whom he eulogised at length.

Thereafter Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee (Bengal) proposed Bhai Parmanand to the Chair. He criticised the Communal Award, and said that Hindus had fallen on evil days, simply because no leader called himself a Hindu in the way in which the Aga Khan, Mr. Jinnah and Sir Akbar Hydari called themselves Moslem. He criticised the Hindu delegates to the Round Table Conference, saying that they had spoilt the Hindu case by quarrelling amongst themselves. He condemned communalism, explaining that it was against Hindu religion, but pointed out that they must oppose other communities when they demanded "unjust advantages."

Proceeding, the Chairman paid a high tribute to Bhai Parmanand saying that he had made tremendous sacrifices for Hinduism, and none could consequently be more fitted than him to lead the Hindus at this critical juncture, when their very existence was threatened.

The Chairman attacked the Congress policy, and said that the present pitiable plight of Hindus was "due to the confusion of issues in the brains of Congress leaders" adding that if Hindus persisted in following the Congress, "they would be dashed their heads against the rocks." Concluding, he appealed to the Congress to reconsider the whole problem, and come to some decision.

The proposal being duly seconded and supported by delegates from all over the country, including Sushila Devi on behalf of women, Bhai Parmanand took the chair, amidst shouts of "Bhai" Parmanand ki Jai". The President then began to deliver his address in Hindi at 2-30 and finished it at about 5 p. m. The following are extracts from his speech :—

## THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

I thank you very much for the honour you have done me by electing me to preside over this session of the Hindu Mahasabha.

At this critical time of our history the attention of the country, as well as of the Hindus, is centred on one point, that is the constitution that is proposed and is being discussed in London. Without distracting your attention to other points which have been already discussed and decided by the Mahasabha at its other gatherings, I immediately take up this subject which is of the greatest importance at this moment.

The rising of the people accompanied by a mutiny of the army in 1857 is an event of far-reaching importance in the history of India. Then we find, for the first time, three distinct parties in India, the Hindus and the Mahomedans with their

separate consciousness provoked on account of the injury done to their respective religious susceptibilities, having risen against the third, their British rulers. The lesson of this revolt was not going to be lost on the British people. It is no longer a secret that it was the Government which took the initiative in founding the Indian National Congress in order to provide for the Indian people an outlet for the ventilation of their grievances and thus to serve the purpose of the safety valve to let out the steam produced by the discontent against a foreign government. The Congress was started as a non-communal body by non-communal persons on non-communal lines. But within a period of three or four years after its being founded, Sir Syed Ahmed who had lived and taken part in the event of 1857 and at that time occupied the position of a leader of the Moslems, went out of the Congress and succeeded in persuading the Mahomedans to keep out of it, thus making the Congress a non-Mahomedan body.

It appears that the Government followed a policy of non-interference till 1905 when a new wave of patriotism swept over the country as a reaction against the internal policy inaugurated by Lord Curzon by the partition of Bengal and the great external event the Russo-Japanese War, in which a rising Asiatic power came into conflict with a European people. In 1906 two important events took place which indicated a change in the policy of Government. One was the foundation of the Moslem League in Dacca with the object of counter-balancing the influence of the Indian National Congress, and the other the visiting of a Moslem deputation headed by H. H. the Agha Khan on the Viceroy to put forth the claim of separate representation in the Imperial Council for the Moslem community. The latter is generally described as a "Command performance." The policy of the Government henceforth began to be marked by the grant of special favours to the Moslem community in all departments and this change led to the theory of "a favourite wife". It is to the credit of the Punjab Hindus that they not only saw through this game but tried to find out some way to meet it. In 1908, for the first time, the Hindu Sabha movement was started in the Punjab, and it is a noteworthy fact that all the leading Hindus, in spite of their different ways of thinking, joined this movement. If we study the reasons which were given for the inauguration of this movement, we shall find that they were exactly the same which we see repeated almost in identical words even up to the present day. It seems that the Punjab continued to be under the influence of this movement for some years until the repressive policy of the Punjab Government during the time of the Great War placed a check on almost every movement in the Punjab and until finally the Congress-League Pact of Lucknow in 1916 gave it a death blow.

#### NON-CO-OPERATION AND KHILAFAT

In 1920, side by side with the introduction of reforms in the Government of India, we meet with two different movements. The first is the Non-co-operation movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi and taken up by the Indian National Congress and the second, that of the Khilafat aiming at bringing the Mahomedan community round to make common cause with the Congress. The underlying idea of the Khilafat movement was to preach to the Mahomedan community in India that the destruction of the Caliphate meant the destruction of Islam and that for this the British Government were responsible. The Non-co-operation and Khilafat movements held the field for a period of about two years. This period, however, was followed by a sudden outbreak of Hindu-Moslem riots throughout the country. The Mahomedan Press and the Mullahs raised the old cry of "Islam in danger!" and proclaimed that the playing of music before the mosques by the Hindus in their religious processions was destructive of Islam and the Mahomedans should resist it at any cost. This sudden aggressiveness on the part of the Muslims attended by occasional murders of Hindu leaders again awakened in the Hindus a spontaneous feeling of the great need of self-defence and self-preservation. The growth of this feeling once more turned the mind away from the Congress and gave rise to the Hindu Sangathan movement. I believe most firmly that if the Hindu leaders had gone on with this new movement, they would entirely have saved the nation from many a pitfall and danger, and that if the Hindu Sabha met with another failure, it was undoubtedly due to the desertion of its own leaders. As it happened, unfortunately for the Hindus, the appearance of the Simon Commission without any Indian member on it, again placed the Hindu Sabha movement in the background and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha joined hands with those of the Congress to oppose the working of the Simon Commission. I do not think I

should omit to mention here that it was due to a strong Hindu feeling amongst the Punjab Hindus that made them act in opposition to the move of the Hindu leaders in other provinces and co-operate with the Simon Commission.

### CHALLENGE TO PRODUCE A UNANIMOUS CONSTITUTION

I believe Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, played a very subtle and clever trick on the Indian leaders when he suggested, in the form of a challenge, that Indians could not produce a unanimous constitution for the country. This trick aimed at turning the attention of the Congress leaders to a riddle which was impossible of solution by them. That was a sort of trap for the Congress. Now commenced a series of Unity Conferences to settle the Hindu-Moslem problem. On the side of the Mahomedans proposals were made one after another, demanding special communal rights which ultimately took the shape of fourteen distinct points. The Congress was prevailed upon to appoint a committee with Pandit Motilal Nehru at its head, to draw up a scheme for a constitution and obtain the agreement of the Moslem leaders to it. This game continued until the Simon Commission had finished their work and made their recommendations with regard to the future constitution of India. The country and the whole of the Press were so full of talk about the Hindu-Moslem Unity and such an unusual amount of importance was attached to it that a very strange and somewhat funny theory came to be believed in universally that Hindu-Moslem Unity was the only and surest condition for the attainment of Swaraj. May I add that I always held this theory to be simply ridiculous and never pinned my faith on this so-called Unity conferences. The Congress leaders very conveniently forgot one simple fact that Hindu-Moslem Unity could be of some use in our political struggle only if this feeling of unity was nurtured by a common devotion to the Motherland, while a unity that was obtained by means of pacts and in a spirit of bargaining could not render the slightest service to the cause of the country. The Moslems who entered into these discussions about unity in a spirit of bargaining could not but make their pacts with that party who would offer them the greatest advantage. The Congress leaders could not understand that the terms they could offer to the Moslems could in no case be so advantageous as the terms offered by the Government. Anyhow the Nehru Report did offer an outline for a constitution which was signed by the Mahomedan members. But very soon the Moslem members withdrew their signatures and the much-desired unity never materialised. The Congress, however, in its Calcutta session gave an ultimatum to the Government and fixed one year for the sanction of the Nehru Scheme. The year passed away but the Government paid no heed to it. In the Lahore session the Congress fixed complete independence as its goal and Mahatma Gandhi was entrusted to lead the movement to achieve that independence.

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE CONGRESS

Mahatma Gandhi started his new movement with the manufacture of contraband salt. Although to a student of history all this appears strange, Mahatma Gandhi and his numerous followers did believe that their movement of non-violent Civil Disobedience was a newly-discovered and the best possible method to make India free. This open declaration on the part of the Congress was nothing short of an attempt to create a revolution in the country. It should be remembered that so far the Congress, in all the phases through which it had passed, had remained a non-revolutionary movement and had followed the line of evolution. The followers of the Mahatma were so blinded by an implicit faith in his great virtues that they could not see the sudden change that had come over the Congress. Neither could they realise how difficult it was for the Civil Disobedience movement to shake the foundations of a solid organisation like the system of British Government nor could they see that Hindu-Moslem unity, on the magical power of which they had based all their hopes, was a thing which they could never attain. The Moslem community proved themselves more shrewd and cleverer than the Hindus had imagined them to be. While the Congress was engaged in the task of overthrowing the Government by non-violent methods and in heaps condemnation on the Simon Commission, the Commission were busy writing their report and making their recommendations. Whatever the worth of their recommendations, there can be no doubt that the Commission did make an honest attempt to solve the most complicated communal problem of India. But it seems, the solution proposed by the Commission suited neither the Mahomedan leaders nor the Government of India. The dissatisfaction of the Con-

gress Press with the Simon Commission and its work was so great that they did not care even to look at the Commission's proposals. Thus it became a very easy thing for the Government to set aside quietly the recommendations of the Commission, apparently to pacify the discontent in India but in reality to oppose a pro-Moslem constitution. With this object a conference consisting of a number of the nominees of the Government was set up.

#### COMMUNAL PROBLEM BROUGHT IN THE FOREFRONT.

In the course of the first Round Table Conference, the communal problem was once more presented in its most acute form as a bar to a further constitutional progress. This was again another trap. The Simon Commission had described the communal problem as a most important and highly controversial one. At the same time, supposing it to be incapable of solution by mutual agreement of the two communities, they had laid down their solution for it. I think, in such a case, the question should not have been raised at all, at the Round Table Conference and even when it was raised and no agreement was reached, the Commission's unanimous recommendation on that point was already there which, considering the statutory position and the importance of the investigation of the Commission should have been the last thing to be ignored. Again, when after the so-called truce between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi went to London, instead of negotiating with the British Government he began to follow the will-o'-the-wisp theory of Hindu-Moslem unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a foregone conclusion, the new Conservative Government of England settled with the Moslem leaders and a friendly alliance was established between them. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's wrong attitude and handling. As a result of this, the Premier took it upon himself to find out a fresh solution of the communal problem and impose it upon India. This solution was announced on August 17, 1932, under the name of the Communal Award. It was supplemented by another announcement some time later.

#### THE COMMUNAL AWARD : AN ARBITRARY DECISION

The Communal Award proper aims at creating a number of strong Moslem provinces in India and the supplementary announcement has the definite object of creating a balance of power at the Centre among the two communities. To say that the Communal Award was given by the Government after the communities had failed to come to any mutual settlement, is far from true. So far as the allocation of seats in the Assembly goes, this matter was never brought up for public discussion, nor was it ever dreamt of by the Hindus that by a simple stroke of the pen the Secretary of State would reduce the Hindus to the position of an insignificant minority at the Centre. The reason is clear. There is an open alliance between the British Government and the Moslems. What should be the future line of action for the Hindus? The final question that every one of us should put to himself is : Under the circumstances when the power of gift is in the hands of Government, can any one, after all that has happened, believe in the possibility of Hindu-Moslem unity? We are, as if, at the parting of the Ways. Those among us who still believe in the possibility of that unity have to find out and adopt some new course of action for themselves. In my view, we have reached a stage where the Congress with its theory of Swaraj through Hindu-Moslem unity and Civil Disobedience goes entirely out of the field.

The real nature of Moslem mentality could be understood only in the Punjab, the Maharashtra and Rajputana where the people had carried on a struggle against the Moslem domination and where the Hindu mind had been nourished upon such traditions. Our great misfortune, however, lay in this, that the two great provinces, i. e., Madras and Bengal, which have led the country in the matter of the adoption of Western thought and methods, remained practically devoid of Hindu feeling. The difficulty still stands in the way of the future progress of the Hindus. The leaders and the writers who come from the south cannot correctly estimate the seriousness of the political situation in India and, there being very little of Hindu consciousness in them, they cannot see that the proposed communal constitution for India is a very clever device to divide the Hindus from the Mahomedans and keep them engaged for ever in a mutual struggle. The Moslems who have so far abstained from taking part in any political agitation, are given the lion's share. If the Hindus quietly submit to these proposals, they are doomed to undergo double slavery and if they resist and continue their struggle for self-government,

a Government of the people as a whole by the people themselves for the good of the people, they will meet with resistance not from the Government but from a community living side by side with them in every town and village. There can be no doubt that the resistance which is supported by a people living in the country is apt to be much more formidable and the issue much more doubtful.

#### THE CASES OF BENGAL AND THE CENTRE

For illustration, let us take the case of Bengal. Who does not know that it was the Bengal Hindus who were the life and soul of a political struggle in this country and it was they who took the most prominent part in the work of the Congress for the last fifty years, while the Mahomedans in Bengal neither aspired nor moved a finger to help the struggle. But what reward do the Bengal Hindus get in the proposed constitution? Out of 250 seats proposed for the Bengal Council, 119 seats are assigned to the Moslems (55 p. c.). The Hindus (45 p. c.) should have got 97.5 seats according to the proportion, but they are allotted only eighty, out of which thirty will go to the Depressed Classes. Thus the Hindus, who have been so anxious for Swaraj and who have made so great sacrifices to obtain self-government, will occupy in a house of 250 only sixty seats. The balance of power then, if it slips from the hands of the Mahomedans, would be with the Europeans. It is argued that the Mahomedans form a majority of the population in Bengal, and the rule of the majority must be accepted. In order to test the truth of this argument let us turn to the proposals with regard to the centre. We find that the Hindus who form 75 per cent of the population of India are assigned only 105 seats in a house of 250, i. e. 42 per cent, of the total seats; and the Moslems who form 25 per cent, would get 82, i. e. 33 per cent. The European community which has got practically no percentage in the population would get 26 and act as a buffer between the Hindu and the Moslem members in the proposed Federal Assembly. The injustice of this allocation becomes fully manifest when we place proposals in contrast with those made by the Simon Commission. While retaining separate electorates on the insistence of the Mahomedan community and retaining all the weightage which the Mahomedans had got in various provinces according to the Lucknow Pact they could not think of acceding to the Moslem demand of establishing a statutory Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal. At the Centre, the Commission assigned to Mahomedans 75 seats in a house of 250, i. e. 30 per cent, and to the Hindus 150, i. e. 60 per cent, and 25, i. e. 10 per cent, seats were assigned to Europeans, Sikhs and special constituencies. It is beyond human understanding why such a flagrant departure has been made in the solution unanimously recommended by the Simon Commission.

#### THE NEW SITUATION AND THE HINDUS

Looking at the circumstances that lie before us, I can say that we have not come to the end of our journey, but consequent upon the proposed constitution we have entered upon a new struggle which, I am afraid, would be much more formidable than the one we have been carrying on up till now. Looking at the condition of the Hindus in the various provinces, each having its eyes turned in a different direction I cannot but add that the future is very gloomy and dark for the Hindus. I do not use these words by way of any discouragement but with the clear object of pointing out that if the Hindus have a will to live in this country as a living race they shall have to make gigantic efforts, much more gigantic than they have hitherto made. At the same time, I take this opportunity of giving expression to my feelings as well as those of the Hindus on the communal aspect of the proposed constitution.

I have to warn the British statesmen of the great perils involved in the continuance of the present anti-Hindu policy. It will certainly fail to disrupt and disorganise the Hindus; thus the main objects of this Machiavellian policy will only be defeated. On the contrary it will serve to unite all Hindus of all castes and sects, throughout India in bitter and implacable opposition to the British connection and the Britishers will discover that they have succeeded only in alienating and offending the numerous and highly intellectual Hindu race beyond the possibility of reconciliation. The Hindus have been patient and resigned under British supremacy; they have acquiesced in the British rule but I do not think they would prove so cowardly as to acquiesce in or tolerate the attempted resuscitation of Moslem supremacy in any form whatsoever, which is to be imposed upon them by British bayonets. I do not object in the least to the recognition of the proper and legitimate

status of the Moslem community in India ; but I cannot warn British statesmen that they are bolstering up the Indian Moslems by artificial respiration through the Legislatures at the risk of forfeiting the good-will and confidence of the Hindus for ever. I am perfectly sure that as the real effects of the communal and anti-Hindu policy of the Government become more widely known, profound and intense indignation would be roused among the Hindu masses. If a few denationalised Hindu politicians have quietly acquiesced in the Communal Award for the sake of temporary peace or concord, they do not represent the feelings, thoughts and aspirations of the millions of unsophisticated Hindus who cherish in their minds the glorious traditions of their ancient culture and history. I feel an impulse in me that the Hindus would willingly co-operate with Great Britain if their status and responsible position as the premier community in India is recognised in the political institutions of new India. But they would never consent to play second fiddle to the Moslems under the British flag in Provincial and Central Legislatures. I utter this note of warning here and now that if the Hindus are exposed to dishonour, humiliation and injustice under the British rule, it would be no use blaming them if in despair they return to such wild agitation as might even aim at the disruption of the Empire.

#### PROPOSED CONSTITUTION WORSE THAN FOREIGN RULE

Once again, turning to the communal constitution, I would like to say that a communal constitution is not only a negation of democracy and the greatest obstacle in the growth of common nationality, but it is believed to be the worst form of government. In spite of the evils that befall a people in subjection to others, there remains an undeniable fact that the British rule in India has led to a process of unification of a people divided by religious, territorial and other differences. The proposed communal constitution is going to reverse that policy and upset that process. It is sure to let in again the forces of disruption in this country. In that sense, I think, instead of advancing the country along the path of progress it would make it go back to the old conditions. But the worst feature of this constitution from the Hindu point of view is that under the pretext of protecting the minorities and safeguarding their interests, it places the Moslem community in a position of great advantage in this country. This constitution is going to create a state within a state where the outer state would remain permanently in a weak condition, while the inner state, being more solid and united on the basis of religious bond, would tend to grow stronger and stronger every day. The strangest thing of all, however, with us is that the Congress, supposed to be the most important political organization in the country, has been committed to a policy that makes it altogether unfit to oppose the proposed constitution on communal grounds. The Congress leaders having proclaimed themselves non-communal do feel shy of opposing this constitution for fear of being censured as communalists by their Moslem friends. The most important political organization in the country is thus quite helpless to oppose this constitution although it is no less certain that it involves a question of life and death for the Hindus in India.

#### REMEDY—HINDU SANGATHAN

What is the remedy ? My answer is rather bold but I give it with all the emphasis that is at my command. The communal constitution has made such a change in our polities that for the Hindus no alternative course left but to seek the shelter of the Hindu Mahasabha and work out their salvation through Hindu Sangathan. I confess the Hindu Mahasabha is not yet a fully developed organisation, but the fault does not lie in the nature of the organization. The Mahasabha is so because the Hindus as a community lack that national consciousness which must be there to make it a living and strong organization. Our first task, therefore, is to create that consciousness and, more particularly, to direct our energy to the task of creating that consciousness in provinces where it is wholly lacking. I think the most important weapon which could be of service to us in this work, is the capturing of the Legislative Assembly and Councils. The Hindu Sabhas at various headquarters in provinces should see that only those candidates are returned to represent the Hindus who are pledged to fight the communal constitution. This ought to be the first item of our programme and it should receive our immediate attention. There is, however, one thing to be done before this. As long as this communal constitution is before the Joint Select Committee or even before it is laid before Parliament in the form of a Bill, the Hindus should leave no stone unturned

to agitate against it and to communicate regularly their resolutions to the Joint Select Committee or to Parliament as the need may be. I do anticipate that certain other minor sectarian organisations and even newly-started Liberal and non-communal organisations would come out and stand forth in competition with the Hindu Maha Sabha, but being backed by no high ideal or principle their opposition need not frighten the Hindu Mahasabha. The Mahasabha stands for a just noble cause. I have no doubt that all such opposing elements would fritter away before it. There may be some malicious-minded people who would criticise the Hindu Sabha as a body that awakes from its slumbers only at the time of elections. These short-sighted critics have no eyes to see what lies behind that line of action. I placed this programme before the Hindu Mahasabha session at Delhi in 1926 and Syt. Pandit Malaviya gave me his entire support. The policy of seeking compromises, however, frustrated my plan. Had that programme been successfully carried out, then the Hindus surely would have had entirely different problems to consider at this moment. My experience in the legislature for the last three years has convinced me that I was perfectly right in placing that programme before the Hindu Mahasabha.

In order to carry out that programme successfully, the Hindus as a community shall have to decide which journals they should support. The time of old platitudes is now over. Now we have to face hard facts. Surely, the Hindus cannot expect to change their future if they do not possess even the simple ability to test and judge which of the journals are prepared to advocate their cause and which of them only know how to live upon their subscription and at the same time cut the very tree which supports them. I would go further and appeal to Hindu young men who really feel for the cause to start journals wherever they find that the Hindu cause is being utterly neglected. I would not take much time over the other items of our programme. These include the establishment of Akharas, for physical culture and Seva Samiti volunteer corps in connection with the Hindu Sabha in every town and village.

#### HARIJAN MOVEMENT

One point, however, requires special mention. I remember perfectly well, when at dead of night I was awakened in Simla by a special messenger of the Legislative Assembly who gave me an envelope marked 'Most Urgent and immediate.' This envelope contained the correspondence which had passed between Mahatma Gandhi and the Secretary of State. I could not sleep without reading and even re-reading it. For me, that correspondence was of the most peculiar and greatest importance. In this I could read clearly the innermost mind of the Mahatma. He charged the Secretary of State with the intention to disrupt the Hindu Society by separating the Depressed Classes from the high-caste Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi added that he would resist the attempt with his life. Before anybody else knew, we got the information that Mahatma Gandhi was determined to fast unto death if this part of the Communal Award was not modified. It was just at this moment that for the first time the thought came to my mind that Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest living Hindu.

I did not quite agree with all that followed. I therefore omit the remaining portion of it, but I think I am duty bound to explain what the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is or ought to be with regard to the Harijan Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Personally, I have the greatest sympathy for it and I think every member of the Hindu Mahasabha individually has got full right to co-operate with it or work for it. But collectively the position of the Hindu Mahasabha is slightly different from what the Mahatma has taken up. In the first place, I think this work can properly be done by the Hindu Mahasabha alone as representing the true interests of the Hindus and as being the only advocate of Hindu solidarity. Taking that view, I believe that the work of uplift does not lie with Depressed Classes, but with the Caste Hindus who should develop the right national sense and offer the status of equality and brotherhood to every one who bears that name. The Hindu Mahasabha having all along followed the policy of remaining neutral on religious questions, cannot bring any pressure to bear on the followers of a particular sect to open their temples to any other class for which the temples were not supposed to be meant. But apart from the religious matter, the Hindu Mahasabha platforms and meetings are open to the Harijans just as much as to any high caste Hindus and the privileges attached to the membership of the Hindu Sabha can be shared equally by every Hindu, no matter what his caste or creed may be,

Above all, we have to remember one simple truth. It is life that creates life. When a man gets short of blood doctors sometime take fresh blood from another man and pour it into the arteries of the dying man. In cases, where the skin becomes dead, live skin is taken from another person and patched in its place. Similarly when a nation, in the process of natural decay, loses its vitality, it becomes the duty of those who have some life left in them to give it for the good of the nation and infuse a new life into it. This is the only efficacious treatment for old and decaying races. Love of life and comfort which is a significant symptom of the decay of a race, produces cowardice and cowardice is death. It is sacrifice of life and devotion to the cause of a nation which produces courage and courage is new life.

### Proceedings and Resolutions—2nd. Day—15th. October

The Maha Sabha resumed its sittings on the next day, the 15th. October. The proceedings opened with a condolence resolution from the Chair on the death of Dr. Besant, Dharampal, founder of the Mahabodhi Society, and Rai Bahadur Thakur Dutt, a prominent leader of the North Western Province.

One of the delegates proposed the inclusion of Mr. Sen Gupta's name, but the President disallowed it on the ground that the name was not proposed in the Subjects Committee.

#### Minorities Problem—Appeal to the League

*Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee* (Bengal), in moving the most important resolution of the session touching the minority problem, said that they were meeting in historic Ajmer under the shadow of the great constitutional calamity threatening the political future of the Hindus. The Communal Award had been thrust upon the Hindus in direct opposition to the wishes of eighty per cent of the Indians. He explained that peace workers after the War at the conference at Paris took the first step towards the establishment of world peace through the Minorities' Treaties, framed on the initiative of no less a statesman than Sir Austen Chamberlain, then Foreign Secretary. India was an original signatory to these treaties like England and other great powers; and having failed to get redress of their grievances from the Indian and British Governments, the speaker suggested, as the last constitutional resort, that they should appeal to the League of Nations, to apply to the Indian majority problem the same principle as was applied to the European problem. Concluding, he appealed to Hindus to unite, and leave no stone unturned in the effort to convince the British Government that the Communal Award must go.

The resolution ran as follows:—

"The Hindu Maha Sabha, in its momentous annual gathering at the historic city of Ajmere, appeals under article eleven of the League Covenant in the name of India, to the League of Nations, of which she is an original member, for the application to her of those principles and methods of minority protection, which have been endorsed and made operative by world opinion on the subject on the initiative of the principle allied and associated Powers including India and England."

"The Mahasabha emphatically points out that the parties to these stipulations are specially bound by the following resolution adopted at the third assembly of League of Nations:—

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League, will nevertheless, observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious and linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of minority treaties."

*Raja Narendranath*, supporting the resolution, observed that it was not only an attack on the Award but on the whole policy of the British Government in determining the relations between the communities and the classes in the country. The policy of the British Government in India, he said, had been opposed to the principle of the minorities treaties, which the League respected and enforced, namely identification of the minorities with the majorities and discouragement of the idea of a State within a State. The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### Class War Deprecated

The next resolution, while sympathising with the need for the amelioration of the condition of Labour and of the teuany, strongly disapproved of any movement

advocating extinction of capitalists and landlords as a class, as such a movement would further accentuate the existing divisions and sub-divisions, bring about class-war and ultimately retard all progress and make the redemption of Hindustan impossible. The resolution was unanimously passed.

#### Unemployment Among Hindu Youths

The fourth resolution regretted the growing unemployment among Hindu youths, and called upon the Provincial Hindu Sabhas and other Hindu organisations to establish industrial *ashrams* for training youths for various handicrafts, to enable them to earn a living. Professor *Diwanchand Sharma*, (Lahore), the mover, made a stirring appeal to the youths to leave running after clerical jobs. *Pandit Ganga-prosad* seconded the resolution and it was unanimously carried.

#### Sind Separation Opposed

The fifth resolution strongly condemned the proposed separation of Sind from Bombay. Dr. *Hingorani* (Karachi) moved the resolution, and Dr. *Dharamdas* seconded it. The resolution was unanimously carried.

#### Physical Training for Hindu Youths

The sixth resolution called upon Hindu youths to organise Hindu Associations for receiving training in drill, physical exercise and other arts of self-defence for helping Hindus wherever and whenever necessary. The resolution was unanimously carried.

#### Proposal to Capture Legislatures

The seventh resolution called upon Hindus all over the country, particularly Hindu Sabha organisations, to make the necessary preparations for capturing legislatures, as the time had come when Hindus, as a community, could no longer afford to ignore the various ways and means open in and out of the constitution to protect and promote their interests.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *Jagabhan Singh*. M. I. C. (United Provinces) and was supported by Mr. *Padamraj Jain*. It was opposed by Mr. *Ramkumar* (United Provinces) and Mr. *Beharilal* (depressed class member of the Municipal Council, Dehra Dun) on the ground that Mr. Gandhi did not permit council-entry.

Mr. *Padamraj Jain*, replying to the debate, attacked the Congress. He observed that Mr. Gandhi sent Messrs. Rajagopalachariar, Devadas Gandhi and Birla for canvassing members of the Assembly in Delhi when the Temple-entry Bill was under consideration, with a view to getting it passed. The resolution was declared carried, 54 voting for it and 7 against it.

#### Minorities in Frontier Province

The eighth resolution condemned the attitude of the Frontier Government and the Muslim Minister there in the matter of Hindus and Sikhs in the services and urged the inclusion of a statutory provision in the constitution or a provision in the instrument of instructions, directing the Governor to constitute the Provincial Cabinet, in such a manner that it contained one member from the minority community; and the appointment of a commission of enquiry after five years for ascertaining the condition of the minority communities and the transfer of the administration of the province to the Central Government for amalgamation with the Punjab, if the results of the enquiry were not satisfactory.

#### Other Resolutions—3rd. Day—the 16th, October

The Hindu Mahasabha to-day passed a number of resolutions, including one according equal rights to "untouchables" and recommending facilities for them to worship in all public temples, etc., and another advocating use of home-made cloth, and the production of khadi and urging mill-owners to abstain from exploiting the feeling of Swadeshim in the people.

By another resolution the Mahasabha entered its strong protest against the creation of new deficit provinces on the basis of subventions from the Central Government.

A fourth resolution, while appreciating and supporting the moves for unity, urged Hindus not to sacrifice nationalism for any kind of communal agreement.

The Mahasabha, by a fifth resolution, strongly condemned the Meo agitation in Alwar, and requested the State authorities and the Hindu Sabhas to ameliorate the condition of the Hindus in distress.

The Mahasabha also extended its sympathy and support to the Kapurthala Hindus, and those of Bahawalpur, Kashmir, Rampur and other Indian States, and requested the authorities concerned to redress the grievances of the Hindus in their respective areas.

Resolutions were also passed reiterating the Sabha's views on Sangathan and Sudhi, and resolving to take steps to prevent the conversion of Hindus to Christianity in Assam and other places.

The Mahasabha recognised the fundamental unity of the ancient Aryan culture of India and of countries like China and Japan, and appreciated the action of the German Government in promoting Sanskrit learning and culture.

It recommended the adoption of Devanagri as a common script.

The Mahasabha also resolved to start an All-India Hindu Sova Sangha at Delhi to propagate the objects of the Mahasabha.

Bhai Parmanand donated Rs. 35,000, Seth Jughalkishore Birla Rs. 10,000, Dr. Narang Rs. 1,000, and Raja Narendranath Rs. 1,500, towards the fund for the purpose. Many other contributions were also announced, totalling in all about Rs. 53,000.

### The Mahasabha's Appeal to the League

The Mahasabha in a cablegram to the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the League of Nations, stated:—

"Ten thousand Hindus assembled from all Indian provinces at Ajmer for the Hindu Mahasabha annual session under Bhai Parmanand's presidentship. Hindu minorities are opposed to communal electorates and reservations, as a negation of responsible government, and unanimously demand the recognition of minorities and safeguards according to the Minorities treaties signed by the principal nations including India and enforced on the European States, as a world solution of the communal problem. The Mahasabha reminds you of the statements regarding minority protection and of the principles formulated at Geneva by world political leaders. The Mahasabha holds that you are bound in law, morality and justice to this international solution. The Mahasabha, holding the consent of the communities essential to a communal settlement, wants the *status quo* according to the Simon Commission's findings. The Communal Award is uncalled for and unjustifiable, being against the wishes of the majority of Indians. If the British Government force the award on Hindus for protecting and favouring Muslim minorities, the Mahasabha warns you of unprecedented complications, leading to separation in respect of legislatures and administrative services and of the purse. The Mahasabha appeals, under Article XI of the League Covenant, for the application to India of the principles of minority protection, enforced by world opinion. Full text of the resolutions follows by air mail."

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED

"The Hindu Maha Sabha passed the following among other resolutions:—

"The Hindus, even where they are minorities in the provinces like Bengal, Punjab, Sind, and the N. W. F. are on principle opposed to communal electorate and reservations of any form at any stage for any community in any province, as a complete negation of responsible government and declare, with one voice, for such recognition of minorities and their safeguard as is laid down with the common consent of the principal nations of the world, including Hindustan (India) and England in the Treaties, called the Minorities Treaties, signed by them and enforced on so many sovereign States of Europe, including Turkey, as a world solution of the communal problem, to operate as part of the Public Law of Europe and of the World' was the authoritative words of Mr. Arthur Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference.

"In this connection the Hindu Maha Sabha reminds the Government and the communities concerned of the following statement of the principles of Minority Protection made at Geneva by Sir Austen Chamberlain and other leaders:

"The object of the Minorities Treaties was to secure for the minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."—Sir Austen Chamberlain.

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived the system of protection of minorities did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country."—*M. De Mello (France)*.

"The Hindu Mahasabha holds both the Government of India and H. M.'s Government to this international solution of the communal problem to which they are bound in both law and morality and justice, as contributors and signatories and parties thereto, as a step towards world peace.

"The Hindu Mahasabha endorses the official view that the consent of the communities concerned is necessary for a communal settlement, and in that view stands up for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the communal position and arrangements in the existing constitution, pending any new settlement among the communities.

"It takes its stand upon the findings on the subject of the Simon Commission who have ruled out the necessity for any fresh communal award.

"It therefore holds the present Government's Communal Award as entirely uncalled for and unjustifiable on the above considerations, and also as being against the wishes of about eighty per cent of the Indian peoples, comprising Hindus, Sikhs Indian-Christians, Parsis and Indian Jews, irrespective of caste or creed.

"If in spite of these weighty considerations and in defiance of all parallels and precedents in history the British Government force upon Hindusthan (India) this discredited device of a communal electorate and reservations for the protection only of the Muslim majorities and minorities, the Hindu Maha Sabha warns them that it will lead to unprecedented complications, to communal separation not merely in the legislatures, but also in the administration and the services, and ultimately even to separation of the purse, each community claiming that the amount of its separate representation should depend upon that of its contribution to revenue and in taxes.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha, in this momentous annual gathering at the historic city of Ajmer, appeals under Article XI of the League Covenant in the name of India to the League of Nations, of which she is an original member, for the application to her of those principles and methods of minority protection which are endorsed and made operative by world opinion on the subject and on the initiative of the principal Allied and associated Powers, including India and England, and emphatically points out that the parties to these stipulations are especially bound by the following resolution adopted at third Assembly of the League of Nations."

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to Minorities will, nevertheless, observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious and linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the (minority) treaties and by the regular action of the council".

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## THE MUSLIM CONFERENCES

### The All-India Muslim League

The Howrah Town Hall looked gay with flags and festoons when the All-India Muslim League held the Twenty-third Annual Session on the 21st. October 1933. Mr. Abdul Aziz presiding. To prevent possible disturbance, Police arrangements had been made. Attendance of the delegates was mainly confined to Bengal Mussalmans. Bengal Presidency Muslims as a body boycotted the session on the ground that (1) though it, as a provincial branch, was entitled to be consulted before holding the actual session in the province, it was ignored and therefore under the League constitution the present session was not in order and that (2) of the two rival Leagues, it was difficult to say which was the original and which "the rebel body".

"The Star of India", Mr. Guznavi's organ, however, repudiated the suggestion holding that the promoters were entitled constitutionally to hold the conference.

In the absence of Mr. *Abul Kasem*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, *Khan Sahib Ghulam Rabbani*, Vice-Chairman, read the speech and appealed to the Moslems to siak all differences and sacrifice personal interests for the common wen.

*Moulvi Abul Kasem*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of the welcome address, said they veatnred to take the responsibility for arranging the session because he was confident that all were actuated by a sense of public duty. Indian Mussalmans, especially Bengal Mussalmans, were passing through critical times. Their position in the country as respectable citizens was now at stake. Every possible attempt was being made gradually to wipe Mussalmans out, said the Chairman, and added that unless Massalmans exerted themselves and took preeautions, their future would be deplorable, unenviable and miserable.

Pleading a united front in defence of the Communal Award, Mr. *Abul Kasem* paid n tributo to Mr. Guznavi's work in England. He thought that, unlike the Hiadus, they were a divided house. Ho deplored "the systematic attempt on the part of Government and our Hiadu countrymen to suppress Mussalmans" and emphasised the need to assert Muslim rights. The Chairman claimed that Bengal Muslims, excepting a few of Congress leanings, were all of one mind.

### The Presidential Address

An impassioned appeal for the protection of the Muslim League not against the machinations of an external foe, but against internal dissensions and for acceptance of the Communal Award, a demand for adequate representation of Muslims in the Federal Legislatures and in the public services and the introduction of suitable reforms in Baluchistaa, formed the main feature of the Presideatial address of Mr. *Abdul Aziz*, Barrister of Peshawar.

Touching the Award, Mr. *Aziz* said : "We, Muslims, must accept the settlement outlined by the Award as an accomplished fact, even though some of its provisions do not come up to our expectations, based on definite promises, made by the Prime Minister". While rejoicing at the prospect of the Priacees joining Federation, Mr. *Aziz* opined : "We desire to see representation of Muslims in the Federal Legislaturo maintained at one-third of the total strength of the whole population includiag Indiaa States". Mr. *Aziz* warned that "unless there is unity between the two minor communities or a *modus vivendi* found which would ultimately lead to the creation of a common interest, no matter what changes are introduced by the Reforms, they will not produce the results one reasonably expects."

Mr. *Aziz* registered his unqualified support to measures being adopted to seuro adequate representntion of women in the futuro legislatures.

Referring to terrorism in parts of Bengal, Mr. *Abdul Aziz* said that misguided youths who had mistaken it for patriotism, were not only the enemies of orderly government and therefore of orderly existence and the country, but were their own enemies. No country would prosper by necepting organised morder as its political creed. Mr. *Aziz* concluded by extending a cordial invitation to those within the Lengue who differed from him to join in hands in making the League what it was meant to be and appealing to others who, so far, were busy creating what might be called rivel organisations to the Lengue, seriously to consider the inadvisability of giving even a semblance of disuation among Muslims—a community which by no means was as effectively organised politcally, as others in India.

Mr. *Abdul Aziz* hoped that the Reservo Bnkk would come into exiteaco as early ns possible as its establishment was n condition precedent to Federation. He prnyed for the success of the Indo-Japanese negotiations, as he, though an ardent believer in swadeshi, dissented from those believing in economic isolatien. He congratulated Afghanistan on its progress under Amir Nadir Shnh.

The President reiterated the need for unity both communal and iater-communal. The League then adjourned.

### Resolutions—2nd. Day—22nd. October

Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, ex-Minister and ex-Round Tabler, moved a resolution to-day which, while welcoming the Award, recorded dissatisfaction that,

(a) One-third of the seats in the whole House was not guaranteed to Moslems in the Upper and Lower Federal Legislatures;

(b) Bengal Moslems were not given the number of seats to which they were entitled by virtue of their strength in population;

(c) Injustice was done to Bihar Moslems by the reduction of the strength of their representation in the Legislature after the separation of Orissa.

(d) No specific provision was made in the White Paper so as to vest residuary powers in the Provinces in the proposed Federal constitution;

(e) Special constituencies which were opposed to democratic principles had been retained, and no arrangements had been made for the representation of Moslems through these constituencies;

(f) No provision had been made for introduction of reforms in Baluchistan and for raising it to the status of Governor's Province.

*Mr. Maswood Ahmed* seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

A resolution was passed condemning unequivocally terrorist activities in Bengal and assuring the Government of the whole-hearted support of Moslems for uprooting the evil.

Another resolution condemned the attitude of the Hindu Maha Sabha in favour of re-opening the communal decision for decreasing Moslem representation in the different legislatures.

The Muslim League considered the proposal in the White Paper for the establishment of a Second Chamber in Bengal as unnecessary and expensive as also retrograde.

#### Speeches on the Resolutions

*Mr. Fazlul Haq*, moving the resolution on the White Paper, declared that Mussalmans were prepared to accept and work the new constitution notwithstanding the unsatisfactory nature of the Communal Award. Mr. Haq regretted the Hindu attitude in the matter.

*Mr. A. F. Nurul Nabi*, moving a resolution protesting against the creation of Second Chambers in Bengal and Bihar, pointed out that before the publication of White Paper, the Bengal Council had rejected a motion for a second chamber. He asserted that Bengal Muslims were unanimously against a second chamber, which in the very nature of things would be predominantly and necessarily Hindu in constitution and bound to revise every Act of the Lower House. The speaker thought that even Hindus were against the creation of a second chamber. "Europeans", he observed, "had been induced by clever Hindu propaganda" into accepting a second chamber, as necessary and inevitable. He appealed to Europeans to reconsider the matter.

*Mr. Mohiuddin*, moving the resolution condemning "the Hindu Mahasabha's attempts to reopen the Communal Award", warned British Government that if Muslims were deprived of their due rights and privileges despite the pledges and promises, both of the British Government and the Hindus, it might drive the Mussalmans to desperation.

The resolutions passed included one condemning the Midnapore outrage and opining that terrorism is a negation of democracy and should therefore be put down.

*Mian Abdul Aziz* observed that terrorism was calculated to demoralise public life and lower its tone. In bringing the proceedings to a close, the President observed that India was as much the India of the Mussalmans as of the Hindus. He warned his fellow-Muslims against indulging in suspicion and distrust against Hindus, who after all were their fellow-countrymen.

*Mian Abdul Aziz* reminded the League of Sir Syed Ahmad's memorable words. Hindus and Mussalmans were like two eyes of a person and that injury to one eye would necessarily injure the other. He hoped that Hindu-Moslem unity would not be the mere dream of professional politicians. Concluding, the President appealed for Muslim solidarity and co-operation in carrying out the resolutions.

# The All India Muslim League

## Opening Day—New Delhi—25th. November

The 23rd annual session of the Muslim League started in the Arabic College, New Delhi on the 25th. November 1933. Many distinguished persons were present. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran. Thereafter, a man, addressing the gathering, said that the league was unrepresentative and that the Delhi Muslims should have nothing to do with it. The intruder was pushed out of the hall and the proceedings continued smoothly. *Haji Rashid Ahmad* and *Hafiz Hidayat Hosain*, chairman of the reception committee and president of the league, respectively, delivered their addresses.

### Presidential Address

"Safeguards must be made definite and beyond doubt and the sphere of interference of the Governor-General and the Governors be very strictly defined so that the legislature and the country might know in circumstances of a given case as to who was right and who was wrong", said, Khan Bahadur *Hafiz Hidayat Hosain*, in the course of his presidential address. Pleading for the rallying together of Muslims of all shades of opinion under the banner of the League, he emphasised the imperative necessity of spreading its ramifications throughout the country to ensure the safety of the community. He repudiated the charges levelled against the Muslims that they were pursuing a policy of segregation in internal politics and exhibiting pan-Islamic tendencies and deplored the attempts which were being made by a certain section of the people to seek the reversal of the Communal Award and refer the question of adjustment of communal difference to the League of Nations. The League, he held, was incompetent to tackle the problem which was of a national and not an international one and hence did not come within the sphere of its activities and also because the League had not the executive authority to enforce its decisions. Moreover, the League had so far failed to solve the minority problems in other countries to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

He reiterated the main Muslim demands and urged the Government to accept them *en bloc*. Proceeding, he expressed his profound dissatisfaction with some of the provisions of constitutional schemes as embodied in the White Paper though, he conceded, it was a great step forward towards the achievement of responsible Government. He particularly criticised the sweeping nature of the safeguards provided in the scheme and excessive powers vested in the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. As regards services, he opined that all of them be provincialized but at the same time classified under two categories, certain exclusive privileges attaching to one of them. He asked the Government to increase the percentage of Muslims in the army and the police.

Referring to the present political situation in Palestine he maintained that British imperial interests themselves demanded the Balfour Declaration to be immediately scrapped. He also condemned the diabolical crime committed recently in Afghanistan.

## Resolutions—2nd. Day—26th. November

The All-India Muslim League session continued this morning in the Arabic Hall under the presidency of Khan Bahadur *Hafiz Hidayat Hosain* in the presence of over 100 persons. Mr. Shafi Daudi moved the first resolution:—"Whereas, owing to the failure of the two majority communities inhabiting India to come to an agreement, His Majesty's Government was forced to give a decision relating to some matters between the parties and though the decision falls far short of Muslim demands, the Muslims accepted it in the best interests of the country reserving in themselves the right to press for acceptance of all their demands, this meeting of the Muslim League condemns the activities of those who are trying to alter the decision in such a manner as to deprive the Muslims of these rights which were already concerned to them and considers that the best course for all communities is to work together for the salvation of the country in a spirit of give and take with a

view to securing mutual confidence and goodwill and strongly urges the Joint Parliamentary Committee to uphold the communal decision".

*Mr. Shafi Daudi* said that the Muslims' sincere effort to come to a settlement was thwarted by Pandit Malaviya who spurned Maulana Shaukat Ali's proposals to Mahatma Gandhi prior to their joining hands with the Government to see justice done. Though the Award fell short of their demands the Hindu Mahasabha was aiming at annulling it. There was a ray of hope in Pandit Jawaharlal's recent condemnation of the Sabha's activities and if the Hindus were prepared to take a lesson from what he said there was still chance of the two communities coming nearer each other. Finally, he warned the Joint Parliamentary committee against any amendments of the award with a view to curtail the Muslim position.

*Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadig* showed how the majority communities in other Asiatic countries had by conceding Muslim minorities more than their rights won their full confidence and how their Government were being run smoothly. He asked the Hindus to follow their example. The resolution was passed unanimously.

A number of resolutions were then passed unanimously. The second resolution urged the Government that in the matter of appointment of ministers the principle religious minorities be given adequate representation and ministers must have the largest following of the members of their own community.

The third resolution advised the Muslims not to be affected by the militant resolution of the Mahasabha but co-operate with those who sincerely believed in the progress of India as a whole for the achievement of full responsible Government by peaceful and legitimate means.

The fourth resolution criticised Col. Wedgwood's speech in the House of Commons against the aspirations of Muslims.

The fifth resolution protested against the British policy in Palestine and urged withdrawal of the Balfour declaration.

The sixth resolution reiterated the Muslim demands for introduction in the new constitution, namely, (a) allotment for Moslems of one-third of the seats in the central legislature; (b) provision of adequate representation for Moslems from special constituencies: (c) election to the Federal Upper House by the direct methods and from separate electorate; (d) declaration of fundamental rights relating to Muslim personal laws and establishment of Qazi courts involving Moslem religious rites and usages; (e) adequate representation to Moslems in Orissa after its separation from Bihar; (f) provision redistributing legislation if three quarters of the members of any particular community opposed the passage of a bill; and (g) reforms in Baluchistan.

The seventh resolution expressed full concurrence with the letter of certain Muslims proposing the holding of a convention for bringing unity in the ranks of the Muslim League and authorised the council to take such steps in this direction as were desirable in consultation with H. H. the Agha Khan and Mr. Jinnah.

The eighth resolution, while supporting extension of franchise to women, opined that the vote to them would be accorded in their own personal qualification.

The ninth resolution laid stress upon the employment of Muslims in all branches of Imperial and provincial services and urged reservation of one-third of jobs for Muslims.

The next resolution opposed weightage in Indian States in the federation as it was likely to upset the communal balance.

The other resolutions demanded Muslim representation in the Upper House from Delhi and Ajmer and more jobs for Muslims in railway services and the Imperial Bank, authorised the council to co-operate with the All-India Muslim Conference for pressing their demands on the Government and protested against aerial bombardment of the trans-frontier tribes and urged that in the new constitution residuary powers be vested in the components or units of the Federation.

# THE ALL PARTIES MUSLIM CONFERENCE

The door to rapprochement between the two major communities being still open the necessity for the establishment of cordial relations among the warring sections of Muslims was stressed at the All-Parties Muslim Conference which commenced its open session under the Presidentship of the Raja of Salempur in the Gaagaprasad Memorial Hall, Lucknow, on the 17th December 1933.

The Conference was supported by seven Muslim organisations including one section of the All-India Muslim League led by Mian Abdul Aziz, All-India Khilafat Nationalist Muslims and Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Among those present were Mian Abdul Aziz, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mr. Manswood Ahmed, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani and Mr. Mohd. Husain.

## RAJA OF SALEMPUR'S ADDRESS

"By creating a body composed of representatives of all important Muslim organisations we are on the way to bridge the gulf existing rather than trying to dig it deeper", said the *Raja of Salempur* in the course of his Presidential Address. "Wild suggestions are being made in interested quarters", continued the Raja, "as to our objective. It is openly hinted that we are going to form an organisation with the sole object of fighting the elections in the next constitution. Our aim is much higher than these suggestions seem to make out. It may be that, in some future date, we might take up this question and fight for seats in the legislatures as one of the side-issues of our programme".

Continuing the Raja thought that it was a travesty of facts to say that the schemes adumbrated in the White Paper were flawless or that any Muslim in India was willing to accept them. Referring to the Communal Award he admitted that the Communal Award was something forced on them from outside but since they failed to agree among themselves that was a punishment they must submit to, howsoever unpalatable the situation might seem to them. The Raja reiterated the Muslim demands as formulated in the last All-Parties Muslim Conference under the Presidency of the Aga Khan.

Proceeding, the Raja said that the present Conference was a necessary corollary of the Conference of Muslim leaders of All-Parties held in Lucknow some time ago. He felt that in the welter of confusion with Muslim politics to-day, which made the prospect of common action more remote, there was need for an organisation and unifying force. The present state of division and conflict among the various Muslim organisations was the greatest handicap in the way of any programme for the social and political uplift of the country or, for the matter of that, even of the Mussalmans themselves. He was quite aware of the fact that efforts to bring about unity on the basis of the Muslim demands as formulated by the All-Parties Conference in 1922 had failed before this and during the Unity Conference in Allahabad and Bengal, but he saw no reason why the efforts so honestly and sincerely made should be ignored and the door should not be kept open for an agreed settlement by the various communities of this country.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding on the subject the President pointed out that it was not their intention to go about begging for settlement. All he could say (and he thought he was voicing the sentiments of the Muslims in India) was that Mussalmans would always be ready to help efforts at unity between the various communities of India and thought that Hindus would realise the mistake they committed in smashing up the prospects of unity. He repudiated the allegations that the inauguration of an organisation for the purpose of bringing better understanding among the various sections of Muslims would widen the cleavage between them and strengthen the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha. He thought that conditions precedent to success of working any scheme was the necessity of creating harmony and unity among Muslims.

Finally the Raja disclosed that the aims and objects of this Organisation were:

Firstly, to formulate programme of work for Mussalmans in India with a view to advance their social and political interests and secure the best results in the

coming constitutional changes, if necessary by effecting a settlement with other Indian communities ; Secondly, to secure and safeguard the interests of Mussalmans, Thirdly, to promote goodwill and unity among the different classes and communities and work for the amelioration of their economic, social and political conditions by education and propaganda among the masses and, lastly, to attempt to bring all the Muslim parties into one line on matters of their common interests.

### Resolutions

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. While reiterating its faith in communal unity as the only means of attaining real strength and freedom for the country and expressing a sincere desire to co-operate with any movement for the solution of the communal question, this Conference is emphatically of the opinion that the only alternative to the Communal Award is an amicable settlement between the communities themselves and appeals to all well-wishers of the country to oppose all separatist activities, individual or organised, of every community which are calculated to widen the gulf of differences between the communities.

2. All Parties represented in this Conference while keeping their political and economic ideals intact are agreed on the following programme of work in Muslim communities :—(a) to develop the political instinct and love of service of Islam in the community ; (b) to organise and educate Muslim masses to take their full share in the political struggle for freedom : (c) to work for the unity of the different groups of Mussalmans and foster better relations with other communities : (d) to create better relations between classes and masses on the basis of Islamic equality and among agriculturists, zamindars and tenants and (e) to establish centres and branches all over India in order to work the programme.

By a third resolution the Conference resolved to establish a Board consisting of fifteen members from the seven organisations participating in the Conference and fifteen members from among those who do not belong to any organisation to give effect to the resolutions, with Nawab Ismail Khan as President.

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## Bengal Presidency Muslim League

The Annual General Meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League was held at Calcutta on the 26th November 1933 under the presidency of *Maulvi Abdul Karim*. There was a large and distinguished gathering. Prominent amongst the members present were Moulvis Ashraffuddin Ahmed, Shamsuddin Ahmed, S. Zaman, Jalaluddin Hashemy, K. Nooruddin, Nazir Ahmed Choudhury, Haji Abdur Rashid, M. A. H. Ispahani, Ali Ahmed Wali Islamabadi, Mohsin Ali, Abu Hossain, Nurul Huq Choudhury and Ghiasuddin Ahmed.

The Secretary, Dr. R. Ahmed read the annual report of the League. In the course of the report he stated : "If the Bengal Presidency Muslim League has not done anything else it has kept before the eyes of the public a point of view held by a very large section of the Mussalmans of Bengal which has been tried to be belittled by Government nominated Muslim leaders. It is an honour for me to record that many of our members suffered for the cause of the country and the community, according to their own lights and one died while undergoing imprisonment. It may not be said in the future that Muslims of Bengal lagged behind when the country needed them.

### RESOLUTIONS

After the President had delivered his speech the following resolutions among others were adopted :—

- That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League is of opinion that in the interests of democracy there should be no special constituencies and no second chamber in the local legislature in the Presidency of Bengal.

2. That the future electorates for the Bengal Legislative Council should be based on adult franchise and joint electorates, and in case adult franchise is not established, the qualification of votes should be so reduced, as to reflect the proportion of Muslim population in the province on the electoral roll.

3. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that the Constitution proposed in the White Paper is unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it is not calculated to satisfy any section of Political India and particularly as it is detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslims of Bengal as their population proportion is not reflected on the local legislature.

4. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League is of opinion that in spite of the Premier's assurance in the Round Table Conference not to reduce the majority community of any province into a minority or even to equality, the reduction of the Muslim community of Bengal to the position of a minority by assigning them a number of seats much below the population proportion, is wholly unacceptable to the Mussalmans of Bengal, nad this League records its strong protest against the non-fulfilment of the Premier's pledge.

5. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League deplores the attitude of the Hindu community generally, regarding the allocation of seats to the Muslims of Bengal instead of concentrating their attention on the Communal Award as, such an attitude like this, is wholly anti-national and is calculated to accentuate intense bitterness of feeling between the two major communities of the Province.

6. That the rent payable by the tenants be reduced by legislation to a limit commensurate with the present price of their staple produce in the Province, so that the tenants may be in a position to pay their rents, debts etc., and meet the cost of necessities of life.

7. That the Free Primary Education Act be amended immediately and given effect to in such a manner as to provide for compulsory education and to avoid the incidence of taxation upon the overtaxed people of the Presidency.

8. (a) That the individual mahajani system loan offices of usury type be abolished by legislation and in its place a network of agricultural co-operative banks and industrial banks be established fixing the rate of interest not more than 6 per cent for the peasants and not more than 12 per cent for people other than agriculturists under the guidance and supervision of Government. (b) That the Agricultural Co-operative Banks be established by raising shares largely from the tenants and Government. (c) That the interests payable by the cultivators to the Mahajans and banks for loans taken before the passing of the proposed Act be written off by legislation and provision be made (in the bill) for payments of the principal by long term instalments. (d) That no cultivator be ejected from his residential holding for non-payment of debts. (e) That provision be made in the Law for prosecuting Zamindars and tenurholders and their officials for exacting and realising extra and additional fees like abwabs etc. and make such offences cognizable.

9. That the Bengal Tenancy Act be re-modelled and re-enacted in such a manner as to protect the best interests of the cultivators of the soil.

10. That in any contemplated trade agreement between Great Britain, Japan and India, the economic, commercial and industrial interests of the people of the country be adequately safeguarded.

11. (a) That in case the Reserve Bank Bill is passed into Law as a shareholders' Bank, the qualification for the right of voting be the holding of one share and that any holder of one such share be eligible for election as director.

(b) That the Rupee be delinked from the sterling and allowed to find its own level before the exchange ratio is fixed.

12. (a) That the Government be called upon to draw up a scheme in co-operation with the Indian Jute experts and prominent public men and producers of jute in Bengal with a view to securing a fair price for the jute growers and thus save the Bengal peasants from the impending economic ruin.

(b) That immediate and effective steps be taken to combat the problem of unemployment in Bengal by the Government, providing extensive opening for the unemployed by introducing and establishing suitable cottage industries according to the possibilities in different districts throughout Bengal.

(c) That the Government of Bengal be requested to raise a loan of one crore of rupees and to invest the same in the revival and establishing of indigenous industries on a small scale and thus help the unemployed in Bengal.

# THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

Opening Day—Madras—26th. December 1933

The fifteenth annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced on the 26th. December 1933 at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, Mr. Jatindra-nath Basu of Calcutta presiding. Owing to the unavoidable absence, due to illness, of the Rt Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar welcomed the delegates and the visitors. About 50 delegates from all parts of India and about 100 delegates from the city were present.

Prominent among the delegates present were Messrs. G. K. Devadhar, N. Subba Rao Pantulu, M. Ramachandra Rao, Raja of Kollengode and N. Pattabhirama Rao.

Among the visitors present were Dr. P. and Mrs. Subbaroyan, Messrs. V. Bashyam Iyengar, S. Satyamurti, N. V. Raghavan, S. Muthiah Mudaliar, M. Balasundaram Naidu, C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, V. Saranathan, C. A. Hayless and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu.

## Welcome Address

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar next welcomed the delegates in a short speech. He said :—

"On behalf of the Reception Committee, I welcome you all most heartily to the 15th Session of the National Liberal Federation. This duty of welcoming you was to have been performed by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri who is the Chairman of the Reception Committee. You will now learn with the greatest regret, as I have just now learnt, that he has suddenly taken ill and that he is unable to attend to-day's proceedings. He was relying on his own ability to deliver his speech extempore on this occasion and had not thought it worth his while to prepare a written address. Had he prepared one, it would have been possible for me to read the address which he should have delivered. But unfortunately he mis-calculated his physical powers and it is a matter of the greatest regret to me and to all of you that he has been prevented by his sudden illness from performing a duty which no one could perform with the same success and distinction.

"This is one of the most momentous sessions of the National Liberal Federation. The deliberations of the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee have all concluded and the Reform Bill is about to be prepared and introduced next year. All our friends who have recently returned from England tell us that though there is not very much chance of improving upon the White Paper, still representations by all parties in India may possibly induce the Imperial Government in Britain and Parliament to modify and, if possible, liberalise the provisions of the Bill. It is therefore necessary that we should concentrate our attention upon the White Paper scheme and upon those other proposals which have been put forward during the course of the deliberations in the Round Table Conferences and in the Joint Select Committee. It is essential that we should put forward our views upon the various proposals made and express clearly what exactly the country wants at the present moment and what we all expect. Whether our representations will be successful or not, it is impossible to say. But it is clearly our duty to put forward our views upon the scheme which has already been outlined in the White Paper and upon the other proposals put forward during the course of the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare. Those proceedings have not been altogether of a reassuring character. You will remember that Sir S. Hoare stated sometime back that the new reforms will not introduce Dominion Status and that they were not the next step even to Dominion Status. These expressions of opinion by the Secretary of State for India have been of a most disconcerting character. We were no doubt prepared for a certain minimum interval of transition, but we were not prepared for a series of instalments at the end of which alone Dominion Status could be expected. The proposals have all been a most discouraging character. But we have to discharge our duty. Let us hope that the united expression of the views of the people of India on the various reforms may have the effect of modifying the proposals which have been so far put forward in a liberal manner.

"I do not wish to say anything more because I have been called upon at a moment's notice to offer these words of welcome to the delegates."

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Proceeding, Sir *Sivaswami Aiyar* said : "I now request you to elect the President for the session and I beg to move that Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu be elected President of the 15th session of the National Liberal Federation. He is a gentleman of large political and legislative experience. He has also been a member of the Legislative Council in Bengal for the last 13 years continuously and one of the staunchest members of the Liberal Party. He is the President of the Indian Association in Calcutta, which corresponds to our Liberal Party here. He has been connected with various institutions in Bengal, educational and social. He has taken a great interest in educational matters of social service. It is a matter of great pleasure to me to propose the name of Mr. J. N. Basu for election as the President of this session."

#### The Presidential Address

*Mr. Basu* was then installed in the presidential chair and he next delivered the Presidential address. The following is the text :—

I need not dwell as to how and why in the mind of large sections of our population, there is no longer the feeling of trust and goodwill on which alone a stable and lasting union between Great Britain and India may be established. It cannot be denied that distrust of Britain had steadily spread. Political leaders, who have adhered to the policy of trust, have had their ranks thinned.

The reforms that came from time to time since 1890 failed to remove the root cause of discontent in this country.

The Montagu Reforms were promulgated with the ostensible intention of allowing the people of this country to control their internal affairs. But the real authority remained aggressively centralised leading to the breakdown of the system in some of the Provinces. Apart from the dilute nature of the authority that was transferred, the financial adjustment between the Centre and the Provinces and between the Reserved and Transferred Department in the Provinces was of such a character as did not render much help to the cause of self-rule or of friendly co-operation.

After the Montagu system had operated for some time, the defects of it came to the surface. A change was felt necessary. The Muddiman Committee was appointed to go into certain aspects of the system. But nothing came of the Reports of that Committee.

In the meantime the Government in England appreciated to some extent the alienation of feeling that was taking place in India. The Statutory Commission was appointed. There was no Indian on the Commission to discuss with their British colleagues the questions that more vitally affected India than any other country.

Auxiliary Committees of Indians were appointed later probably with a view to satisfy Indian opinion. But the fact remained that Indians stood excluded from having a hand in the framing of the final decisions.

The justice of the Indian attitude towards the Statutory Commission was felt. Lord Irwin in consultation with the British Government declared that a revision was necessary in the procedure that had been adopted. He announced the cancellation of the Round Table Conference and foreshadowed that pursuant to a suggestion made to the Prime Minister by Sir John Simon, a conference should be called in which the representatives both of British India and the Indian States should meet the British Government with a view to frame the final proposals which were to be submitted to the Parliament.

The first Round Table met in November 1930. At the conference, there were discussions about the constitution of an Indian Federation including both the Indian States and the British Provinces. Many prominent representatives of the Indian States agreed to join the Federation, but the details of the relationship between the Indian States and the Federal Centre were not fully thought out and the solution of the question stood over for further consideration.

Lord Irwin, in his pronouncement of the 31st October 1929, had stated as follows :—

"But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and in India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British

Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress as therein contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status."

Certain eminent leaders, viz., Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Annie Besant, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. V. J. Patel and others met at new Delhi shortly after Lord Irwin's pronouncement and issued a manifesto in which it was stated as follows :—

"Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraphs in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand however that the conference is to meet not to discuss when the Dominion Status is to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy."

There was the disinclination on the part of a large section of British political opinion to concede responsibility at the Centre. On the other hand, political opinion of all parties and communities in British India other than non-Indian clearly indicated that the constitution they wanted was that of a self-governing Dominion. On most of the representatives of the Indian States expressing their desire to join the Federation, if responsibility at the Centre was conceded, British opinion underwent a change and it was stated that if the Indian States came into the Federation a responsible centre with certain safeguards and reservations might be agreed upon.

It is needless to reenpitate the happenings at the three Round Table Conference. There were no doubt public discussions on many topics. But extraordinary importance was sometimes attached to things done behind the scenes and without the knowledge or assent of the general body of delegates. The Minorities' Pact may be mentioned as an example.

#### THE WHITE PAPER

After the Third Conference, the British Government framed their final scheme for the constitution of India. The White Paper contains what the British Government is prepared to concede in the matter of the political advance of India. The result is a strange combination of centralised authority and of responsibility, weighted with brakes of various descriptions. The system is without a precedent and without the experience of the past to guide it. It is certainly not anywhere near Dominion Status.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the White Paper does not lay down the lines for a real constitutional Government, but more attempts to tone down some of the aggressive features of an autocratic State. While admittedly the bounds of the constitution are narrow, no provision is made for gradual or automatic expansion through the legislatures in India.

The decision about any progress must continue to be made outside the country. This feature of the White Paper Scheme accentuates a serious grievance. There is widespread discontent already that the present system does not respond to the needs of the people. The steady decline in the value of Indian Agricultural produce, the failure to organise suitable industries, the very slow progress of education and of general, moral and material progress have been causing distress to the people and have been embittering their feelings. The State has failed to give due weight to these important factors in the life of this country and has neglected the economic problems which the large growth of our population has made prominent. Attempts that have been made to explain away things by a reference to general economic depression have not convinced the people. The depression and want here are not of recent growth. The long continued general level of living conditions compared with what prevails elsewhere will show the failure of our administrative system in the past. But the causes of failure have not been taken due note of. It is now proposed to set up for the future a machinery no less cumbersome and more expensive. Financial strength, which is of vital importance in any administrative system, will not have normal and free play. Apart from reserved powers in financial matters, the State will be overburdened from the very commencement by the creation of new Province requiring heavy subventions for a great many years.

Some of the general features of the White Paper scheme have been referred to. It covers almost the entire field of the political activities of the State. The details

require careful consideration. I shall refer to some of the more important aspects of the Scheme.

The position of Finance at the Centre has been left vague and indefinite. It should be ensured that questions of finance, including those of currency and exchange, should be dealt with entirely in the interests of India and with due regard to her economic resources and requirements, and her industrial and commercial operations. Financial measures should meet the needs of the country whether they are of a temporary or lasting character. There should be no other consideration influencing the exercise of financial authority at the Centre. There has never been any serious opposition to suitable safeguards for outstanding debts for other commitments of India in Great Britain and for the conduct of the Reserved Departments during the transitional period. The resources required for the country's liabilities abroad and for the Reserved subjects, may be arranged for by mutual consultations. The demands for non-transferred subjects should not be altogether in the nature of edicts. There should be due opportunities for a mutual consideration of the needs pertaining to reserve subjects and to subjects not reserved.

I do not deal with the controversies regarding the constitution of the Reserve Bank and the fixing of the exchange ratio between the Sterling and the Rupee. They are matters vitally affecting the economic prosperity of this country and the smooth regulation of her finance and trade conditions in the future. But if financial authority is transferred with such safeguards, as I have mentioned, measures may be taken to remedy any defect that experience may reveal in the conduct of India's financial affairs.

#### THE DEFENCE

Coming to Defence, one is struck by the absence of a definite policy of active and progressive Indianization and for entrusting the country with the duty of her own defence. The danger and insecurity felt by the people of a country, who are kept out of the organization and working of their own defence can well be imagined. The Defence policy has been one of the greatest blots of the present system. Indianization will not only increase the power of facing aggression, it will lighten the cost of defence to a very considerable extent. It is also necessary to remedy the grave defect of depriving entire provinces of India of any training or participation in self-defence.

There is another acute grievance regarding the present system of Defence. It is widely felt that the present defence organisation is meant not only for the security of India, but also for the purposes of other parts of the Empire. It will continue to cause great soreness until this heavy financial burden is taken off the shoulders of the poverty-stricken population of this country. India should not be made to bear the burden of others.

Apart from the question of Indianization and the transference of Defence after a temporary period to be fixed by Statute, the adjustment of the cost of military forces between Great Britain and India should be immediately taken up irrespectively of the question of constitutional advance. The justice of India's claim in that respect cannot be denied. Why should justice in that respect be further delayed?

With her ever-increasing burdens, it will be difficult for India to conduct her affairs on up-to-date lines, if she continues to be crippled financially by the burden of a considerable portion of the military expenditure required for the Empire being thrown on her shoulders and by her being forced to maintain an army far beyond her means.

Regarding the question of Commercial discrimination, there are certain features which Indians cannot ignore. Our economic life has not arrived at such development that it can compete on equal terms with commercial forces from countries equipped with the most modern systems of manufacture, transport, trade organization and marketing. The doctrine of reciprocity can have no application in our internal trade and commerce. In order to feed our growing population and to raise the present level of living, it is necessary that there should be special treatment of our indigenous enterprises, so that in the face of stubborn competition, they may stand on their own legs and a large section of our people may be pulled out of the wire of poverty in which they are now sunk. We have to face the opposition of vested interests, but there is no reason why in our own country we should not have the power to extend a helping hand to our own nationals when the economic condition of the majority of our people urgently calls for such favoured treatment. We must go on fighting for the very life of our people until success crowns our endeavours.

While on the question of Commercial discrimination, I may refer to the controversy that has arisen over certain statements made by the Secretary of State for India regarding discrimination against such Dominions as discriminate against India. From very early times, India seldom closed her doors in the face of friendly foreigners, and allowed facilities to outsiders in the matter of residence and trade. She has suffered bitterly for her generous attitude. What she now demands is that she should not be deprived of the power to discriminate against nationals of other countries, who treat Indians as pariahs. Our claim is that we should not be debarred from taking such measures in the interests of our nationals as may be necessary to impress upon countries who discriminate against Indians, that they can only do so at the risk of India retaliating in the cause of her own nationals.

#### EXTERNAL RELATIONS

It is proposed to reserve External Relations entirely to the Governor-General. But a great part of the External Relations may relate to economic movements between India and other countries. The countries that adjoin India and other countries in Asia and Africa are natural fields for the expansion of Indian trade and commerce. The Indian Legislature should be free to establish and foster friendly trade relations with countries beyond the boundaries of India. The reserved powers of the Governor-General as regards External Relations should be so modified as not to interfere with action taken by the Indian Legislature as regards the establishment of economic contracts with foreign countries. It is a right that has been recognised in the case of other Dominions, and should not be denied to India which having regard to her extent, her population and her resources is economically a backward country in spite of her affairs being under the sole control of an economically advanced country like Great Britain for nearly a century and a half.

We do not yet know as to how many of the Indian States are coming into the Indian Federation. But the manner in which the Federal Legislatures are proposed to be continued is such as fails to give due consideration to the vital features which build up the life of a people. The respective importance of the component parts not merely in population, but also in other important respects, has not been taken due note of, and seats in the legislature have been allocated with due regard to such importance.

The scheme in the White Paper may be said to be over-weighted with a tendency to keep back the progressive elements in the State by giving power and prominence to elements that lag behind in experience of work for general welfare and progress in various spheres of life.

The artificial divisions set up by the White Paper tend to create for the time being an antagonism between classes and communities. The division of the people into separate, water-tight compartments, for representation on and election to the legislatures according to creeds, and not on the basis of political views and programmes amounts to the introduction by Great Britain of another element of untouchability in India, namely, untouchability in politics. The party to which we belong has strenuously opposed the throwing into our midst of such apples of discord. We see the evils that are inherent in it and we know the mischief that has resulted from it. The accentuation of non-political differences and the importation of them in the constitution of the State is a reversal of the normal process of building up a people. Why such reversal has been effected has not been explained, but will probably be explained in future at the bar of History.

The provisions as to the services are of a peculiar character. The Provincial Governments and a part of the Central Government will ostensibly be responsible to the Legislatures, but the responsibility will have to be discharged through services, manned in the higher posts by men about whose appointment the future Governments will have no voice, and who will continue to be under the control of the Secretary of State. Such a system vitiates the principle of responsibility and continues in practice the autocratic authority exercised through local officials by the Secretary of State. Unless a Government which has to work the Departments of State has the power to decide upon the machinery to be employed for carrying out its policy, to choose the personnel of its staff and to regulate the pay and prospects of those through whom the work is to be carried out with due regard to responsibility to the legislatures, the transference of authority that is going to be made will be of an exceedingly dilute character. It may be that the expensive and over-manned system with which the administration now operates may be found to obstruct the path of progress. It may be necessary to so lay down the conditions,

pay and prospects of the services that the future administrative machinery may not be a cumbersome burden on the shoulders of the people. Let us hope that the proposals in the White Paper regarding the recruitment by the Secretary of State whether in India or outside of some of the important higher services, the laying down by him of the conditions attached to those services, the control to be exercised by him and the reservation by him of posts for men of his services will be so modified as not to stifle the life of the Constitution.

The Transport Requirements of a country are its own concern. It is extraordinary that it should be considered necessary to control the Railways under a Statute framed by the British Parliament and not by the Indian Legislature. The grounds stated in the White Paper as to the necessity of having in the Constitution Act provisions for the establishment of a Statutory Railway Board are not convincing. The taking away from the Central Legislature of the control over the Railways may hamper it in future as regards transport policies that may be required by the ever-changing circumstances of the country. There is no objection to due provision being made to safeguard the interests of such companies as still own railways in India. The Government of India, after an experience of three-quarters of a century of possession and management of railways by the State, is attempting to go back upon its policy and practice of nationalisation of the railway systems, which made them organically connected with the State organisation. For some reason not yet explained, a peculiar device is being adopted which will close the doors of railway administration to the future Government of India.

#### POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

I shall now refer to some of the powers proposed to be vested in the Governor-General and the Governors. Amongst the powers that the Head of a State ordinarily possesses is the power of veto. But the initiative as regards policy and legislation has always been in the hands of the ministry responsible to the legislature. The White Paper invests the Governor-General with direct legislative powers so that he may promulgate Acts which will have the force of enactments passed by the Legislature. Such a power will convert the Ministers from being responsible representatives operating the Government with the willing assent of the people to persons carrying out behests which sometimes may be against the declared policy of the Ministry. It will be a position of difficulty and of humiliation. Orders should only be issued and that very reluctantly when the State has broken down or is faced with a grave emergency. But the White Paper treats the Governor-General's legislative powers as an ordinary part of the constitution.

Amongst other powers intended to be reserved to the Governor-General and the Governors are the control of the services and the prevention of the commercial discrimination. I have already pointed out that the reservation of these subjects will in a great measure take away autonomy from the Governments of the future and will stand in the way of their responsibility to the legislatures.

Regarding the Fundamental Rights, hesitation is expressed in the White Paper as to giving them statutory sanction. The rights of free citizens as understood all over the world should be accorded to the people of India. The rights which the White Paper is prepared somewhat tardily to concede are no new rights but have been enjoyed by the people for nearly a century and are not in the nature of a new emancipation.

The Judicial authorities referred to in the White Paper consist of the present High Courts in the Provinces, a Supreme Court of Appeal that may hereafter be constituted, and a Federal Court. The delay and expense incident upon appeals from India prosecuted in England render it necessary that a Supreme Court of Appeal should be established in this country. The High Courts in the Provinces should be associated with the Central Government as regards appointment and control.

What was necessary in dealing with the problems of India was the laying down of broad lines boldly drawn in a spirit of trust in the people and with a genuine desire of progress. But the manner in which the question of constitutional advance has been discussed for the last few years, served to keep in the background the real issues prominent in the minds of our countrymen, namely whether the political status of India was going to remain where it was, or whether there was to be real advance. We regret that differences were accentuated and magnified and pointed at to frighten us and the world while common interests, and the amicable contracts and daily co-operation in vital matters in various spheres of life, were

ignored as of no importance. The question of status has been ignored. The Secretary of State either directly, or through the Governor-General, the Governors and the servies controlled by them still looms large in the picture overshadowing the new system, which was expected to consist of fully responsible Governments. The power to make such readjustments in her system of government as may be rendered necessary either in India's interests or in the light of experience, and the power of normal expansion finds no place in the constitution. If we require hereafter a change in these matters, which concern us alone, we shall have to convince not only the 300 millions of our people but we must undertake to convince the 45 millions of the people of Great Britain, who, if their interest can at all be roused, have in many cases a different outlook and different interests. The resources of our past have left nearly 90 per cent of our people illiterate, have not succeeded in stopping the death of hundreds from preventable diseases in the rural areas and have not succeeded in helping the poor and indebted agriculturists who is the mainstay of our country. The White Paper now proposes to seriously cripple our attenuated resources by the creation of new Provinces and by imposing heavy subventions which are likely to keep us down for a great many years. The financial resources of a people are its life-blood in the matter of living and development. But the allocation of the resources as indicated in the White Paper takes no note of the realities in this respect. The Secretary of State must also have his men in the framework on emoluments and conditions fixed by him, and the British units of the Defence Forces must be there whether the future Government has or has not enough money for necessary medical relief, for removing the widespread illiteracy of our people, or for economic development.

A generous attempt animated by a spirit of trust and goodwill might have laid the foundations for the growth of a lasting and satisfactory union. But the happenings of the last six years, and the White Paper, which has resulted from the deliberations that took place during that period, can hardly be said to be such a gesture. It was for Great Britain with the position she occupies to take the first step in the establishment of mutual good-will. But the halting and hesitating manner, in which the deliberations were carried on, and the decisions of the British Government as embodied in the White Paper, display more of doubt and distrust than of confidence and assurance.

In order to claim trust and goodwill one has to be generous and trustful. Is India to repose all the trust she can, while Great Britain proceeds on the basis of distrusting India?

It may be said that the transfer of all the departments in the Provinces to Ministers responsible to the Legislatures is a surrender of authority, which should be regarded as an important gesture of trust. We recognise that the establishment of responsibility in all the departments in the Provinces is ostensibly an advance on the present system of diarchy. But the safeguards and the power vested in the Governors and the Governor-General, the manner in which the services are to be constituted and worked and the financial provisions including the burden of Defence and the subventions to Provinces to be newly created inspite of the urgent needs of the existing Provinces who have been crying for the organization of their economic life and for advancement of health and education, will neutralise the authority that is going to be transferred and place the new Governments in no better position than that of the present Transferred Departments.

The White Paper cannot be described as a document intended to bring about peace and contentment. It is aggressively reactionary in the matter of communal representation. It goes very much further than either the Mayo-Morley Scheme or the Montagu Scheme in accentuating and elaborating separate communal electorates in the legislatures. It subdivides the Hindus. There is no recognized principle behind the Scheme. What has been to one community in one Province has not been given to another community occupying the same position in another Province. Instead of framing a constitution suitable for modern Government facing the future, the White Paper seeks to drag us backward to earlier centuries.

The proposals of the British Government are now being considered by the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament. The Committee has considered for a great length of time the various problems covered by the White Paper. The Secretary of State for India has stood up in defence of the Government scheme with great energy and earnestness against the attacks that were made on it. We may differ from the Secretary of State, but we cannot but commend the stubborn

fight that he puts up in urging the views that according to him should be the basis of our next constitutional advance.

### TERRORISM

Apart from the White Paper which has not satisfied the aspirations and met the requirements of the country in the future, the steps that have recently been taken to placate the country can hardly be said to be such as might lead to success. Repressive measures have been heaped one upon another. The Liberal party abhor terrorism and all methods subversive of law and constituted authority. If there is not more trouble it is due in a great measure to the immense steady influence that the stable factors in the country continuously exercise in the population in general. The Government has taken in its hands powers of great absolutism, and has chosen to impose restrictions on certain parts of the country, restrictions indistinguishable from martial law. Particular communities have been insulted and oppressed by the imposition of collective fines by Executive Orders, while it is to a large extent with the help of those communities that the present difficulties are being weathered through. British historians in the past have condemned the Jeziyah. I do not know how the historians of the future will characterise the present-day impositions on particular communities.

Those in power forget that persons who desire to commit political crimes and of a violent character do not declare their intentions from the housetops. It is evident from the trials of such offenders that they constitute small groups working in the dark and that it is not possible for the ordinary citizen with his meagre leisure and his existing occupations to achieve marvels of detection where the elaborate police staff of Government maintained at a high cost has failed. The policy of mass punishment of those who are either entirely or with solitary exceptions innocent is not likely to achieve the object in view. On the other hand, if human nature in India is not different from what it is elsewhere, such a policy is likely to spread discontent. So long as crimes of terrorism happen, every citizen should do all in his power to put down such crimes. This cannot be done by mass punishments or by the marching of troops through the villages, which for the cost incurred has no more effect than amusing the village children. Such and similar methods have failed in the past and are bound to fail in the future. Instead of creating an atmosphere in which goodwill may prevail, they have a contrary effect adding to the difficulties of the situation. If no attempt is made by discontinuance of repressive measures to create a favourable atmosphere, the chances are that the new system will not command general acceptance whether from majorities or from minorities. The risk attendant upon the withdrawal of harsh measures which fall more on the innocent than on the guilty is far less than that of antagonising the whole countryside.

Associated intimately with the question of the growth of political conspiracies is the question as to why do they grow at all, and why do some young men and women fall a prey to those that teach hatred and violence. The most effective method to put an end to the nefarious activities of such teachers is to make the youth of the country feel that they are free citizens, and that in regulating the administration of the country the requirements and progress of the people will be the main guiding factors. No people can better realise the truth of that doctrine than the people of great Britain. The Press laws that have been promulgated, the detention of large numbers without trial, the internment and exterrnent that is widely resorted to, the harrying of the residences of officials and of public buildings, these and similar factors show that the policy that had been pursued has not succeeded. It is not by these methods that people have in the past been placated or subdued. While Government should not do anything to increase the number of the disaffected, we should make it clear to those who lapse into criminal and violent methods that the people of this country in general look upon their acts as unworthy of the country to which they belong. I would earnestly urge upon those that lean towards terrorism to think carefully before they commit themselves. The system they evidently desire to overthrow is a system framed by the people of Great Britain, a people to whom freedom is the very breath of their lives, a people who cannot forget their history of striving and struggle and success in the cause of freedom. Those that take to criminal methods for the achievement of their object, probably do so because they have lost confidence in the use of any other methods. I would urge upon them, if my voice reaches them, to consider carefully the trend of events in India during the period of British connection and not to take to a

policy of despair. The advance of the people has been slow, and there have been good causes for feeling aggrieved. But I ask those concerned not to overlook that the general tendency has so far been one of progress.

Occasionally there is stagnation or even a set-back. The remarks I have addressed you to-day show in which respects according to us the contemplated changes in the constitution either lead to no advance or are reactionary. But if a system is sought to be imposed on us which we do not consider to be in the best interests of our people, we must press our views with all the emphasis at our command, and if our voice is not listened to, we do not take the system as a settled fact, but go on agitating and organising public opinion. We have had examples in the past of settled facts being unsettled by persistent political agitation. But the agitation must be conducted in an open and straightforward manner.

In carrying on the struggle for self-rule we must not forget the spirit and traditions of our own country and the growth of world ideas regarding the relationship between different nationalities. We, in India, whether Hindu or Moslem, have a distinctive culture which we have developed through the centuries, sometimes dark and sometimes bright. The policy of scratching, biting and hitting is looked down upon by us. In our country the men that are remembered and are held in reverence are those that preached love and goodwill. Rulers and generals are either forgotten or are placed in a much lower plane. Those that taught us lessons of love and goodwill and lived and preached what they taught occupy a predominant position in our hearts. Gautama Buddha, Nanak, Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Moinuddin Chisti, Nizamuddin Aulia, Haji Noor Kutub Alam of Gaur and others have been revered by millions of our countrymen for generations. The League of Nations is an International Institution of recent growth to establish amity and understanding amongst different nations. The spirit behind the League is the spirit that has always animated India. Why should an Indian do any act which might cloud the brightness of our ancient heritage, and lead to a reversion back to methods of barbarism, and keep us away from establishing unions and understandings by methods that are not sub-human? We have lost much that we possessed. The attribute of spreading love and goodwill is an ideal which we cannot afford to lose. It is one of the precious possession left to us. I appeal to all who try to imitate other nations elsewhere by resort to violent political crimes not to besmirch the good name of their country by such imitations but to uphold the traditions, the value of which is now being gradually recognised by World opinion. We must show, as we can show, that political controversies can be pulled out of the dirt and mire of hatred and physical strife, and that lasting understandings can be arrived at between those that do not agree by pressing on claims based on justice and equity. I do not ask that ideals and aims should be abandoned. All that I ask is that the methods of work should respond to the spirit of India.

#### NEED FOR UNITY

Before I conclude I cannot but draw your attention to the fact that there are forces of disruption at work tending to divide our house against itself. I would remind all my countrymen that they have common ties, ideals and interests which are indissoluble. Whether we belong to the Hindu community or the Moslem community, whether we are Sikhs or Christians, Brahmins or non-Brahmins, we stand or fall with our common motherland. Her glory is ours, and her humiliations bears us down. Take for instance the question of economic advance in our own country. The neglect of it vitally affects all of us. The treatment meted out to our nationals in some of the Dominions and other countries hurts all of us equally. But while our common interests are matters of every day and vital importance, going to the root of the existence and status of our people, there are persons and forces who try to pull us apart by magnifying the differences that must exist in the best ordered society. We have to counter these movements by fostering and strengthening those organisations which allow of common consultations and common action. There are divisions amongst us as amongst other peoples, not only of classes and creeds but also in political methods and policy. But, in spite of all these, we should always remember that we are Indians and that there is a vast field for joint work on the basis of common interests. Political caste systems may be sought to be thrust on us. But all of us, from whichever section of the people we come, must join hands and render united service to our common motherland. It will be for you gentlemen to suggest joint organisations of different sects and bodies both for temporary

purposes and for a permanent course of work. The forces working for disruption must be brought under control, and the ties that bind us must be strengthened. Standing united before the country and before the world we shall heave together with all the will that is in us bringing glory, contentment and prosperity to the land we all love.

### Resolutions—2nd. Day—27th. December

The Federation met on the next day, the 27th. December, to consider resolutions. The first resolution put from the chair was one of condolence at the deaths of prominent India leaders. It ran as follows : The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound sense of the great loss suffered by the country in the death of Mrs. Besant who devoted her wonderful gifts and energies to the service of India and humanity and fought her popular rights and liberties with unsurpassed courage and tenacity of purpose. The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of the loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Sir Bipin Krishna Bose and Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagavat who were staunch members of the Liberal Party and Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. V. J. Patel and Sir Mancharjee Bhownaggree who in their various spheres rendered distinguished services to the country.

The resolution was passed, the whole gathering standing in silence. The following were the other resolutions put from the chair and carried unanimously :

#### Support for Swadeshi

(a) The Federation again emphasises the supreme importance of the Swadeshi movement, and exhorts the people to support national enterprises in the field of Banking, Insurance and Shipping, and to prefer, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry to imported goods.

(b) The Federation strongly urges the Government actively to encourage and support the Swadeshi movement in every possible manner.

(c) The Federation urges the Government of India not to allow Indian interests to be subordinated to those of Lancashire or Japan in the negotiations now going on between them and the representatives of those countries.

#### Terrorism Condemned

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India views with abhorrence terrorist activities wherever they exist and earnestly appeals to all classes to do everything in their power to check and prevent them as they are repugnant to all notions of humanity as well as injurious to the best interests of the country.

(b) The Federation expresses its sympathy with the bereaved relations of victims of terrorist outrages.

#### Protest against Repression

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong protest against the repressive polity which by its excessive and often uncalled for harshness has been adding to discontent in the country. The Federation impresses on the Government the urgent need for the repeal of repressive measures and for the easing of the tense political situation by the adoption of a conciliatory policy.

(b) The Federation at the same time appeals to all who advocate or take part in the Civil Disobedience movement to abandon the movement and help in the creation of a peaceful atmosphere in the best interests of the country.

#### Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

The Federation once more strongly condemns the combination of judicial and executive functions and urges the Government to separate the same and place the Judiciary under the control of the High Courts in the different provinces. In case the above policy is not adopted by the Government, the Federation requests its Council to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the acceptance of the policy and report the same to the next session of the Federation.

#### Temperance

The National Liberal Federation of India urges on the Central and Provincial Governments in India the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy of tem-

perance reform and calls upon the people to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in favour of total abstinence.

### Indians Overseas

*Mr. P. Kodanada Rao* next moved the following resolution :

"(a) This Federation strongly condemns the demands which the European settlers of Kenya, encouraged by the discussions between the Secretary of State for Colonies and their representatives, have put forward for acquiring control over the Government of Kenya. It urges that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Governments should not be departed from and that no further constitutional power be transferred to the European settlers either by the institution of a Finance Committee with an unofficial European majority as proposed by them, or in any other way.

(b) The Federation presses the Government of India to watch over the interest of Indians in Kenya with special care in present circumstances. It further draws their attention to the complaint of the East African Indians that with the ostensible object of improving African agriculture, monopolies are being granted to Europeans, especially in Uganda and Tanganyika, for the purchase of special agricultural products from the Africans and that Indians are consequently being driven out of a business in which they were pioneers and have been engaged for generations past. The Federation urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to investigate and obtain redress for this grievance.

(e) The Federation extends its whole-hearted support to the Indians of South Africa in their just fight for their elementary rights and assures them that India will always be behind them in their struggle to uphold the honour of the Mother-land and protect the interests of Indian nationals."

*Mr. Kodanada Rao*, dealing with the first part of the resolution, said that the claim of the European settlers in Kenya which they had been making for over a decade now was simple. Their demand was not merely for a transfer of power from London to Nairobi but for concentration of that power in the hands of the handful of European settlers. That was a thing that they could not support in the circumstances which obtained in Kenya to-day, where racial antipathies were perhaps most outstanding and time seemed to have made hardly any change in the relations of the different races. The Hilton Young Commission had completely smashed to pieces the claims of the European settlers and now to transfer the trusteeship of the natives to the Europeans would be like entrusting the fate of the rat to a cat,—a most dangerous thing to do. The European Colonials had now modified their demand and they wanted a modification of the financial control. Their demand, if conceded, would place the European settlers in the most powerful position. Finance would give the whip hand to the European settlers and if they should get control of it, they would practically control the whole country. For that reason, they must stoutly oppose any grant of that demand, innocent as it may seem to the European settlers.

Continuing, Mr. Rao said that though there could be no legislative discrimination against any race, there was, as a matter of fact, discrimination going on against Indians. Complaints had been received from Indians that such discrimination had taken place. It was extremely difficult to prove it except after the event. It was necessary that the Government and the people of India must keep ever vigilant and keep constantly protesting even against the possibility of such discrimination.

In South Africa, unfortunately, there seemed to be a division in the ranks of the Congress and the Indians. On principle, the Indians have agitated against the Asiatic Land Tenures Act and the Preliminary Committee to enquire if any country would take the Indians that might be assisted in emigrating from South Africa and India. The Congress as a whole had strong objections to the enquiry and now refused to co-operate with or tender evidence before that Committee. The Agent to the Government of India was placed in a difficult position but a perusal of the evidence he had given before the Committee would show that not even the most stalwart Congressman could have given a more self-respecting evidence. The Indian Community was divided and the Agent was "being reviled at as a traitor." That people did when they were in a temper, but he should think that this Federation might as well send a word of sympathy and encouragement to the Agent and support him in the line he had taken.

### Untouchability

*Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar* next moved the following resolution :—

"The National Liberal Federation of India accords its fullest support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the classes concerned and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for its success."

Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar said that there could be no doubt that the customs or practice of untouchability was the darkest blot on the Hindu Society. Untouchability or rather unapproachability as practised by the Hindus had no parallel in any other country or nation of the world. It was only in India that they found a portion, indeed a large portion, of the Hindu community regarded as being unfit for being seen, for being spoken to and for being associated with. It was unnecessary now to go into the question of how this monster of untouchability crept into their society. It seemed to him an irony of fate that this monster should have established itself so firmly in a community, according to whose religion and belief, human body was the greatest gift of God. One got a human body according to their *Sastras* as opposed to animal body or plant body only as a result of accumulated virtue. How then could a human being be an unapproachable or an unseeable to another human being by reason of mere birth?

He submitted that according to the highest and best in their religion, "untouchability as now practised was a gross and cruel sin against humanity. But there were learned men who were saying seriously that there was no cruelty at all in the practice of untouchability and that it was indeed based on the utmost mercy and compassion. It was impossible to beat such arguments. According to them it appeared that all the people who were now regarded and treated as untouchables had in their previous birth or births committed enormous sins and it was the height of mercy and compassion to keep them as unapproachables, unseeables etc., so that they might undistractedly wash off their sin in this birth and if one birth was not sufficient for it, in the least possible number of births. He would ask them to stand in the shoes of the unfortunate unapproachables and consider then how far they would then feel satisfaction or pleased if the argument was advanced against them. Gandhiji was striving every nerve of his to exorcise the evil of untouchability from Hinduism and had called this movement a religious revival. This movement for the purification of Hinduism by the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the so-called untouchables was by no means a novel or revolutionary venture. A study of the history of Hinduism would reveal that there had been every now and then, whenever necessary, such purifying movements in the past by acknowledged leaders of their faith. The speaker next dwelt on the religious revival brought about by Sri Ramanuja and how his disciples carried the torch of knowledge, love and spirituality among the depressed classes until by the efflux of time and the gathering—in of prejudices and superstitions it became dim and ceased to shine. From the points of social justice, equity and good conscience, they were bound to see to the removal of untouchability. In conclusion, the speaker said that the uplift of the untouchables who were the poorest, the most ignorant and the most down-trodden, should he regarded as their duty and ideal of life and they must contribute their mite towards it. The question of legislation had been purposely left out, because this movement might succeed with the bill or without it. The resolution was non-controversial matter and he appealed to all to support it.

### AN AMENDMENT

*Dewan Bahadur L. A. Gorindaraghava Aiyar* proposed an amendment changing the wording of the resolution as follows :—

"The National Liberal Federation of India affords its fullest support to the movement for the uplift of the classes spoken of as untouchables and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for its success."

He said that the speech of the mover of the original resolution at least showed that advantage might be taken of this resolution by those who were in favour of legislation being initiated. He did not want such an impression to be created. The question of Depressed Classes had to be considered in its economic, social and religious aspects. The Liberal Federation, he believed, as the successor of the old Congress, stood purely for political aims and objectives. By way of

furthering political aspirations, they had adopted resolutions bearing on the economic condition of the people. But if they wanted to proceed further and call into question the prosperity of certain religious usages, he felt they were not the body that could consider it. The Federation was supposed to comprehend in its fold all classes of political workers irrespective of caste or community. If these questions were taken up by this Federation the result would be that agencies not professing Hinduism would also be pronouncing judgment on a matter which concerned Hindus alone. They would not be well advised in interfering with the religious usages and sentiments or even prejudices of the people. Secondly, he was decidedly opposed to legislation being called in for purposes of redressing any social abuses. The resolution as it stood, though it did not, in so many words, suggest the possibility of these things being done, went very much near that. He, therefore, wanted the Federation to note it and make its position clear.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar seconded the amendment and urged the Federation to steer clear of religious matters. Even Mahatmaji had himself stated it was a purely religious revival and he saw no reason why the Federation should pass the resolution originally proposed.

Mr. P. Narayana Kurup raised a point of order. He said that the amendment in effect negatived the original resolution. Such a motion could not form an amendment.

The President over-ruled the objection.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry supported the original resolution and appealed to the sponsors of the amendment not to press it. He said that the constitution of the Federation gave room for their considering this and similar subjects. Removal of untouchability was, no doubt, a social question but he believed it was, now, also, a political question. Its political importance would become clear to them, when they came to discuss the resolution on the White Paper. He was free to confess that at other times it was arguable that this question did not touch on the political sphere. But, in his view, it was impossible thereafter to speak of this question as having no connection with politics. If social questions or religious questions impinged on the political sphere and in doing political work they had to turn their attentions to questions which had a bearing on social and religious spheres, he considered that the problem could be considered by them even as a political body. It might be that they might not consider it further than was necessary for the purpose of solving their political questions but in so far as a solution of the political question depended on their pronouncing an opinion on a matter having a social or religious side to it, they ought not to shirk the responsibility. From that point of view it seemed to him that this problem was one which was properly before the Federation.

He would however make clear what he had already stated in the Subjects Committee, that it was their desire only to express their view through the resolution that untouchability should go and they should work for it.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, in opposing the amendment said that it was stated by Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar that the discussion of social questions was outside the purview of the Liberal Federation which was stated to be rather the off-spring of the Congress. He did not think it was necessary to refer to the constitution or the principles of the National Congress. They had to be guided by the constitution of the Federation alone. Among the aims and objects of the Federation there were questions like wide spread of education, improvement of public health, economic development, promotion of inter-communal amity and the amelioration of the condition of the backward classes in the population. These were not questions purely of a political character.

It was very difficult, the speaker went on to say, to draw a clear line of demarcation between political and social matters. There were many social matters which impinged on political matters like education, economic improvement etc. At the last session of the Federation at Calcutta, a resolution was passed according approval to the principle underlying the legislative measures for the removal of untouchability now before the Indian Legislative Assembly. He asked whether the resolutions they had passed on questions relating to swadeshi, temperance etc., were of a political character or not. Nobody objected to those resolutions. He could understand the expediency of keeping out certain matters which might produce any large cleavage of opinion among the members. But he believed that a large number among them were convinced that untouchability should be removed.

There might be differences of opinion as to the means by which it should be removed; whether it should be by legislation or education or by persuasion. They did not want to commit the Federation to any opinion upon that question. They confined themselves to expression of opinion as to the desirability of removing untouchability. They were trying to steer clear of expressing any opinion as to the necessity or desirability of legislation. They did not want to commit the Federation to any opinion on that question. Would the expression "uplift of the backward classes", in the amendment, involve or not the removal of untouchability? He did not want to go into all those details. He thought there was no necessity for the amendment. He thought it was undesirable to introduce that amendment; it might suggest that the Federation was of opinion that untouchability should remain as a permanent feature of their society.

The amendment was then put and declared lost only 9 voting for it.

The main resolution was next put and carried by a large majority. The session at this stage adjourned for lunch.

#### Princes' Protection Bill

When the Federation reassembled after lunch, *Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao* moved the following resolution:

"The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic disapproval of the Princes' Protection Bill now before the Legislature as it makes further invasions on the freedom of the Press."

He said that the provisions of the Bill were unjust, unnecessary and dangerously restricted the liberties of the press. In most of the Indian States there was no rule of law. The right of Habeas Corpus for the subjects did not exist. There was no sense of personal liberty or security of property in most of the Indian States. The newspapers in the Indian States could be counted on one's fingers' ends. They had no right of association. Therefore, it could not be said that the subjects of Indian States had no grievances to ventilate. It was on account of this state of things that the subjects of Indian States had come to British India to hold conferences for the ventilation of their grievances. It is a notorious fact that many Indian States had refused permission to hold conferences within the borders of their own States. It was also a well-known fact that British Indian newspapers which had been in the habit of criticising the administration of Indian States had been refused admission into those States. Under these circumstances one would have to consider the provisions of this Bill very carefully. The ostensible object of the Bill was to give security and protection to the rulers and administration of the States from movements and activities in India which excited disaffection or tended to interfere with their administration. Sir Harry Haig in introducing this Bill stated that it was better to replace all the units of the Federation on the same footing in regard to protection from disaffection and activities tending to subvert the Government of those States. But nobody knew when the Federation was going to materialise. Statements had been made by the Rulers of States that some of them were in its favour and others had stipulated conditions which were impossible of being complied with. Under these circumstances it would have been very wise on the part of the Government of India to wait till the Federation had actually materialised before thinking of protecting the rulers of the States in the manner in which they had proposed to do by this Bill. That was the main reason why throughout British India and States objection had been taken to this Bill. Their duty was clearly to protect against the provisions of this Bill. The press in Britain had already suffered a great deal on account of the restrictive legislation in recent years. If they took the existing facilities even as they were, it seemed to him that it was the most dangerous thing for the Government to do.

#### Resolutions—3rd. Day—28th. December

The following resolutions were moved by the President to-day and carried:

##### Party Organisation

"In view of the political developments in the country the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that there is urgent need for the formation of country-wide Liberal organisations and the development of parties on national a"

opposed to communal lines ; and the Federation emphasises that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to so extend its organisation as to ensure the progress of the country on sound and healthy national lines and calls upon all members and associations belonging to the Party to work for the collection of adequate funds and the constitution of suitable agencies for achieving all-round progress on the lines mentioned above.

#### Economic Distress

The Federation desires to impress upon the Government of India and all provincial Governments the imperative necessity of the adoption of measures for the relief of the acute economic distress among the people, including an appreciable reduction of the burden of taxation, and for planned economic development.

#### Reserve Bank Bill

(a) The Federation, while welcoming the prospect of early establishment of a Reserve Bank, does not approve of the control by the Governor-General at his discretion of the Bank's policy and working, as thereby the domination of Whitehall and the city of London over India's monetary policy will be perpetuated.

(b) The Federation further deems it necessary that the Indian Legislature should at all times be free to so amend the Reserve Bank Act as may be found necessary.

#### Reciprocity Between India and Dominions

The Federation expresses its surprise that the Secretary of State for India should have declared himself against India being allowed the right of retaliation against Dominions which may discriminate against her and which may deny to Indian nations the elementary rights of citizenship. In the opinion of the Federation the possession of such right by the Government and the Legislature of India is indispensable and a Constitution Act which withdraws the right can never be acceptable to the people of this country.

#### Co-operation With Other Organisations

The Federation authorises its council to take necessary and feasible steps from time to time in co-operation with other organisations and parties to devise plans for joint work after the presentation to Parliament of the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the publication of the Indian Constitution Bill in its final form.

Before putting the resolution on "co-operation with other organisations", the President said that the time had come, having regard to the movements that were taking place for the creation of barriers as between parties and communities, for all of them to break those artificial barriers so that they might stretch the hand of fellowship that ought to be joined in by all the parties. The time had come for all the parties to stand together and work for their common progress. The differences among them were comparatively of a minor nature when compared with the unanimity of opinion of the different parties on vital matter which concerned all of them.

#### The White Paper Proposals

*Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar* then moved the resolution relating to the White Paper. It ran as follows :

The National Liberal Federation of India, reiterating its sense of profound disappointment at the White Paper proposals on Indian Constitutional Reform, records its emphatic opinion that the elucidation of the White Paper by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee and the supplementary proposals made in the course of his evidence before that Committee have strengthened among the people of India the conviction that the proposals are not calculated to establish any real responsible Government in India either in the Provinces or in the Centre and that the Secretary of State's declaration in the House of Commons that Dominion Status is neither the next stage nor the next but one violates the spirit of solemn pledges given with the sanction of the British Cabinet and has shaken their faith in the intentions of the British Parliament and people.

The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian National aspirations or allay poli-

tical discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

#### Control from England

(a) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Governments in India by His Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper. (b) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures during the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

(c) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purpose.

#### Amendment of the Constitution

The Constitution Act should vest in the federal legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

#### All-India Federation

(a) The Federation is strongly in favour of All-India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and Indian States and on lines consistent with responsible Government, but notes with regret that proposals made in the White Paper and elaborated recently by the Secretary of State, as conditions precedent to the inauguration of the Federation not only make for undue delay but are neither necessary nor justified; (b) In the opinion of the Federation it is unnecessary and inexpedient to create a separate statutory authority called the 'Viceroy'; and in any case the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should be exercised by the Government of India and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper. (c) The Federation is emphatically of opinion that none of its constituent units should have the right of subsequent secession.

#### Fundamental Rights

The Federation is strongly of opinion that a declaration of fundamental rights of citizenship applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.

#### Responsible Governments for British India

If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialise or be unduly delayed there should be a responsible central Government for British India concurrently with 'provincial autonomy,' without prejudice to the effectuation of all India-Federation at the earliest possible date thereafter.

#### Defence

(a) While the Federation is prepared to accept the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they contemplate the retention of complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It views with the gravest misgiving and apprehension the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the Army to Indian control at the end of a limited period. (b) The Indian National Liberal Federation strongly urges that recruitment to the Indian Army, instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes, should be thrown open to all communities and provinces. (c) The Federation urges that His Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the army within a period of twenty years. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers. (d) The amount of expenditure on defence should be fixed every five years by a committee consisting of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over that amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event

of hostilities on the frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it. (c) During the period of transition the defence Councillor should be a non-official Indian preferably an elected member of the Federal Legislature, or one of the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal legislature.

#### Apportionment of Military Charges

The Federation is of opinion that the relief given to Indian revenues by the British Government in pursuance of the principles enunciated by the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal is utterly inadequate to the needs of the case. The Federation would however place on record that whatever the amount of the financial relief may be, it will not be allowed to weaken the demand for the progressive elimination of British troops in India.

[This part of the Resolution was dropped by common consent of the House. It will be moved as a separate resolution later.]

#### Financial Safeguards

(a) The Federation, concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Ministers, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of impotence in the disposal of the bulk of it. (b) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed financial safeguards are both necessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion Governments and Legislatures.

#### Commercial Discrimination

(a) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British Nationals doing or seeking to do business in or with India, cannot support the proposals against "Commercial discrimination" as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in a large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may, in their judgment, be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development. (b) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor.

#### Statutory Railway Authority

The Federation objects to the creation of a Statutory Railway Authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the tax-payer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.

#### The Services

(a) The Federation considers the proposals of the White Paper regarding the Services as wholly reactionary and objectionable and regards the Secretary of State's further commentary thereon, in the course of his evidence as placing the future Provincial and Central Governments in an even worse position than the present dyarchic Ministeries and rendering them practically impotent to maintain control and regulation of Services in a manner that would enable them to discharge their responsibilities to the Legislature for the carrying out of their policies and the efficiency of the departments under administration in any satisfactory manner. The Federation while quite willing to protect the rights of the present members of the Services, is wholly against any proposals which would give them inducements by way of enlarging the scope and character of the compensation for "existing and accruing rights" and also of making such rights available for those recruited subsequent to the passing of Constitution Act. (b) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment, control, and the determination of the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the

safeguarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents ; and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service. (c) No member of any permanent service shall be appointed as Governor of an Indian Province.

#### Powers of Governor-General and Governor

The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of Governments, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of opinion that these proposals, if carried into effect, will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autoerats than at present.

#### Federal Legislature

While the Federation approves of a bi-cameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that :—(i) The strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper ; (ii) there should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General ; (iii) all the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the States as a transitory measure for a fixed period ; (iv) The responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both Houses assembled in joint session ; (v) A two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of motions of no-confidence ; (vi) The representatives of the States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects ; (vii) The Council of State should have no right of considering demands for grants or money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited like that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911 ; (viii) The Governor-General should not have power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both Houses of legislature ; and (ix) The Governor-General should not have the power of certifying the whole or part of a grant refused by the Assembly ; (x) This Federation is of opinion that the appointment of a Financial Adviser if any should vest in the Federal Government.

#### Communal Electorates

The Federation reiterates the resolutions passed at its previous sessions against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the continued maintenance and strongly protests against the proposed extension of such electorates. The Federation re-affirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats—with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.

#### Women's Franchise and Communal Electorates

(a) The Federation protests against the modification for the worse made by His Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise. (b) And it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organization to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.

#### Judicature

The Federation is of opinion, (a) That the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation and (b) that provision of Supreme Court to function as Court of Appeal of British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself. (c) The Provincial High Courts should be under the control of the Federal Government.

#### Central Government Transitory Powers

The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the Constitution of the Central Government in the interval between the introduction of "provincial autonomy" and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reac-

tionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be worse even than at present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.

#### Provincial Autonomy

(a) The Liberal Federation objects strongly to the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of the Finance, legislation and administration, as they are calculated to render "provincial autonomy" a shadow of the reality.

(b) This Federation urges that there should be no departure from the policy of transference to the Provincial Governments of all departments of the administration.

#### New Provinces

The Federation is strongly opposed to the constitution of new Provinces except where they can support themselves. In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, further aggravate the present unhappy conditions, alienate Indian opinion and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the lines of the Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will alone meet India's requirements and will satisfy the national self-respect of India.

The White Paper scheme which was put forward in the beginning of this year, Sir Sivaswami Iyer said, had evoked a storm of criticism from all quarters. It satisfied no one in the country. It did not fulfil the expectations of the people. It was thrashed out at considerable length at the session of the Liberal Federation held in Calcutta last April. The resolution now placed before them, he said continuing, was the same as was considered in that session of the Federation, except for some slight changes made necessary in the light of subsequent developments and enunciations of policy by Sir Samuel Hoare.

The chief criticism levelled against the White Paper scheme, he said, was that it did not take them anywhere near Dominion Status. Some persons had tried to make out that Dominion Status had not been promised at all, but to that contention he did not think it necessary to refer. It had been effectively set at rest by the Secretary of State himself. The Indians had a right to expect that the new reforms which were to be inaugurated would carry them on the path to Dominion status and would lay down a dominion constitution subject to certain safeguards and reservations for the unavoidable period of transition. These were their expectations; but they have not been fulfilled by the scheme embodied in the White Paper nor had any attempt been made to remove any of the defects or meet any of the criticisms which had been brought forward in the Press or on the platform. "Are we" he asked, "in sight of Dominion status at all?" They had been told by Sir S. Hoare that the new Bill was not going to establish Dominion Status, that Dominion would not be the next step from these reforms or even the next but one. How long were they to wait then for Dominion status? How many stages should they pass through? All these had not been made clear. They had been prepared to agree to a minimum period of transition but not to an indefinite postponement of the attainment of Dominion status. Though there were various provisions in the White Paper for safeguards and reservations and restrictions on the powers of the legislature, during the period of transition, there was absolutely no indication as to when these safeguards and restrictions would be removed or when the period of transition would terminate. Nor again was there any definite indication as to the date when the Federation would be inaugurated. Various conditions were imposed for the inauguration of the Federation such as that a number of Indian States should agree to join the Federation and a certain proportion of States and State population should agree to join the Federation. How long it would take for them to join the Federation or what was to happen in case they did not so join had not been made clear, nor had any further light been thrown by the discussions which had taken place in the Joint Select Committee.

Then it was again a matter of complaint that there were far too many safeguards and restrictions imposed that there was no real responsibility at all conferred by the provisions of the Bill. They had no indications of any dispositions to remove or diminish these safeguards and restrictions. On the other hand, the disposition

of the Secretary of State had been to yield readily to all suggestions for further safeguards and restrictions. The scheme as published in the White Paper, was, therefore, not likely to be improved in any way. On the other hand, it was likely to be watered down a great deal as a result of the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee. One of the complaints made, he continued, had been that there was no provision for any progressive transfer of responsibility to the legislatures. Whatever responsibility might be conferred now should be greatly extended automatically until India attains full Dominion Status. There was no provision in the White Paper scheme for gradual extension or enlargement of responsibility by any automatic process. If any further responsibility was to be conferred it could only be by the procedure of again appealing to Parliament and the British Government and perhaps by means of further enquiries at certain stages. There was a feature of the scheme to which strong objection had been taken everywhere. Another objection taken was that no power was conferred under the scheme for vesting any 'constituent power' in the legislatures to amend the constitution in any respect. Any amendment of the constitution, however minor it might be, could be effected only on appeal to the Parliament. No doubt it might be necessary to enact certain safeguards for the purpose of preventing rash legislation or injury to interests which ought to be protected but these safeguards should be such as could be complied with by a responsible legislature and not as could be complied with only by application to the Imperial Parliament. There was no provision for slackening or removing the control of the India Office over the Government of India. It had been felt that the India office had always acted in a reactionary spirit and impeded progress instead of helping it. In all these respects there was no change whatever made by the White Paper.

Another great defect in the White Paper was that there was no indication of any intention to transfer the subject of defence to the control of the Indian legislature within any conceivable time. There was no proposal and no plan for the Indianisation of the Commissioned ranks in the army and no proposal for the nationalisation of the army units. It had been said that it was objectionable to frame any time-table and that it might not be possible to work up one irrespective of the results of the experiment which they said was now being made. But whether it was an experiment or not, it ought to be possible for them to lay down some limit of time however long within which the army should be Indianised, and it should be possible to transfer the control of the defence to the legislature. The very possibility of the transfer of the responsibility in respect of defence did not seem to have entered the thoughts of the people, who were responsible for the preparation of this scheme. For ought they knew, it might take a century more or longer too. Unless and until this century was able to take charge of the subject of defence it could not possibly attain Dominion Status. England would always continue to rely on India's inability to defend herself or take charge of the subject of defence as a ground for refusing to grant her full Dominion Status. That in his view was one of the most vital defects of the scheme of reforms which had been outlined in the White Paper. In conclusion, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar said, "It is a most gratifying thing that His Highness the Aga Khan and 11 other delegates have been able to submit a memorandum to the Secretary of State and Parliament embodying their objections to the scheme contained in the White Paper. This memorandum has emphasised all the points which the public have said as serious constitutional defects in the scheme of reforms. I do hope that considerable weight will be attached to the representations that have been put forward by these 12 delegates, comprising representatives of the various classes and creeds in India. It is clear that the demands that they have put forward are the minimum which should be satisfied by the Imperial Government before they expect to satisfy Indian public opinion."

*Mr. B. N. Gokhale* of Bemahay seconded the resolution. He said that the proposals in the White Paper were wholly unsatisfactory. Strenuous efforts must be made to modify those proposals. The safeguards regarding law and order and the services have made the constitution more rigid. These safeguards really raised the question whether as a result of an elaborate enquiry which continued for nearly 6 years, they were going to have a constitution which would be better than the present one. But without going into the vexed question, he would say that it was certain that this constitution did not satisfy any one in the sense that it did not contain the essential attributes of a democratic constitution which was capable of automatic growth. Not only these proposals did not take them anywhere near the goal of

Dominion status, it was a very rigid constitution and did not give them any promise that they would achieve their object within a reasonable period.

Belonging to the younger section of the Liberal party the speaker concluded by saying, he had to say one thing. Under the guidance of their stalwart leaders they fully believed in the efficacy of constitutional methods. But was it not also the duty of the Government to confirm the "faith in them by action. Would it be wise and expedient to show that the Government would not yield to the pressure of constitutional methods? It was the hope of the Liberal party that even at this stage the British Government would think twice before proceeding further with the White Paper proposals and try to give effect to the modifications that were being demanded by the Liberal party.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, in supporting the resolution, in an eloquent speech declared that he would sooner go with the present constitution for a few years more and go on with their agitation for a real genuine self-government until a propitious day arrived when they would have the genuine article rather than put up with this mongrel constitution which was now proposed. "a scheme of constitution to which" the speaker said, "I would honestly apply the description given by Disraeli to something else, viz., "organised hypocrisy." I would feel we are nearer the day of Swaraj if the White Paper scheme is dead than if it is proceeded with without material improvements. That is my individual opinion. I would conclude my speech, by quoting Burke. "Argument has been exhausted. Reason has fatigued. Experience has given judgment; but obstinacy has not been conquered." I will have to add to this not only obstinacy, but British arrogance and British selfishness too have not been conquered.

Mr. Chintamani began by saying that the liberal party had made it known what exactly would satisfy them as meeting the requirements of the country and what would not. What exactly did the White Paper Scheme propose to give them and what did it seek to withhold from them? It promised the establishment of an all-India Federation, but it made it clear that it might not materialise. The All-India Federation, if and when it became a fact, would be of such a nature that it would deserve the name of Federation by courtesy and not because it complied with the requirements of the Federation. The arrangements proposed as between British India and the Indian States were not accepted by the representatives of British as being equitable to them. The powers that the executive would enjoy would be unduly restricted by the conferment of ordinary powers upon the head of the Government who would in no sense of the term be the constitutional head. The present Viceroy had more than once dared to state in public that it was his ambition to be the first constitutional Governor-General of India. He recalled his happy days in Cooch Behar where he had no less responsibility and his duties began and ended with the discharge of special functions. But the proposals that had been made and the tendency of policy both in Whitehall and in Simla indicated clearly that the Viceroy's wish was more a pious hope than anything else. After referring to the various defects in the White Paper proposals regarding defence, finance and provincial autonomy, the speaker said that the future Finance Minister would be a big cipher. His would be the duty to raise all the revenue that might be required, but his would not be the right of proposing how to dispose of the bulk of that revenue. The powers regarding law and order had been reduced to nullity. In a word that on which Indian nationalists of every school of thought with regard to political method had been agitating for a generation, that for which many an Indian patriot had borne and braved much, viz., a responsible Central Government would after the introduction of the proposed constitution be as much in the realm of idle dreams as it was to-day. What was advertised by the high-sounding phrase of provincial autonomy, was really, in the words of Sir Sapru, a bogus provincial autonomy. The future ministers would be able to exercise very little control over the officers in the police or medical service or in the Indian Civil Service.

Continuing, the speaker said that there was no meaning in saying that they should either accept or reject the constitution. They could say they could reject the constitution if they were in the position of strength in which the Irish were in 1906 when they refused the Irish Council's Bill. The question they had to decide was whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the White Paper proposals. The country had answered the question. The Liberal Party had answered the question and the resolution before them had answered the question. They were utterly

dissatisfied with it and they would sooner have the present reforms than have a mongrel constitution like the one proposed in the White Paper.

*Mr. B. B. Roy* (Bengal) supporting the resolution said that the White Paper proposals as explained by Sir Samuel Hoare in his evidence made the prospect even of real provincial autonomy recede further and further.

*Mr. C. M. Gandhi* (Gujarat) further supported the speech.

*Mr. T. B. Venkatarama Sastriar* then supported the resolution and addressed himself specially to the proposals in the White Paper regarding 'commercial discrimination'. The arrangements made under this head were calculated to reserve in England's hands the commerce of this country, and made it impossible for the Government of this country to advance the interests of this country's commerce and industry. Under the Simon Report proposals commercial discrimination was considered to be a topic which was made the subject of some arrangement between the two countries and not of legislation; but in the White Paper there were three paragraphs whose object was to legislate in such a manner that any statute passed in this country having the effect of commercial discrimination should be capable of being dealt with by the courts as invalid. The proposals compendiously had the effect of transporting Britain and making it part of India enjoying all the advantages of such association without losing any advantages at present enjoyed in Britain. On the other hand, India did not derive any advantage from the association of the benefit of Britain fighting India's fights. The scheme as developed in the White Paper and the evidence of Sir S. Hoare in regard to commercial discrimination forced one to the conclusion that India's condition under the new reforms would be worse than what it was at present.

*Moulvi Abdus Samad* further supporting the resolution strongly opposed the proposals contained in the White Paper in regard to communal electorates. The White Paper, he said, was a 'palace of words' and gave them only the shadow of Self-Government. Separate electorates, he said, were a negation of democracy. It was stated that the Prime Minister had to make an award because the communities concerned had not come to an agreement among themselves. But he would state without any fear of contradiction that the communities did come to ninety per cent understanding in spite of all the obstacles thrown in their way. Complete agreement was made impossible, he said, by the publication of the Indian Government's Memorandum. The nomination of Muslim delegates was itself one of the obstacle. The refusal to nominate Dr. Ansari in spite of Gandhiji's appeal to the authorities was significant. The Muslim delegates were all pledged to Separate electorates and they were being inspired by "higher authorities." It was an unholy alliance between Muslim Communalists and the British statesmen.

Concluding, he said that separate electorates could never be a safeguard to any minority. What protection he asked had it given to them during the last fourteen years? It had only increased misunderstanding and widened the gulf between the communities. The best safeguard for a minority was to be in a joint electorate with the majority community. They should therefore reject any reforms, however substantial, if they should involve the sacrifice of communal amity and if they should be based on separate electorates.

*Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastri* (Vizagapatam) supported the resolution and said that the proposals embodied in the White Paper demonstrated the very powerful and formidable struggle that Indian public opinion had had to wage against the workings of the British bureaucracy.

#### Executive Agencies

*Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru* next spoke in support of the resolution. They had heard criticisms the whole of the forenoon sittings levelled against the White Paper: Yet it would be true to say that not all the evil features of the White Paper had yet been exhaustively described. Perhaps it would be too much to claim that they had been even exhaustively enumerated in the long resolution placed before them. He would confine himself to the consideration of the provisions that related to the executive agencies on which the preservation of all governments depends.

Granting for a moment that there were no constitutional safeguards in the White Paper, and that all their demands had been conceded in full by a generous nation and Parliament, they would still have to see which was the agency that would carry out the policies the power to frame which had been given to them. They might pass the best laws and frame the best laws; but if those in whose

hands lies the executive power were not in sympathy with their views, their laws and their policies would come to naught. Those who had knowledge of the political history of this land during the last fifty or sixty years would see that the earliest fighters for Indian freedom had taken up the question of appointments of Indians to the higher services. For about three-quarters of a century, India had demanded that the Imperial services in general and those connected with the maintenance of law and order in particular should be manned entirely by Indians and brought under Indian control. To-day the British Government had declared their adhesion to a policy of constitutional reform leading ultimately to Dominion status. If this Dominion status was to be made a reality it was obvious that the services and the agents of Government ought to be brought under Indian control. But under the White Paper scheme, the services instead of being placed under the control of the Federal authority would continue to be under the control of the Secretary of State of India. The British Government said that law and order would be transferred to the provincial legislatures; what argument could there be then for retaining control over the recruitment of the members of the Indian Police and Civil Services in British hands? If the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference composed of persons of different persuasions who agreed perhaps scarcely on two or three subjects throughout the deliberations of the R. T. C. had agreed on this that services connected with law and order should in future be controlled by the Government of India, it would be hard to convince anybody that there was any valid argument for retaining the present state of things. They always invoked India's interests to check the pace of progress; but the real truth seemed to be that in their view the interests of England in India were too vital to be controlled by a purely Indian Ministry responsible to a wholly Indian electorate. In the matter of control over services, he would say, that they had actually gone back from the existing position. Hitherto progress with regard to Indianisation was possible by means of executive orders. Indeed in 1919 Mr. Montagu took such a step in regard to the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service. But now a brake had been put on the British Cabinet itself by requiring that it should get the approval not merely of the House of Commons but also of the House of Lords for making any change in regard to the recruitment of the services. Looking at the procedure laid down for future changes in regard to this important subject, it would be true to say that something like legislation would be needed to advance the position of Indians in the most important services of their own country.

Proceeding, Pandit Kunzru said that with regard to the recruitment of services, the angle of vision of the British statesmen had not been changed since Mr. Montagu's proposals in 1919. They were not asking for a few more posts in the security services. They wanted the power in their hands to recruit men for the services so that they could work out their own destiny. If they carefully examined the evidence of the Secretary of State before the Round Table Conference, they would notice that there was every possibility that the Lee Commission percentage might be maintained not merely with regard to the security services, but also to what he would call the economic services viz., the irrigation and forest services. From whatever angle of vision they might look at the question of recruitment of services, whether they carried it from the constitutional aspects, or from the aspect of the proportion of Indians in the higher services or from the point of view of efficiency of the transferred subjects or from the point of view of promoting harmony between ministers and the agents responsible for the execution of the policy, they would have nothing but condemnation, strong condemnation for the reactionary policy that had inspired provision relating to the services contained in the White Paper. The speaker in conclusion referred at length to the army service question and pointed out that the proposals regarding the same were most reactionary. He then pleaded for widening the area of recruitment for martial forces to the army and said that they should not confine recruitment to a few races or to one or two provinces as such policy would tend to disaster. The material for the Indian Army should be supplied by all the provinces. The British Government had done them a grievous injustice in confining recruitments to the few classes and provinces. The army question was the corner stone for the future advance of the whole scheme contained in the White Paper. The sincerity of the British Government would be judged by the extent to which they were prepared to nationalise the army in India and transfer the control of the military to the hands of ministers responsible to the legislature.

*Mr. G. Venkataramana* (Coimbatore), in further supporting the resolution, said that the problem of the defence of India by Indians was the acid test of the sincerity of the British Government to grant Dominion status to India. Unless they had a complete voice in determining the military policy of India, the attainment of Dominion status would be a mirage.

*Mr. Mahboobul Haq* (Bengal) said that never before had the spectacle been witnessed of the destinies of a nation of 352 millions being shaped by a Parliament several thousands of miles away without its having in the determination of the policy. British statesmanship was like rubber: yielding to a strong pull, but retracting when the pull was relaxed. If the Indian nation had presented a united demand, the situation would have been different from what it was to-day. They must first get power transferred from Whitehall to India before fighting like kilkenny cats over its division. Now was the opportunity for the Liberal Party to step in and tell the people, "Sink your differences: what is offered is the shadow: let us unite and get the substance."

*Mr. M. D. Sahane* (U. P.) said that even the patience and optimism of the Liberal Party had been sorely tried by the White Paper proposals. It was the last straw on the camel's back and the resolution before them showed that even Liberals could at times become emotional. (Laughter). The White Paper introduced various systems of communal electorates among the womanhood of India. It was sowing the seed of an evil which they were now trying to get rid of in a new soil. The evil consequences were bound to be great and he appealed to them to condemn this. "We have been theorists too long," he said in conclusion. "We have been in an invidious position, spurned by the people, distrusted by the Government and suspected by the foreigner. Sir, let us now join together and ask other parties to join us in fighting Sir Samuel Hoaro's proposals regarding the White Paper and future Indian constitution."

*Mr. Ramaswami Sivan* said that the offer contained in the White Paper was like the offer of "something not eatable" to a person who asked for bread. He urged the House to adopt the resolution. "With due respect to our leaders," he said, I would say that, unless they adopt a militant aggressive policy and unless they worked actively from day to day, they could not achieve much."

*Mr. P. Narayana Kurup* said that, if the pronouncement of Mr. Chintamani was to be followed by action by the Liberal Party, he saw no reason for a new party in the land.

#### Exchange and Currency Policy

*Mr. H. D. Shroff* (Bombay) moved the next resolution which related to the exchange and currency policy of the Government. It ran as follows:—

"The Federation condemns the present currency and exchange policy of Government which, in its opinion, has largely accentuated the economic distress in the country and accords its fullest support to the country-wide demand for an immediate review of the Rupee sterling ratio and the adoption of prompt measures to meet the present situation entirely in the interests of India."

He said that the acute economic distress in the country had been accentuated by the currency and exchange policy followed by the British Government in India. He felt strongly that all the benefit of the British Government to India had been counteracted by the system of economic exploitation of this country carried on for generations past through the exchange and currency policy followed by the Government. The demand therefore made in this resolution was nothing but just and proper. The most proper and scientific thing to do now was to leave the rupee alone and allow it to find its level. There must be an immediate devaluation of the rupee and this was patent on account of the huge fall in prices of commodities. They had been told that India enjoyed fiscal autonomy. The keen competition of Japan and other countries in India bore ample testimony to the fact that no country could enjoy fiscal autonomy without that country having full control over its currency policy. Unless India had full control over its currency policy, all talk of fiscal autonomy was a snare and a sham.

*Mr. Jamal Mahomed Saheb* seconded the proposition. He said he was glad that politicians and political bodies were beginning to give this and similar economic questions more attention than they formerly used to. The main problem were that agriculturists who were the backbone of the economic system of the country were in very bad plight. It could not be said that all the country's ills were due to the ratio; but there was no gainsaying the fact that they had certainly been

aggravated by the monetary policy of the Government. In India, he felt the suffering was due not to over-production but to under-consumption due to the fall in purchasing power of the masses. That was why while there was plenty on the one hand, there was side by side starvation also. The agriculturist, the mainstay of the country, had run into heavy debts. His reserves of gold,—the accumulation of generations, were running out; and the drain of gold from the country was the indication of the great economic distress. The export trade was suffering greatly. India had to keep up a favourable balance of trade, and irrespective of her exports faring well or ill, changes year by year. But for the export of gold in recent years, the Indian Government would have been very badly off. Now there was only one way by which they could raise internal rupee values and at the same time keep the outlets for export intact: that was to devalue the rupee. They said the American attempt at devaluation was a failure. America was no analogy to India: the analogy was vitiated by several complexities peculiar to the American case. Why not cite the cases of Britain or Japan where depreciation had benefited the country. In all the world India was the only country with an appreciated currency now. Japan with its vastly depreciated yen had become a serious menace to Indian industries. America with its depreciated dollar would, he was sure, soon become a danger to their agriculture. The matter had become very urgent and he appealed to the House to pass the resolution unanimously.

In conclusion, he feared that the Viceroy or the Government of India had no discretion or real voice in this matter. But he would state that if Government continued their present policy they would be committing a blunder of the first magnitude. For no question had shaken the confidence of the people in the bona-fides of the Government as that particular question.

*Mr. M. D. Altekar*, in supporting the resolution, said that there could be no doubt that the currency and exchange policy of the Government had always been run in a manner in which the interests of India were not consulted. That policy had wrought havoc in the country. At the same time they should also note the fact that the world-wide depression indicated definitely that certain notions of economists had collapsed. One such notion was that there should be continuous rise in prices if a country was to be prosperous. Now this depression had demonstrated that the fact that the prosperity of a country could not be measured by the rod of continuous rise in prices, for the simple reason that there must be a limit, beyond which consumers could not pay higher prices. Another point he desired to refer to was that the interests of the masses of the country should not be sacrificed at the alter of the notion regarding continuous rise in prices. They should not confuse agriculturist interests with the ratio question. The raising of such a question was most misleading. He would also ask those interested on this question to consider the suggestion of abolishing the ratio altogether between England and India. Why should they not take away the rupee altogether?

#### Reduction of British Troops in India

*Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao* next moved a resolution regarding the question of reduction of British troops and the Report of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal. The resolution ran as follows:

(a) The Liberal Federation enters its emphatic protest against the decision of the British Government not to reduce the number of British troops in India, and strongly urges that immediate steps should be taken to nationalise the army in India within a fixed period of time.

(b) The Federation, while recognising that the recommendations of the Defence Expenditure Tribunal will lead to some reduction in the capitation charges, regards these charges as utterly unjust and objects on principle to their continuance.

(c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that relief should be given to Indian revenues not by means of Imperial subventions but in the following ways:

1. The size of the Indian army should be strictly determined by Indian needs;
2. The number of British soldiers should be progressively reduced with a view to their speedy elimination;

3. Capitation charges, which India should never have been required to pay, should be abolished.

*Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao*, moving the resolution, said that this question of the nationalisation of the Army in India was important not only from the point of

view of India's national self-respect but also from the point of view of Indian finance. This resolution focussed their attention on the financial aspect of Indianisation and recorded their protest against the findings of the Committee that enquired into these questions. Two points had been urged at the Round Table Conference viz., that the British troops should be reduced so as to eliminate the British element in the Indian army and secondly, that training institutions should be established in this country as early as possible so that Indians might be trained to shoulder their responsibility for the defence of the country without any further delay. One followed the other. It was now gathered that the Committee had recommended to the effect that there could be no reduction of the British troops in this country, at any rate for an indefinite period. Since the administration of India had been taken over by Queen Victoria from the East India Company, the army had increased gradually. The British section had not shown any corresponding increase, but on the other hand, had decreased. The figures were 28,000 British troops to 160,000 Indians in 1858, to-day there were 58,000 British troops to 158,000 Indians. Suspicion, mistrust and various other factors contributed to this. The fact that Great Britain wanted to keep a section of her army for imperial purposes in the East was also another reason. India had been complaining that a large part of her revenues was being consumed by the army. The question of reduction of British troops was thus of vital importance to Indian finance as well as to India's national self-respect. The resolution therefore urged that the British army should be reduced as early as possible and immediate steps should be taken to nationalise the army within a fixed period. The present question was whether the steps taken in consequence of the recommendations of the sub-committee were adequate. On that question, he could only say that the masterly minute of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer contained all that was possible to show the inadequacy of the step that Great Britain had taken to train Indians to shoulder the defence of this country.

The British army in India, the speaker said continuing, was part of the Imperial system. The British troops were required and kept here for certain Imperial purposes. They were not trained specially for Indian Service but were trained along with and were part of the British army. India had been protesting that the levy of these capitation charges was not legitimate but the protest had been unheeded for years, and it was a matter for the greatest regret that they could not derive any comfort from the recommendations of the committee that went into this question.

He understood that the Government of India had accepted the reasonableness of the charge levied. But nevertheless it was their duty to make a strong protest against this. The committee appeared to have recommended that in view of the admitted fact that the army in India had also to discharge certain imperial functions, India should be compensated by the payment of a compensation or subsidy of a million and a half pounds. But they had a feeling that once India accepted any system of a grants-in-aid, subsidy or subvention, they might be sure that the control of the British authorities on the Indian army would never be relaxed. They must object to this method. The only way in which relief should be granted to India would be, not by subventions or subsidies, but by gradual reduction of the British troops.

*Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, in seconding the resolution, said that though the report of the expert committee had not been yet published, the Government of India's recent communiqué on the Army services question was very unsatisfactory. It appeared from the communiqué that the proportion of British soldiers in the army would be the same as it was 75 years ago. It appeared that the British army must be maintained as the instrument of imperial policy. It was the true reason for the maintenance of British garrisons in India. The British soldiers were maintained here as the bulwark of British rule. It indicated that the Government of India, being alicius, unless there was a British garrison in this country, there was no security for their rule. Now the question was what were they to do in the present situation? The creation of an Indian army wholly manned by Indians was necessary for India if she were to attain full Dominion status. It could not be said that there was no martial spirit or capacity among the Indians. The history of Indians for initiative, notwithstanding the obstacles that they had to contend against and notwithstanding the means adopted to curb their martial zeal, for the last 75 years. They must agitate for the reduction of the ratio of British soldiers to Indian soldiers and there must be an increase of Indians in the King's commissioned officers.

The speaker next referred to the question of capitation charges. The maintenance of the British army in India did not merely hurt their self-respect and was a glaring symbol of the subjugation of India, but it also imposed a crushing financial burden upon the people of this country. They should tell the Government that this burden should be reduced. If the British army was maintained here for imperial purposes, at least decency required that the cost of training the British soldiers should be met by Britain.

The resolution was then put to the House and carried unanimously. The session then adjourned.

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## The U. P. Liberal Conference

Opening Day—Allahabad, 21st. October 1933.

The eighth session of the U. P. Liberal Conference commenced at Allahabad on the 21st. October 1933 under the presidency of Mr. A. P. Sen. In the course of his welcome address, Mr. Mehta Krishna Ram, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, said :—

"If the Government had heeded the warnings and listened to the advice of the experienced leaders of the Liberal Party and other men of goodwill, the powerful party which stands for complete independence and severance of the British connection and which has adopted the method of direct action for achieving this goal would not have come into existence. The very popularity of this party, which grew in numbers and influence in proportion to the efforts of the Government to repress and suppress, should have conveyed lesson and a warning to those who control Indian policy. But political wisdom has not dawned on them. Evidence of this lies in the scheme of constitutional changes adumbrated in the White Paper, which seeks to maintain and reinforce vested interests, alien as well as indigenous, which is calculated to set the classes against the masses and to perpetuate the communal factor in political and which, above all, through its plethora of safeguards and reservations, is designed to retain in British hands the essentials of power.

"It is in some respects even more reactionary than the existing constitution. The special powers of the Governor-General and the Governors will make them even greater autocrats than they are at present. In addition, the proposed constitution will be much more costly than the present one.

"Whether one looks at the provisions relating to recruitment and control of the superior Services, or to those relating to Finance and Commerce or Indianization of the army or the quite extraordinary powers of the Governor-General and the Governors or the constitution of the Legislatures, central as well as provincial, the conclusion is irresistible that what is offered is not responsible self-government, but a negation of it. It is not even stated that the promised constitution of such a mongrel and patently reactionary character is to be for a brief transitory period. The safeguards which India was solemnly assured by Lord Irwin, with the authority of His Majesty's Government would be demonstrably in India's interest do not answer this description. No scheme of reforms can satisfy any Indian patriot which does not give to the people the power to reduce public expenditure, civil as well as military, without of course repudiating any just liabilities and contractual obligations and to take all measures necessary, without let or hindrance from any outside authority, for the moral and material development of the country. The proposed constitution does not give this power and hence the White Paper proposals have aroused almost universal dissatisfaction and opposition.

"The Indian national problem is largely economic and if under the new dispensation, the old restrictions continue, the conditions, instead of improving, will become worse. Not only will it not be possible to reduce the salaries and cadre of the highly paid Services, the highest paid in the world, but the trappings and paraphernalia of a democratic form of Government, without the substance of power, will cost the tax-payer immensely more. The unpleasant duty and responsibility of

collecting taxes will rest on the shoulders of the popular representatives, while the purse-strings will be effectively controlled by irresponsible authorities. Such a constitution cannot arouse enthusiasm. It can only cause dismay and alarm".

Proceeding, the Chairman observed that incalculable loss and suffering had been caused to the teeming millions of India by the Government's currency policy and unless it was revised as urged by the Indian economists and by the representatives of Indian business, the problem of agricultural indebtedness and poverty would remain unsolved.

### The Presidential Address

In the course of his Presidential Address, Mr. A. P. Sen said :—

"The constitution proposed in the White Paper is certainly not Dominion Status nor any real self-Government. It is a catalogue of safeguards rather than proposal for real autonomy."

"There has been a dramatic change for the worse" continued Mr. Sen "since the advent of the Conservative Party and the expression "Dominion Status" has carefully been avoided. He then criticised the various aspects of the White Paper and said: "I deplore separate electorates more than the British domination has to be maintained, no better means could be devised than separate electorates. The scheme makes no provision for self development. We are not the architects of our own destiny, but suppliants before another nation for favour. No self-respecting Indian can help feeling humiliation for such an abject position."

Proceeding, Mr. Sen pleaded for communal unity and reconstruction of Hindu society whose numbers were gradually dwindling. Unless the Hindu Society looked sharp, remarked Mr. Sen, its majority would before long be reduced to a minority,

Mr. Sen praised Mahatma Gandhi for his Harijan movement and wished him success. Revolutionary violence, according to Mr. Sen, was morally sinful and politically indefensible. "It should be our endeavour to reclaim raw and impressionable youths from the path of peril."

Concluding Mr. Sen appealed to the Congressmen to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement and urged for a union of the progressive parties. He was not one of those, said he, who held that no good had come out of the British connection with India."

### Resolutions—2nd. Day—22nd. October 1933.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference :—

#### RECENT LOSSES

The United Provinces Liberal Conference records its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Dr. Annie Besant. She served India and humanity with rare devotion and will always live in the hearts of the people of this country as a valiant fighter and champion of popular liberties.

The conference places on record its sense of loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hussan Imam and of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, and it offers its sympathy and condolences to the members of the bereaved families.

#### STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY

This conference expresses its dissatisfaction with the proposals for the future administration of railways which will prevent Indians from exercising effective control over railway policy and expenditure. The new railway authority should be established by an Act of the Indian legislature as was agreed to by the Consultative Committee in Delhi. All its members be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Government and it should be presided over by the Minister in charge of Railways.

#### TRANSFER OF ADEN

The U. P. Liberal Conference protests against the proposed transfer of the civil administration of Aden to the control of the Colonial office.

#### SWADESHI

(a) This Conference emphasizes the supreme importance of the Swadeshi movement, exhorts the people to support, even at a sacrifice, the products of home

industry in preference to imported goods and urges the Government to encourage and support the movement in every possible manner.

(b) The conference urges the Government of India not to allow Indian interests to be subordinated to those of Lancashire or Japan in the negotiations now going on between them and the representatives of those countries.

#### PRINCES' PROTECTION BILL

The resolution on the Princes' Protection Bill, moved *Mr. Chintamani* ran in the following terms :—

The U. P. Liberal Conference protests against the Princes' Protection Bill now before the Legislature as it unjustifiably restricts the freedom of the press still more.

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION

*Dr. Narayan Prasad Asthana* next moved :—

(a) This Conference deeply regrets the Government's repressive policy which by its unjustifiable harshness has added to the discontent of the country. The Conference considers it unwise on the part of the Viceroy to have refused an interview to Mahatma Gandhi and disapproves of the Government policy of 'no-compromise' with the Congress. The Conference is convinced that only a policy which frankly recognizes India's right to full responsible government qualified during a brief and fixed period of transition only by safeguards demonstrably in the interests of India will improve the relations between Britain and India and bring about full contentment in this land. It earnestly urges as a first step towards a policy of conciliation the release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence and the repeal of the repressive laws.

(b) The conference disapproves of the continuance of the policy of civil disobedience which stands in the way of a united political action by all-progressive parties.

(c) The conference protests against the action of the Government in transferring political prisoners to the Andaman Islands whose abandonment as a penal settlement had, for very good reasons, been decided upon by the Government as long ago as 1921, and demands that the political prisoners who have already been sent there should be repatriated to India without further delay and that an impartial enquiry be made into the circumstances which led to the death of three of the prisoners who went on hunger-strike.

#### INDIANS ABROAD

*Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru* next moved the following resolution :—

(a) This conference strongly condemns the demands which the European settlers of Kenya, encouraged by the discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and their representative, have put forward for acquiring control over the Government of Kenya. It urges that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Governments should not be departed from and that no further constitutional power be transferred to the European settlers either by the institution of a Finance Committee with an unofficial European majority as proposed by them, or in any other way.

(b) This conference presses the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indians in Kenya with special care in the present circumstances. It further draws their attention to the complaint of the East African Indians that with the ostensible object of improving African agriculture, monopolies are being granted to Europeans, specially in Uganda and Tanganyika, for the purchase of special agricultural products from the Africans and that Indians are consequently being driven out of a business in which they were pioneers and have been engaged for decades past. The conference urges the Government of India to take early steps to investigate and obtain redress for this grievance.

(c) This conference extends its whole-hearted support to the Indians of South Africa in their just fight for their elementary rights and assures them that India will always be behind them in their struggle to uphold the honour of the Motherland and protect the interests of Indian nationals.

#### The White Paper

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani* next moved :—

(a) The United Provinces Liberal Conference places on record its sense of profound dissatisfaction with the proposals of constitutional advance embodied in the

White Paper and with the efforts that are being made in the Joint Select Committee to make them even more illiberal. The White Paper proposals make no real or substantial transfer of power to responsible Indian governments and provide no method whereby India might be prepared to take over the control of the reserved subjects. The scheme is permeated with distrust of Indians and Indian capacity and is overloaded with safeguards both at the centre and in the provinces which are much more in the interests of England than of India. The proposals in their present form will neither satisfy Indian opinion nor bring about any improvement in the political situation.

(b) In the opinion of this Conference no scheme which, while meeting the immediate demands and requirements of India, does also provide for automatic development to full responsibility and equality of status with the Dominions within a short period fixed in the statute itself will satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent.

(c) This Conference adheres to the following resolution of the last session of the National Liberal Federation :

#### INTRODUCTORY

(A) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the 'Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform' embodied in the White Paper of March, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are overweighted by safeguards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period, but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Government.

#### DOMINION STATUS

(B) The Federation desire to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

#### ALL-INDIA FEDERATION

(C) (i) The Federation is strongly in favour of All-India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and the Indian States and on lines consistent with responsible government, and appeals to the Ruling Princes and the British Government to take all steps necessary to bring this about without avoidable delay, and almost synchronously with the reform of provincial government.

(ii) The Federation cannot approve of the conditions laid down as precedent to the inauguration of the Federation as they make for undue delay, and are neither necessary nor reasonable. It does not accept the prior establishment and successful functioning of a reserve bank as an essential condition of federation and responsible government. And it disapproves still more of the further stipulation that 'general, financial, economic and political conditions' must be favourable.

(iii) In addition the Federation urges that the All-India Federal constitution should come into being as soon as indispensable preliminary arrangements are completed automatically as the new provincial constitutions, and fresh approval by the British Parliament must not be necessary.

(iv) In the opinion of the Federation the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should continue to be exercised by the Governor-General and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.

#### FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

(D) The Federation is strongly of opinion that a body of fundamental rights of federal citizenship, applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation should be a part of the Constitution Act.

#### RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR BRITISH INDIA

(E) If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialize or be unduly delayed, there should be responsible central government for British India concurrently with "provincial autonomy" without prejudice to the effectuation of All-India Federation at the earliest date thereafter.

### CONTROL FROM ENGLAND

(F) (i) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Governments in India by his Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.

(ii) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to the subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures for the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion affairs.

(iii) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purposes.

### POWERS OF GOVERNORS AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL

(G) The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of government, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of the opinion that these proposals if carried into effect will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autocrats than at present.

### DEFENCE ~

(H) (i) While the Federation consents to the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of Defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper as they will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of the transition.

(ii) The Federation further urges that his Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the nationalization of the army within a period of twenty years and for the progressive reduction of British troops in India with a view to their elimination as early as possible. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers.

(iii) The Federation strongly urges that reenlistment to the Indian Army instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes, should be thrown open to all communities and provinces.

(iv) The amount of expenditure on defence should be fixed every five years by a committee of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over that amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event of hostilities on the Frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the Legislatures. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it.

### FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

(1) While the Federation approves of a bi-cameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that:—

(i) The strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper.

(ii) There should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General;

(iii) All the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the States as a transitory measure for a fixed period;

(iv) The responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both houses assembled in joint session;

(v) A two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of the motion of no-confidence.

(vi) The representatives of the States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and the decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects;

(vii) The Council of State should have a right of considering demands for grants or money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited as that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911:

(viii) The Governor-General should have the power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both houses of the Legislature, and

(ix) The Governor-General should not have the power of certifying a demand or any part of a demand for grant when it has been refused in whole or in part by the Assembly.

#### FINANCIAL

(J) (i) The Federation, fully concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Minister, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve large and excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of powerlessness in the disposal of the bulk of it.

#### SAFEGUARDS

(ii) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed financial safeguards are both unnecessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion governments and legislatures.

#### COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

(K) (i) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British nationals doing or seeking to do business with India, cannot support the White Paper proposals against commercial discrimination as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may in their judgment be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development.

(ii) In this point of view the Federation must object to the power proposed to be given to the Governor-General, whether in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of external relations, to over-ride the will of the legislatures of the Government.

#### STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY

(L) The Federation objects to the creation of statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive the future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the tax-payer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.

#### FEDERAL AND SUPREME COURTS

(M) The Federation is of opinion,

(i) That the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and  
(ii) That provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal for British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself.

#### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TRANSITORY POWERS

(N) The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the constitution of the central government in the interval between the introduction of 'provincial autonomy' and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reactionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be decidedly worse than the present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.

### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

(O) The Liberal Federation is constrained to remark on the unreal nature of the so-called 'provincial autonomy' as outlined in the White Paper in view of the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of finance, legislation and administration and it objects to them without the least hesitation.

### COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

(P) The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at its previous session against separate communal electorates, and deeply regrets the further perpetuation for the time being of such electorates not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new Constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage wherever necessary in joint electorates.

### WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

(Q) (i) The Federation protests against the modifications for the worse made by his Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.

### WOMEN AND COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

(ii) And it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organizations to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.

### THE SERVICES

(R) (i) The Federation has read with amazement the most reactionary and objectionable proposals of his Majesty's Government regarding the Services, proposals contrary in the main to the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference and never placed before any of the three conferences for consideration. These proposals would in the opinion of the Federation reduce provincial autonomy and responsible government to a mockery, and should be abandoned if the coming Constitution is to have of chance of success.

(ii) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment and control and determining the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents ; and recruitments of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices, and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service.

### AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

(S) The Constitution Act should vest in the future legislature of India the right to amend its provisions subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

### CONCLUSION

(T) In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, aggravate the present unhappy condition, further alienate opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and wide-spread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measures of real reform on the line of Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations will alone meet India's requirements and satisfy the national self-respect of the people of India.

## RESERVE BANK BILL

*Dr. D. L. Dubey*, professor in Meerut College, next moved the following resolution :—

(a) The U. P. Liberal Conference urges the members of the Central Legislature to strive by every means in their power to bring about such changes in the provisions of the Reserve Bank Bill as will ensure a real and effective Indian control over the Indian Reserve Bank.

(b) This Conference specially urges the following points for the consideration of the select committee on the Reserve Bank Bill :—

(i) Reduction in value of the shares from Rs. 500 to Rs. 100 so that there may be a wider distribution of shares ;

(ii) A substantial increase in the number of members of the Local Board which will elect the members of the Board of Directors ;

(iii) Appointment of nominated Directors and the Governor—to be made by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Government which will take into consideration the recommendations of the Board of Directors with regard to the appointment of the Governor.

(c) This Conference disapproves of the liberal terms which have been proposed to be granted to the Imperial Bank for a further period of 25 years and thinks that the concessions will jeopardize the growth of indigenous Joint Bank in India.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. P. L. Jaitly (Allahabad) and adopted.

## AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS

*Rao Raja Rai Bahadur Pandit Sham Behari Misra* (Lucknow) moved :—

(a) While welcoming the effect which are being made for the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the United Provinces, this Conference is of opinion that the bills now before the Legislative Council will not achieve the object aimed at but may make the position of landlord and tenants even worse than it is unless further measures are introduced with the least possible delay to enable them to obtain credit on reasonable terms.

(b) Further this conference strongly urges the introduction without delay of a scheme for the settlement of the debts of agriculturists on lines set forth by Mr. Gokhale in the Indian Legislative Council in 1906 and also an adequate reduction of rent and revenue rendered the more necessary by the changed economic conditions which have affected landlords and tenants with special severity.

The resolution was seconded by *Munshi Gaiadhar Prasad*, (Allahabad). Before putting the resolution to the Conference the president said that *Rai Rajeswar Bali* who was to have proposed this resolution had unfortunately to leave on account of unavoidable causes, but *Rai Rajeshwar Bali* had authorized him to mention to them on his behalf that the resolution had his heartiest support. The resolution was then adopted.

## UNTOUCHABILITY

*Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh*, (Rae Bareli), next moved :—

(a) This Conference accords its whole-hearted support to the movement for the uplift of the Harijans and removal of untouchability inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and calls upon the people to do everything in their power for the complete success of this nation-wide effort.

(b) This Conference protests against the failure of the Government of the United Provinces to help the U. P. Board of the Servants of Untouchables Society and against their attempts to weaken for political reasons, the movement for bringing about concord between the Harijans and the higher caste Hindus.

(c) This Conference accords its approval to the principles underlying the legislative measures on behalf of the depressed classes which are now before the Indian Legislature.

The resolution was seconded by *Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru* (Fyzabad) and adopted. The Session then adjourned.

# The Maharashtra Democratic Swaraj Party

The following statement was issued by *Jamnadas M. Metha*, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All Maharashtra Political Conference :—

A meeting of representative leaders and workers from Bombay City, Suburbs and the districts of Thana and Kolaba was held on Wednesday the 30th. August to consider the present political situation in the country and to devise ways and means for finding a way out of the deadlock. Some leaders from Poona were present at the meeting, and letters of sympathy and support were also received from public men from several districts of Maharashtra. The meeting was continued on the 9th and 16th September. At the last meeting the Berars were also represented.

After a full, careful and prolonged discussion, it was decided that a political party to be called the Democratic Swaraj Party should be established in the first instance for the eleven districts of Maharashtra, the Central Provinces and the Berars; and that the goal of the party should be the attainment by the people of India of complete independence (*purna swarajya*) by all legitimate and peaceful means. The party will advocate for the people of the Indian States the same form of political constitution and the same rights and privileges within the States territories as might obtain with British Indian provinces. A provisional programme of work has been drafted. The party is to be a thoroughly nationalist, non-communal and radical group working for the attainment of India's freedom and although at present it is to be confined to Greater Maharashtra, it is intended that it should later on be developed into an All-India Party having similar policy and programme.

The economic programme of the party defines the place that the peasantry and the working classes are to occupy in the party's programme. There is little doubt that the programme will do the fullest justice to the masses. Although the creed of the party is to be identical with that of the Indian National Congress, the membership of the party will be open to non-Congress-men also who may be prepared to accept the party's policy and programme,

The central objective of the proposed party is to secure political power for the people in a free India; and the party will adopt all legitimate political methods to achieve that end. The preliminary meetings that were held have left no room for doubt that many leading workers in Maharashtra are thinking more or less on these lines; and that the forthcoming Conference will receive the support of a large body of public opinion in Bombay and Greater Maharashtra.

The formal inauguration of the party will be made during the session of this Conference on the 28th and 29th of October next.

The party is not to be called upon to repudiate the principle of direct action; at the same time the organisers of the conference are quite clear that in the existing circumstances of the country, any resort to civil disobedience, mass or individual, is out of the question.

## DRAFT ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The following is the draft economic programme of the proposed party :

1. The party will advocate the vesting of complete control of the Currency and Exchange policy of the country in the Legislature. This will include the formation of a Reserve Bank, which will be owned by the State and which will co-ordinate the Currency and Credit mechanisms for the stabilization of prices, fixity of exchange, extension of banking and the support of trade and industry.

2. The party believes that free trade is the best system for the exchange of commodities and services between nations and nations, but as India has not been under a National Government for about two hundred years, and as her economic interests have seriously suffered by being subordinated to those of Britain, a policy of discriminating protection for our industries is inevitable for several years to come, to make up for lost ground. Even thereafter it will not be possible to revert to free trade absolutely on account of the aggressive economic nationalism which is now the accepted policy of Governments almost all over the world; but such

protection as might still be found necessary will be given with due regard to the welfare of the workers and the interests of the consumers as also the wider interests of the State itself.

3. The party will do all that lies in its power to relieve the crushing burden of indebtedness which has ruined the agriculturists, and which is a result of heavy land taxes and drive the peasantry into the arms of the usurious money lenders. Land mortgage banks, Co-operative financing and other measures calculated to relieve the ryots and to improve their standard of life will receive the most sympathetic attention of the party.

4. The party will stand for a living wage for the industrial workers and for reduction in working hours to ensure adequate leisure for them. A system of unemployment, sickness and maternity benefits together with old-age pensions will be advocated by the party. The party will also be prepared to examine the question of nationalisation of such industries as may be ripe for immediate nationalisation.

5. The party believes that with adult franchise and equal opportunities for all in the matter of education, the so-called untouchables will receive the full status of citizenship; and every other measure that will place them on a footing of perfect equality with other citizens will receive the support of this party.

6. The party will investigate the system of taxation now in force and will seek so to alter it that the incidence of taxation may become just and equitable and the liability to pay taxation may be made proportionate to the ability to bear it.

## The Maharashtra Political Conference

Opening Day—Bombay, 28th October 1933

A severe indictment of the present Congress policy was made by all speakers in Bombay, on the 28th October, at the opening of the All Maharashtra Political Conference called by the Democratic Swaraj party when an appeal was made to revive the Congress, and make it function fully.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, chairman of the reception committee, described the present Congress policy as a conspiracy of silence and inaction and declared that the first and foremost duty of the country before its energy can be released into fruitful channels was to break the spell of Mahatma Gandhi. He said, if necessary, they were willing to form a separate party from the Congress.

Urging a change in the present Congress programme, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in the opening address, said there would be no necessity of starting new political parties if Congress reconsiders the situation openly and adopts Council entry as an item of its programme. The solution of the present problems depended entirely upon effective manipulation of the legislative machine.

A young man who obtained admission as a delegate tried to interrupt Mr. Jamnadas Mehta while the latter was delivering the welcome address, but the youth was summarily silenced by the audience. About 200 delegates attended the Conference.

Dr. Ramrao Deshmukh, president, made a forcible appeal for working the Councils. He said the Councils form and provide a training ground for the art of democratic government.

### Mr. Kelkar's Opening Address

The following is the text of Mr. N. C. Kelkar's opening address :—

Gentlemen.—Before proceeding to make my opening speech for this Conference, it becomes my mournful duty to refer to the death of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, the well-known nationalist and the first elected President of the supreme Legislative Assembly of India. Mr. Patel, as you all know, exchanged legal practice for public life, at an early stage of his life, and achieved great success. He first brought himself to public notice in the Bombay Legislative Council, and kept up the lead he got there throughout his life as well as the legislatures. He was a member of

both the pre-reform Legislative Council, at Delhi, and again entered it in 1924 as a member of the Congress Swarajya Party, along with Pandit Motilal Nehru and some of us from the Maharashtra. In 1925 he was first elected President of the Assembly and again in 1927. In that office he proved a great bulwark to the people's cause. Subtle, skilful, audacious and astute, he was regarded on both sides of the House as a power for good or evil : and all the good that he did, was unquestionably to his own country. He did good work as Secretary of the Congress Deputation in England in 1919, and since then off and on he did quite an amount of useful foreign propaganda for India. In Bombay City, as you all know, he proved a very competent president of the Corporation. His last words were those of a prayer for early attainment by India of her political freedom ; and I am quite sure that he would have enthusiastically approved of our move for this new political party, because he always thoroughly appreciated the use that can be made of all constituted legal bodies, as well as illegal bodies, for the advancement of the people's cause against foreign rulers. I would request you to get up in your places to show your respect for this great son of India, before I further proceed with my speech.

I feel grateful to you for according to me the privilege of opening this Conference. I must tell you at the outset that I do not open this Conference as a mere 'distinguished visitor.' An English friend recently defined a 'Distinguished visitor at a Political Conference' as "an extinguished politician." But I feel I do not fall under any of those two categories. Neither meteoric blaze nor extinction is in my line. I am an humble worker in the field of politics. And I hope to remain such a worker to the last day of my life. Of course, the toll demanded by age must be paid. A man of 62, who was continually drudged for over 37 years, may be allowed a little rest, a little relaxation from energetic pursuits, and a little diversion from the regular routine of public affairs. And for that reason I have joined in the Reception Committee's request to my young and energetic friend, Mr. Ramarao Deshmukh, to take upon himself the onerous duties of presiding over this Conference. Even in the event of the Conference fructifying in the formation of a new Political Party, I have decided not to take up any office in the Party, though I shall certainly remain a member of it. For whether I can or cannot hereafter take an active and energetic part in the affairs of any political organisation, I hold definite views upon the present political situation in the country ; and I never consider skin-saving silence as the better part of political valour. In fact I feel oppressed by the conspiracy of silence among our public men, that has suffused the political atmosphere and made it unbearable.

#### THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

The Poona Conference has come and gone without any tangible results. The mass civil disobedience has been suspended under high authority ; and we all see how even individual civil disobedience has fared. Desperate endeavours are being made in private to keep up the trial of the Civil Disobedience Movement blazing up however dimly. And one must appreciate the handful of men, who conscientiously and cheerfully vindicate their personal loyalty to leaders, by going to jail in the name of the civil disobedience movement for the simple reason that they—the leaders—still keep on giving empty blessings to it, and wishing it a vicarious success. But the curtain was practically rung down on the movements by the hands of the Dictators of the Congress, as the mass of the people in the country were terrorised by the repressive measures of Government which were running a parallel course with civil disobedience movement. It was certainly the best part of wisdom, therefore, on their part, to call off the mass movement. And as for stray individuals, going in for the movement, they naturally do not count, when the big question is considered as to what political activity may be taken up in hand by the people at large in the place of the civil disobedience movement.

Nature does not favour a vacuum in politics as much as in the special element. I can appreciate the spirit of non-co-operation which can be made really effective. But the only way to make it effective now is through the elector himself. A new potential entity is being created in Indian political life in the form and shape of an elector. And as you cannot annihilate him for practical purposes, the next best way is to use him for carrying out all your wise and patriotic designs. The elector is, the Government seemed to think, a new sword that is being forged by Parliament to slaughter the present leaders of political thought in India. But if Government find the steel for the sword, let us find the chemical solution which will give it the proper edge and temper we want. With an extensively widened franchise, the future

elector is going to closely approximate to the elemental or fundamental man in the country, on whom you have got to rely on all your political activity, whether of the constructive or destructive kind. Was not this the fellow-countryman on whom you depended when you plumped for Non-co-operation and civil disobedience? And if at the end of twenty months' battle you have discovered that the masses have been terrorised, and if for that reason you have deliberately called off Mass Civil Disobedience, what new work are you now going to give them in the political field?

Indeed, we have taught ourselves to create new political values in "Khaddar", and removal of untouchability etc. But it would not be wise to exaggerate their importance towards a work-a-day political life.

#### NEED FOR WORK IN LEGISLATURES

With the Civil Disobedience Movement, left open only for very select individuals, who may be sufficiently advanced in the Yogic way of stern discipline, selflessness, and mental obliviousness of the objective world, what work are you going to get out of the masses whom you have released from that onerous obligation? The work of producing Khaddar and the removal of Untouchability are surely enough to take up either the whole of their time or the whole of their energy. Also they have other political problems on hand. They want land credit banks in order to be freed from indebtedness. They want practical industrial and free and compulsory education. They want amelioration of the lot and economic condition of the peasant and worker. They want things to be made helpful to the indigenous producer by an equitable fixation of the ratio of their rupee to gold which alone counts in international economic transactions. They want taxation to be reinvestigated and its incidence to be equitably adjusted as between the richer and the poorer classes. They want military education. But sparing you a tedious repetition of the numerous common places of the present political problem, I would simply ask you whether you can seriously tell me, that a solution of these problems, which depends entirely upon an effective manipulation of the legislative machine, can be obtained only by a more intensive education of the people, in Non-co-operation, which means as at present only a sullen static aloofness from the political machine? The machine will work you, encompass you, and crush you, if you do not make a move rather to grasp it and at least obstruct its injurious working, even if you could not effectively control it. It is unwise to leave a Motor unattended in the road, with its Engine in operation, though the brakes may seem to be put on. The brakes often fail. And if the Motor starts the best way is to jump into it and take the wheel in your hands for all it may be worth. I know it will be said, on the other side, that the new reforms will not allow you to freely use the wheel. But the representatives of the electors, invited to come and sit by the side of the official driver, could obstruct, if so determined, and interfere so as to prevent injury being done to their interests, if they could not positively control the entire working of the wheel. Definite lead has been given under very high authority for constructive work being taken up as a substitute for Civil Disobedience. There is absolutely no difference of opinion as to some of the well-recognised items of the constructive programme. The only debatable question seems to be whether Council-entry may be legitimately or validly regarded as also part of the same programme. This matter alone seems to cause trouble. And there would be no necessity of starting new political parties if our friends of the Congress reconsider the situation once more, and openly adopt Council entry as an item of their own programme. That would be the surest way to rally all old Congress-men under the banner of the Congress once more, as of old. But unfortunately the revealed world with a capital W. of one Dictator in the high chancellery of the Congress, quite unnecessarily mentioned, in statement, of his, Council entry alone for specific condemnation; as if that was a mortal enemy of the country. Swan-songs should not be animated by such preferential hatred. They should end in a prayer for "Peace on earth and goodwill to all mankind." This special dispensation of condemnation of Council-entry could not, by any means, put any premium upon the continuation of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Nor was it remembered that the Temple Entry Bill, new sent for circulation for eliciting public opinion, is coming back into the Central Legislature, as boomerang upon the head of those very people who enthusiastically consigned the Legislative Councils to perdition. It is a fine irony certainly to try to obtain a Temple-Entry Bill for the Untouchables through Legislatures which are themselves to remain Untouchables! Oao wonders which is the really lucid interval,

whether the one in which use is so sought to be made of Couocils, or the one in which they are declared anathema!

How anxiously I long for the day when our friends on the other side will give up this specially cultivated but most irrational hatred of the Councils! In the race for the call for Democracy, the Congress has gone headlong even for adult suffrage! That full dose of Democracy will be long in coming. But the first instalment is near at hand. The new elector is already being formed and fashioned. He will be at least 14 p. c. of the population. And the Congress must make up its mind, once for all, that whatever it wants the country to do, by way of political work and movement and agitation, must be obtained through and at the hands of the new electorate. You may aspire to set yourself up as their guide, friend and philosopher. But the actual dispensation will be a matter for 'his' seal and signature. You might train him to effectively use his vote for all that may coaduce to his national welfare. Even if you want the reforms to be scrapped, it is the elector alone who may do it. But one touch of common vital interest makes the whole world kin. Some of you have disclosed the vulnerable heel of the Congress Achilles, in failing to resist the temptation to take the untouchability propaganda right up to and into the Legislatures. You would, therefore, be well advised to think twice before you repeat this mistake of declaring Connell-boycott a second time. The peasant, worker, agriculturist and the youth leaguer will simply laugh at you and call you a hypocrite for your paias.

#### WORK BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

Now I shall turn to the work before this Conference.

It is as well for any body to openly declare one's views when there is orientation of new work, and a new programme. I would, therefore, state as follows, for myself and in my individual capacity.

(1) The ideal stated in the first article of the creed, which I have signed along with the other members of this Conference, is of course the ultimate ideal. It does not mean an immediate ideal or goal. For, the word immediate and the word goal or ideal are self-contradictory terms. Nothing can conceivably be more ultimate, from one aspect, than Independence for a people considered as a political State. But the 'ultimate' will never be reached in respect of good government, as we see in the case of Nations who have already achieved absolute Independence. Universal history tells us how certain stages are necessary in the realisation of ultimate ideal in polities.

All political parties, including the Congress, I venture to think, are for the present unanimous in holding the view that it is through a Parliamentary Statute in the first instance, at any rate, that they expect to obtain whatever they regard as an adequate measure of the political reforms to start with. The idea of getting the needed advance in political status and liberty, through a Parliamentary statute, necessarily means that what you will get by that Parliamentary statute will not be the absolute independence that you aspire after. A high Congress authority has made himself responsible for accepting substance of independence to start with, if it can be obtained as a matter of a treaty from the Parliament. This means that the ideal will have to pass through certain progressive stages of which, however, India legitimately claims herself to be the judge and not British Government. The Dominion Status, as contained in the Westminster Statute, may, therefore, be openly stated as something which we immediately claim, but which is not technically complete independence. Countries like Ireland or Egypt are already practically on the eve of independence and are struggling for the severance of the ties which bind them to England. England, on the other hand, has made it clear to her colonies that they can claim to be independent at any moment, provided that they remain as friends and co-workers; and India on her part can certainly assure England that she too would, as Mahatma Gandhi says, like to remain a good friend of England and co-operate with her in realising the world-welfare, provided England make no trouble about India ultimately getting independence like the colonies.

(2) As regards the constructive programme I have all along co-operated, and will all along co-operate, with other Congressmen in the same. And I believe, that if a new Party is to be formed it will certainly include well recognised items of the work in its programme though it will of course reserve to itself the right to use those methods alone of carrying out the work as the Party may decide upon. Specifically I may mention that though I stand whole-heartedly for the removal of untouchability in all its aspects, I am against coercing the orthodox classes by

Legislation for this purpose. I am a nationalist by instinct and temperament, and I hope that even the orthodox community can be won over by persuasion to do what is necessary.

#### CONFLICT OF CLASS INTERESTS

(3) With regard to the conflict of class-interests, I would like to state in general terms that I have no fads in hand, and do not hold any exclusively class-conscious views. All classes, now built upon an economic or political basis, are the results of natural evolution of factors and processes in operation during the last so many centuries. But, of course, they cannot resist the commanding call of the country for change, either in their status or in the grip of their interests over other classes. But, I believe, in the principle of an equitable reconciliation of what may appear to be conflicting interests in any problem. The loss of economic interests, if forced or inflicted for the good of the society at large, can be made up by economic compensation, and on that basis an equitable adjustment between different class interests may legitimately become a subject for legislation.

(4) I wish the Congress will not so soon be called upon to become a proclaimed partisan in the country. I hope it will not start the process of disintegration by expressing partiality for particular interests, economic and political. I think, it is necessary to obtain first a certain definite workable measure of political power in hand, before we can think of taking extreme measures of social legislation, though in the meanwhile the process of reconciling conflict of interests should be seriously taken up in hand by the Congress, and the maximum amount of help and co-operation should be secured from as many classes and interests in the country as possible for a fight with Government.

5. I am neither a pessimist nor an optimist by nature. My principle of political philosophy is that of Pragmatism and Meliorism. I attach greater importance to actual experience, and ideals based on them, rather than any *a priori* principles.

6. I know that views like mine cannot be dazzling or even attractive for some people. Perhaps they do not afford adequate scope or suitable setting for the powers and energies of leaders, required for their presentation or propaganda by political leaders, who are victims to obsession by some particular idea. But "Honesty is after all the best policy" even in political opinion. It is absolutely a secondary matter whether with your honest views you get only a limited theatre for action. The heroic view expressed by Mr. Gandhi on a number of occasions is well-known viz., that he is prepared to live, if it be necessary to stand by his principles, in the minority of one. But heroes is not in my line, and I have the satisfaction of having quite a large number of people on my side who hold and appreciate my views.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC SWARAJYA PARTY

Finally, I would like to say a word about the relations between the Indian National Congress and the prospective Democratic Swarajya Party, if it comes into existence. You may, of course, take my views as strictly my own personal views. I have been a member of the Congress since 1895. I am still a member of the Congress. For some years I was President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the All-India Congress Committee from 1917 till 1930. I was a member of the Working Committee itself for some three or four years. In 1930 I was called upon to resign my membership of the Provincial as well as the All-India Committee by the Congress President, Mr. J. Nehru, for the reason that I was a member of the legislature.

So far for myself. As for my party, I was a member of three political parties since 1919. Two of these were parties within the Congress. The party of 1919 called itself the Congress Democratic Party. The party of 1924 was the Congress Swarajya Party. The party of 1926 could not be called a "Congress" Responsivist Party for the reason that the condition of being a member of the Congress was not insisted upon persons joining this party from the Bombay city area. The condition, however, was insisted upon in the whole of the rest of India; and we had in that party a sprinkling of persons outside the Bombay Presidency. You will thus see that the word Congress was dropped from the title of the Responsivist Party, only as a matter of a technical and logical consideration. And I can prove is that 95 p. c. of members of even that party were members of the Congress.

But now other considerations have arisen. (1) The Ordinance Rajya will naturally dissuade certain persons from knowing that they are members of the Congress

bodies which are declared illegal. (2) During the last seven years many young men have entered into public life. They were never before members of the Congress; nor can you reasonably expect to ask these friends to become formal members of the Congress under the present conditions, simply for joining the party. Are we to reject these new recruits to political life? (3) It is all very well to say that one may wait and work within the Congress and obtain a majority for Council entry, but should not raise the standard of revolt against the Congress by forming a party of which a non-Congressman may not be a member! But in the first place most of the Congress bodies are extinct, and the question whether the Congress itself exists or not for practical purposes is a moot question worthy of the Indian *Naiyayikas* or the School men who seriously debated the number of angels that could dance upon the point of a needle. And lastly, to speak frankly, I have wholly despaired of the high Pontiff of non-co-operation changing his views about Council-entry. A leopard may sooner change his spots than the Mahatma his views in this respect. As for his followers there are two classes. One class agrees with him in sincerely believing in the futility of the Council work. But the other class, though agreeing with us on the other side on the Council question, will not themselves make a move in the Congress or even make a declaration of their sincere views on the Council question merely out of sentimental regard for their loyalty to Mr. Gandhi. As for myself, Mr. Gandhi chafes me, whenever I meet him, as being his enemy. I reply that a lesser role satisfies me. I am nothing more than his political opponent. I never owned or professed any personal loyalty to him at any time, though of course I have a certain measure of regard for his non-political qualities, which however do not make him commit some of his famous irrational acts. Then the only question remains about any specific loyalty to my principles about Council-entry and my general loyalty to the Congress, which I still consider as the premier political body in the country. But if driven uncharitably to make a last choice between the two loyalties, I would choose the one to my principles. This catchword or idea about loyalty to the Congress can be easily run to death. Then, again, it looks likely that, if the Congress is not already dead it may soon meet with that lamentable fate, if certain clouds of economic programmes that are now being formed in the U. P. are pushed on in the name of the Congress, to the point of an open class-war.

#### CONCLUSION

I have dwelt at length on the point of my relations with the Congress, simply because a clear statement of my views is, in my own opinion, necessary at this time. But I shall conclude with this assurance that when the ordinances are withdrawn and the Congress Committees are legally rehabilitated, I shall be the first to suggest to the new party that it may then revise the conditions of its membership and make the membership of the Congress a condition of the membership of the party itself, which need not be insisted upon at the present moment for obvious reasons. With these words I declare that the conference is opened, and request the chairman of the Reception Committee to proceed to the election of the President of the Conference.

#### The Presidential Address

Presiding over the Conference, Mr. Brahminwadi Ramarao Deshmukh, Minister, Central Provinces, entered at the outset a vigorous defence of starting a new party. To contemplate a new party, it was not to deny the services of those who had made unparalleled sacrifices in the motherland's cause nor was it denying Mahatma Gandhi the position he had earned for himself in Indian politics.

The speaker next dwelt with council-entry. The boycott of councils left a very important strategic position on the fighting front in the hands of the enemy to be exploited against us in the recent fight and that policy was a serious blunder. Let us, however, hope that now at least all such talk about councils was really the history of the past. Though Ireland was hardly any parallel to India's case, yet De Valera's efforts should open their eyes if our constitution was going to fall far short of the Irish constitution in the future. For those who intended to work it, it did not promise to be all a path of roses. The Governor's power in the provinces would give rise to constant friction, necessitating perhaps obstruction, or some kind of direct action with a view to rendering them harmless. Unless you have the necessary type of men as Ministers to enable you to take such action,

Governor's powers must continue to be real and effective. Whatever the defect in the new constitution, the resistance of objectionable features of it from within and without might conceivably be found to be a necessity at any stage. Boycott at such a juncture would only leave the field open for exploitation by powerful Governors which the new constitution intends to set up.

Referring to Federation, the speaker said he did not like Federation of the type contemplated in the constitution which, in his opinion, was a form of Government extremely dangerous to the development of India as a nation. Its basic conception was opposed to the idea of Indian unity. He favoured the idea of a unitary form of Government. He next criticised the Communal Award and asked the House carefully to consider the Programme which the Reception Committee would place before them and make it suitable for the development of this nucleus into an All-India Party with an All-India programme.

## The Central Sikh League & Khalsa Durbar

A joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and the Central Sikh League was held at Lahore on the 14th October 1933 under the presidency of Master Tara Singh.

Welcomeing the delegates, *Sardar Mangal Singh*, referring to the White Paper scheme, said that it might be anything else but it was neither national nor responsible government. He declared that the Sikhs would never willingly accept any system of government which was not based on truly nationalist and non-communal principles. That did not, however, mean that they were not prepared for any reasonable compromise.

*Sardar Mangal Singh* suggested a national pact between the different communities under which all local bodies, legislatures, Cabinets and the Services would be manned purely on a national and non-communal basis. There should be a declaration of fundamental rights. Constitutional and cultural safeguards should be provided in the constitution. For the protection of all minorities, there should be uniform formula throughout the country, such as reservation of seats in the legislatures on the basis of population of voting strength, whichever was preferred by the community, with the right to contest additional seats for all minorities who formed less than twenty-five per cent of the population. This should be under joint electorates and for a limited period only. The franchise question should be considered on its merits, and should not be linked with any other consideration.

*Sardar Mangal Singh* suggested improvements of the educational and economic conditions of the masses, the strengthening of their organisation to carry on the effective agitation to get the White Paper constitution, including the Communal Award, materially improved, the securing of signatures to strengthen their case, the initiation of widespread anti-untouchability campaign and the carrying on of effective propaganda in favour of Swadeshi and Khaddar and against liquor.

*Sardar Mangal Singh* asked the release of political prisoners convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1914-15.

### The Presidential Address

In his Presidential address *Master Tara Singh* criticising the White Paper proposals, said that they wanted liberty and no mere 'advance' would do. He was even prepared to agree to some of the safeguards in a modified form, but it should be left entirely to them to assume powers which might be at present reserved in the hands of the Governor-General.

*Master Tara Singh* added that while the last Reforms gave recognition to communalism, the new reforms scheme proposed to give a statutory majority to communalism. The only solution possible, *Master Tara Singh* continued, was the abolition of communal seats in legislative bodies altogether throughout India.

Criticising the proposed communal settlement, *Master Tara Singh* said that it gave Muslims a statutory majority in the Punjab Legislative Council and also in the register of voters, and was thus doubly harmful. He requested the Congress

to make a bid for the abolition of communal reservation of seats in the legislative bodies. The Sikhs would solidly stand behind the Congress.

Master Tara Singh observed that collection of funds, enlistment of volunteers and removal of untouchability, were the right sort of preparation for their work.

Finally, Master Tara Singh referred to the proposed Act to safeguard the Indian Princes and asked what steps the Indian Government had taken to defend its subject from the 'intrigues' of the Indian Priuees.

### Resolutions—2nd. Day, 15th. October 1933 ,

That the only way to demoeratic swaraj is through the abolition of communal representation in the various legislatures of the country, was the unanimous opinion expressed by the joint session of the Khalsa Durbar and the Central Sikh League this afternoon.

The resolution, which was moved by *Sardar Harnam Singh*, further stated that as a mutual communal settlement had at present become difficult on account of the unjust and iniquitous decision of the British Government, the conference, reserving the right to put forward the Sikh demands advocated by the Central Sikh League when and if it becomes necessary, recommends to Pauths the abolition of communal representation, as the most appropriate and effective means of fighting the Communal Award and of establishing democratic Swaraj in the country.

The Conference further declared that the Sikhs will not submit to any constitution based on the Communal Award.

### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

By another resolution, the Conference declared that no constitution-making could be achieved under the "regime of ordinances and repression" and urged the Government to call a halt to the experiment and to explore avenues of reconciliation with the Congress and thereby rise to the height of true statesmanship.

Another resolution recommended to the Khalsa Durbar to arrange for a referendum to focus the attention of the Khalsa on the mischievous character of the Communal Award.

A resolution expressing condolence on the deaths of Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Baba Chular Singh was also passed.

The Sikhs were called upon to eradicate the evil of untouchability and the Government were urged to release prisoners sentenced in the 1914-15 Punjab 'Conspiracy' cases.

## ALL-BENGAL LANDHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

### Opening Day—Calcutta, 13th. August 1933

The need for the establishment of better relations between landlords and tenants in the interest of the future prosperity of the province, was urged by the *Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan*, presiding over the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference held at the British Indian Association Hall, Calcutta on the 13th. August 1933. In the course of his speech, the *Maharajadhiraja Bahadur* said:—

"Let me tell you without hesitation that you must follow up the demands which you asked me to put forward before the Joint Select Committee with regard to the infallibility of the permanent settlement and its finding a place in the new statute, as well as, with regard to your proper and adequate representation in both the proposed Upper and Lower Chambers of your own presidency, not to speak of the other rights and privileges which we have enjoyed since the advent of British rule. Whilst I make no secret of the fact that the deputation of land-holders from all parts of India that appeared as witnesses before the Joint Select Committee, and of which I was by common consent and courtesy appointed the spokesman left a good impression on its hearers, unless you follow up what little we were able to achieve

when representing your cause. Unless you stand up for your rights at this most critical juncture in the history of India, you will, I am sure, be left behind. What is more, living as I have done and will have to do for some time yet to come, in a democratic country like England, one cannot be blind to the fact that despite of the position of landlords and tenants being very different in the British Isles to what prevails in this country, there is much more cohesion and good fellowship between the farmers and their feudal lords, or in other words between landholders and tenants in that country, than has been the case in India.

It is true that in spite of the many efforts of the Congress party and those who have advocated the no-rent campaign that we have up to now been able to maintain a fairly good relationship between landholders and tenants. But times are coming when it will be most difficult to maintain this position unless the landlords in this country, especially in an agricultural province like Bengal, realise that the tenants' cause is their cause and that their cause is that of the tenants; in other words, unless, you are able to build up a landlord and tenant party in Bengal, a party which stands for agriculture, which stands for the rights and privileges of all kinds of holdings, beginning from that of an under-riyat to that of a great landholder, we shall all be in the stew.

It is no good denying the fact that we are no favourites with a number of British officials in this country who lay at our doors many charges of which we have not been guilty of. On the other hand, it is true that some of us at any rate have not always been wise in the management of our estates and have not always been as dutiful to our tenants as we ought to have been. In consequence, not only have we in future got to cut our coats according to the cloth available but, what is so very important, realise that with the growing political awakening in the country, the increased desire to assert for one's rights and privileges the tenants as a class are bound to become more and more powerful and vocal in their demands. That is why, I want you all to seriously consider not only the desirability of having at every district headquarters well organised associations which will be in close touch with bodies like the British Indian Association and the Bengal Landholders' Association, but to organize at every centre an agricultural party in which there will be landlords and tenants with equal powers of voting, so that, in the future legislatures, tenancy legislation may come up through the combined efforts of landlords and tenants, and not from a bureaucratic Government appearing as the champion of the tenants, as against so-called rapaciousness of landlords but in practice creating more ill-feeling between landlords and tenants than is to be desired in modern times and indirectly encouraging sub-infudation, fractionization, free transfer, etc., which lead to usury and pauperism, not to speak of the increase in volume and cost of litigation.

I think I have said enough on the subject to try and convince you how essential it is in the future for better relationship between landlords and tenants and to make secure the permanent settlement, a very mixed blessing for me personally, to give permanent interest to your tenants in the land, so that they may look upon it as a home and not a curse.

#### POONA PACT

As the president of the reception committee has already dealt at length with regard to the disadvantage that the caste Hindu has been placed in by what is now known as the Poona Pact, I shall not go into that question at any length. But whilst however so-much we may feel upon the arbitrariness of the communal award, we must put on our shoulders to the wheel and get to that stage when the Mahomedans in this province must come to the one and only conclusion that to build up India as a nation, they must sooner or later pool their fortunes with the Hindus and let us hope that before another quarter of a century passes we may see joint electorates based on good faith and good fellowship by which the two great communities can go ahead trusting in each other and making the cause of India a common and undivided one.

Meanwhile we are disturbed and very seriously disturbed over the Poona Pact. Having as I do a very genuine sympathy for many of the religious and social disadvantages that the depressed class Hindu in India suffers from, I hope that whilst side issues like temple-entry and so forth will never arise in this province, where in such matters there has always been more liberalism and catholicism, than in western and southern India, we shall be able to come to some better arrangement with this

class of Hindus in Bengal which whilst replacing the arbitrary Poona Pact will give general satisfaction all round.

#### The Welcome Speech

In his welcome address to the Conference, Mr. P. N. Tagore deplored the fact that even such proposals in the White Paper as in themselves did not in any way presage a distinct advance in the governmental system of the country, were being whittled down. Mr. Tagore declared that India would not be in a mood to cheerfully accept the disappointing outlook held out.

Mr. Tagore pleaded for strengthening the hands of Sir John Anderson and his Government in their gallant efforts to recover the entire jute export duty for Bengal:

The Hon'ble Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, who was invited by the President to address the Conference, urged upon the landholders the necessity of interesting themselves in subjects which affected them and their tenants alike, and pointed out that the most important of these were Bengal's irrefutable claim for the whole of the jute export duty, a portion of the income-tax and a capital grant of about seven crores due to the province in respect of the unjust financial settlement of 1921. Sir Provash added that if they succeeded in getting these claims accepted, the future of the province would be very bright, as occasions for communal or class warfare would be few and far between. Sir Provash emphasised the need for the landlords interesting themselves in the matter of increasing the purchasing power of their tenants,

#### Resolutions

Moving the first resolution, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga observed that no constitution could guarantee their well-being, unless they were able to harmonise their relations with their tenants.

Moving his resolution urging the revision of the Poona Pact, Mr. T. C. Goswami expressed the determination of Bengal Hindus to remedy the wrong and to bring about a peaceful atmosphere under the Reforms which were being inflicted on India.

Speaking on the resolution demanding the abolition of the rice export duty, several delegates emphasised that the existing duty made it impossible either to raise the low price of the commodity or to alleviate the economic distress of the agricultural population. For similar reasons, the Conference urged the immediate abandonment of the proposed resurvey of revenue holdings.

Resolutions were also adopted urging the incorporation of sufficient safeguards against any attempt to interfere with the rights and interests of landholders in respect of all permanently settled estates, and for the proper and adequate representation of the landholding community in the provincial and federal legislatures ; requesting the landlord to make every attempt to maintain good relations with the tenants whose prosperity should be their primary concern : deplored 'the unsympathetic attitude taken by His Majesty's government towards the Hindus of Bengal inspite of the incontrovertible facts and figures put forward by them in support of their just claims to redress the great wrong done to them according to the unilateral agreement, namely, the Poona Pact thrust upon them under duress and ratified by the Home government contrary to the clear conditions laid down by the Premier in the declaration of 16th August 1932, on the Communal Award' ; reiterating Bengal's legitimate claim in respect of the export duty levied on jute, mainly a Bengal produce ; suggesting the establishment of a land mortgage bank for landlords and tenants ; the abolition of the export duty on rice ; and lastly requesting the Government to abandon the idea of holding survey settlement operations in those districts of Bengal where they have not yet commenced, until the economic condition of the people improves.

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# All India Library Conference

Opening Day—Calcutta—the 12th. September 1933

Mr. J. Leitch Wilson, M. A., I. E. S., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, opening the All India Library Conference, which commenced its session in Calcutta, on the 12th. September 1933 under the presidentship of Dr. M. O. Thomas Chief Librarian, Annamalai University, said :—

It gives me great pleasure to join you in your deliberations, and I am very grateful to your Chairman and Committee for the undeserved honour they have done me in asking me to open this All-India Library Conference. My claim to such an honour is indeed of the slightest, for I can neither boast of the technical and intimate knowledge of libraries now demanded for librarians, nor can I lay claim, as so many of you gentlemen can, to have taken a personal and active part in the development of the library movement. Indeed, I can only justify my presence here to-day among you on the ground that, as a student and as a teacher, I acknowledge the important part that the library has played in the past and the much more important part that it will be called upon to play in the future in the development of educational and cultural interests amongst the people of India.

That the library is a feature of increasing importance in any system of education is now generally admitted, but its place in that system has not always been understood. It has been said that "while the importance of this library as an educational institution is best expressed in the formula 'self-development in an atmosphere of freedom', the aim of the school is 'training in an atmosphere of restraint or discipline.' In the school the teacher is dominant, but in the library the pupil strikes out his own line."

While this distinction may be said still to hold good, it is not of general application. For with the development of new systems of teaching, with the introduction of the Dalton Plan and similar methods, the importance of the library is stressed, the dominance of the teacher is reduced and the freedom of the pupil is increased.

I personally prefer to describe the importance of the school, college and public library in another way so as to bring out their close relationship one to the other. In the words of an American colleague :

'A school library means for the child a new world of spiritual and cultural adventure ; it means for the teacher untold increase in resources and power. It means for the school a new atmosphere of learning, a new vision of things intellectual. It means for the home new elements of common interest and the development of the habit of reading for its aesthetic value alone. It means for the public library a growing clientele of intelligent patrons' : for unless the habit of reading is inculcated in the child at school, there will be little or no demand on the part of the adults for a public library. It is obvious therefore that those of us who are chiefly connected with and interested in the development of public libraries should also be vitally interested in the development on proper lines of the library in the school. At present our school libraries are nearly always a mere collection of books and not infrequently collections of rubbish.

There are libraries of different kinds each with its own function to fulfil and its own problems to be solved, but the world has been slow to recognise the value of the library, although the library is no recent development.

I am told that in India the existence of libraries can be traced back to the time of Harshn. However that may be, even in 1917 we find the British Library Association at its meeting in London complaining of the scant recognition accorded to its labours in the field of education. As one speaker put it, "all that we have been saying in this Association, since we became articulate, about the importance of an efficient system of public libraries in the social and educational life of the nation we have been saying for the most part to deaf ears." But I am sure that no lack of recognition on the part of the others will deter you from your purpose or allow your enthusiasm in your cause to wane. Indeed, the presence of so many persons here to-day, who are eminent in the educational world, is sufficient proof of the fact that you are no longer a few lonely pioneers, but that your labourers are now receiving that encouragement and recognition which they deserve.

A perusal of your agenda shows that many important questions await discussion and many knotty problems clamour for solution. By no means the least of these is the proposal to form a permanent All-India Library Association. The advantage of such an Association are, I believe, obvious and unquestioned. There is the need for co-ordination of the labours of the various Library Associations throughout India—co-ordination which can be achieved only through the medium of an association of an All-India character which shall be representative of all the associations in India. Again, such an association would do much to stimulate interest in the development of the library movement in those parts of the country where no local association exists. I have already referred to the fact that there are libraries of different kinds, each with its own difficulties and problems. An All-India Association, such as is proposed, would be in a position to collect and distribute information on developments in the library movement and thus help to solve the problems of its members. Lastly, but not least, such an Association would, I presume, by means of its activities help to remove the all too prevalent idea that a library is merely a collection of books. Books by themselves are little or nothing; they may be merely a heap of rubbish. But when books have been made productive by the work of the librarian, when they have been selected, classified, catalogued and intelligently displayed, then and only then do they form a library. It will be seen therefore that only when the people have come to realise the meaning and value of the library, will the trained librarian take his proper place and receive the recognition that is his due in the educational system of the country and he will become the guide and friend of the student.

I do not propose here to discuss the purely technical activities involved in the classification and cataloguing of books, but I see from your agenda that you propose to consider the systems in various countries, with a view to recommending and supporting the general adoption of the most suitable throughout India.

It is almost impossible to over-rate the value of the co-ordination and co-operation which will emerge from the adoption of the same system throughout this great country, but I venture to emphasise to this Congress their weighty responsibility, should they record definite conclusions in this matter. The adoption of an imperfect or purely local system must inevitably circumscribe the usefulness of the library system, whereas the use of a general or universal system will throw open the knowledge and experience of the world to the librarian in India and through him to the community he serves.

Such, I imagine, are some of the duties that await you. It remains only for me to wish you all every success in your endeavours, and to assure you that those of us who are your fellow-workers in the educational sphere will do what lies in our power to assist you in developing and fostering the library movement in India.

#### Welcome Address

*Dr. U. N. Brahmachari*, in the course of his welcome address, said :—

It is now accepted that a taste for literature is not so much a natural gift as an acquired habit, and that the years spent in an elementary school is the time when a love of reading is implanted by a sympathetic and understanding teacher. It is tragic to think of them any boys and girls through the critical mishandling of teachers leave school with a deep-rooted aversion to books! And if in our schools we need trained and illumined teachers, no less do we need in our libraries trained and cultured librarians—men of scholarship, men deeply read, men widely acquainted with books. They must be first-class judges of books, and of books for definite use. They must be wise guides; counsellors of readers and inspirers of them. They must be experts in indexing, classification, organisation, methods of study and research and other technicalities. This recital of the qualifications which go to make a competent librarian is sufficient to indicate the ice-way we have to make up before we can take our place in Western standards of library efficiency. At present we have not a supply of professional librarians for the simple reason that we have not created a demand for them. I have no doubt this defect will receive attention in the deliberations of your Conference.

Again, every artisan needs his implements and his workshop. Books are the student's tools, and the library his laboratory. But books are more than tools. As Milton reminds us they are the life-blood of their authors conserved to give intellectual life to others. They are our companions in solitude; objects of affection; wise counsellors; givers of solace in times of adversity; co-sharers in times

of prosperity. Something personal seems to grow up around them. As Bacon puts it, libraries are as the shrine where all the relics of ancient saints full of true virtue and that without delusions or imposture are preserved and reposed. "Seated in my library," says the author of "Dreamthorpe", "and looking on the silent faces of my books I am occasionally visited by a strange sense of the spiritual and supernatural. They are not collections of printed pages. They are ghosts, I take own down, and it speaks with me in a tongue not now heard on earth, and of men and things of which it alone possesses knowledge.....No man sees more company than I do. I travel with mightier cohorts round me than ever did Timour or Genghis Khan on their fiery marches. I am a sovereign in my library; but it is the dead not the living, that attend my levees."

Obviously this rhapsody does not allude to all books incidental to libraries. It does not, for instance, apply to books of reference and books of that class, which though of great utility for the time being, are not meat and drink to the human mind. For this reason they should be replaced as soon as they are out of date or superseded by newer editions. Nor should a library give bias to one department of study or to one class of readers. And, therefore, in your deliberations you will naturally take into consideration the affiliation of libraries, an inventory of the contents of their shelves, and what may be done for their co-ordination. You will likewise bestow thought on lending and circulating libraries, especially such as will come to the aid of our small mofussil towns and larger villages. It is quite true that the practices and amenities of cities have a tendency to be reproduced in country places, but libraries need money, and of that commodity there is not over much in our outlying districts. It seems to me that a great national work may be done through lending and circulating libraries that will carry to the door of our ill-informed peasants suitable literature on agricultural matters, on cattle rearing and improving on dairy, farming, on hygiene and other allied subjects.

#### Presidential Address

*Dr. M. O. Thomas*, Chief Librarian, Annamalai University, in the course of his presidential address said :—

These of us who have seen or have known something about the library movement in Western countries, and the benefit of such movements to their people almost daily long for the birth of an All-India Library movement which would give similar advantages to our people. But such a Movement can never come into existence merely through individual longing, enthusiasm or effort. The ideal of strong Library Movement in this country, which is or should be dear to the heart of every librarian and library worker, can be realized only if we unite ourselves into a powerful body. The mainspring of an Indian Library Movement cannot be anything but an Indian Library Association.

Our endeavour to start an association of this kind, however, is beset with difficulties. Fortunately, these are not insurmountable especially since we have nothing to do with the political, religious and sectarian problems which form the real stumbling-block to so many of our common endeavours in India. What we really need for the establishment of a strong, vigorous and progressive Indian Library Association is a will to unite in a worthy cause with an unselfish purpose, sacrificing our individual and even our provincial interests for the common good and settling our differences of opinion by a frank and honest discussion in a give-and-take spirit. We shall be able to do this only if we keep our ideal clearly in view and that ideal, may I point out, is not so much the safeguarding or advancing of our own professional interests as it is the furtherance and promotion of a strong Library Movement in this country.

Now, what does that Movement imply? It implies a new programme of education for our country which has not yet won recognition or support either of our Government or of our public. It implies a new system of education for all our people whether they be men or women, adults or children, rich or poor, through the establishment of suitable libraries in our cities, towns, villages, and rural areas. It implies a better system of administration of our libraries by a well-educated and technically trained staff, the securing for the library profession a better status by insisting on admitting to the profession only well-qualified persons, making proper provision for their adequate training, bringing about a greater co-operation and co-ordination between libraries in various parts of the country, undertaking a regular programme of bibliographical research and compiling bibliographies of Indian literature. It implies a recognition for our profession as a real educational

factor and force not only among the masses but also among the highly cultured and well-educated people. Above all, it implies the making of libraries in this country a truly national concern.

A movement of this kind would undoubtedly require all the inspiration it can possibly receive whether it be from outside or from our own country. But, unfortunately, we cannot expect any inspiration to come from the latter source. There is very little for us to glory in "The Splendour that was Ind" so far as our libraries are concerned. That is not, however, denying the fact that we had libraries in ancient India; at various stages of our history, we find our scholars and patrons of learning giving as much support and encouragement for the establishment and maintenance of libraries as they gave for schools, colleges and universities. In that respect, we were by no means behind other ancient civilized countries, although we cannot boast of libraries like that of King Assur-bani-pal of Assyria or those of the Ptolemies of Alexandria which were a real wonder of the ancient world. But even the best of ancient libraries or library systems has nothing in it to supply us with the inspiration we need for our Movement. They were not libraries in the sense we know libraries to-day. They were merely treasure houses of literature sacredly guarded, vigilantly kept from the eye of the vulgar and meant only for the chosen few. Even for the educated, the wealthy and the leisured classes they were a luxury. While we may take pride in them as the achievements of our ancients, we may not look to them for our inspiration and example. Neither are the present conditions of our libraries a great improvement on those of the past.

The wonderful achievement of Great Britain in this direction and our political connections with her are perhaps good enough reasons for us to look to her for our inspiration and example rather than any other country. We shall take her as our model and shall expect from our Government what the British Government has done for the British people. Yet we should not be under the impression that the boon will be granted without hard work and importunity on our part. It has not been the experience of any country which has a flourishing Library Movement to-day, and much less was it in the case of Great Britain.

What have we got by way of a National Library to compare with the British Museum or the national libraries of other nations like the Bibliotheque Nationale or the Library of Congress? I am in no way belittling the importance of our Imperial Library. But is that the best we can expect in the matter of a National Library of a great nation with an ancient civilisation and culture? Can we find our literary treasures in it or are they to be looked for in libraries of other nations? Where is our copyright privilege which hardly exists anything to anybody? What is the kind of edifice we have for the housing of our National Library? While the number of volumes of other national libraries runs into millions, what is the strength of the collection of our books and periodicals? What is the amount spent annually for their purchase? These are rather unpleasant questions, but we hope that within a few years our Imperial Librarian will be able to return satisfactory answers.

When we turn from our National Library to our Provincial and State Libraries we find matters worse. Many of our Provincial libraries have, no doubt, a fairly good collection of books; but the condition of some of them is deplorable. To be convinced of the truth of my statement you need only step into one of the biggest of them, viz., the Punjab Public Library. After your visit you will hardly come out without a feeling of sympathy for its librarian and his staff who have to work under such conditions as prevail in that library. No library of its size and importance in Great Britain would have been so badly neglected by the authorities even in the early part of the last century.

Much need not be said about other library facilities in the country. Except for our university and college libraries which are intended only for the use of teachers and students some special academic libraries which are also exclusive in their use and a few private and public libraries in big cities, the library provision in this country is almost negligible. The large majority of our ordinary educated masses is without any library facilities whatever. In fact, there are thousands and thousands of fairly literate people in this country who have not had the opportunity of seeing the inside of a library. The statement may sound rather exaggerated; nevertheless, it is true. And there is no regular nation-wide programme for extending library facilities for these masses who have had only the opportunity of acquiring an education in primary schools. Our educationists who advocate the

cause of compulsory primary education do not seem to be concerned about them or the possibility of a large number of them lapsing into illiteracy due to lack of provision for educating themselves further. Making such provisions for them and maintaining them in a state of literacy seem to be our task. We should undertake it. But what recognition, support or encouragement do we have or can we expect for such a task either from our Government or from our people? We have no Library Acts and very little financial aid. There is not even a half-penny rate for the purpose of libraries.

We are several decades behind most Western countries. Can we do anything to improve the existing conditions? Undoubtedly, we can if we follow the Western example and begin our work where they began in the last quarter of the 19th century. We should get ourselves united and do something more than individual preaching of the gospel of libraries. As individual preachers, we are sure to be voices crying in the wilderness. We must also go beyond the range of our provincial efforts and do something on a national scale. We are indeed thankful to our five active provincial Associations, e. g., Punjab, Madras, Bengal, Baroda and Andhradesha for the impetus they have given to the Library Movement in this country. As a matter of fact, if it were not for their initiative and active efforts, particularly of the Punjab, we should not have had the chance of meeting here to-day. May we count on these Associations to serve as the main pillars for the support of the new structure of which we are here to-day to lay the foundation.

If Indian librarianship is really keen on improving its position and making libraries an educational force in the country, every librarian and library worker will welcome the idea of an Indian Library Association and will enlist himself as an active member. That done, should make our membership representative in character and give us men to work for the promotion of our cause in every part of the country. We have also a number of sympathisers in the country, some of them quite influential in legislatures and with the Government, who are willing to cast in their lot with us. Besides these, if we can count on the institutional membership of all our libraries, Library Associations and other allied institutions, we shall have a membership which will be adequate for carrying on our work successfully.

Our membership, however, is not so important as our Executive. If we have an active Executive, the membership will take care of itself. The Council of our Association will constitute its real strength: it will be its life and blood, and the work of our Association will depend upon the energy and enthusiasm of the members of our Council. Its progress will be in proportion to the work they do, the service they render. Ours will be a fortunate Association if we can succeed in getting right persons on our council whether they be from the ranks of our profession or from outside it. May we hope that our Council will be composed of the elite of Indian librarianship and other unselfish and public-spirited men who will put their heart and soul into the work for the promotion of the ideals of the Association and the achievement of its objects.

We have every reason to believe that our Government would be quite sympathetic towards a movement like ours, but we cannot expect it to take the initiative which should come from the people. The attitude of our Government would, I presume, be the same as that of the British Government towards British Library Movement. It will not be taken up till it is found going. Government is naturally cautious especially where there is likely to be a financial outlay or need of a fresh taxation. Fear of an additional burden of taxation was the stumbling block to the original British Library Act. The British Government did not want to undertake responsibility for a movement which it had to finance either from existing funds or by means of fresh taxation. The problem, however, was easily solved by an optional local rate. We shall not ask our Government to spend any money on our Movement except perhaps for directing and controlling it either from the Federal Centre or from the Provincial Centres. What we shall ask for is the authority of the Government behind us, a Library Act which would empower local governments to levy a rate if they decide to establish a local library. The adoption of the Act and the amount of the rate may entirely be left to the option of local governments. That will solve the problem of finances and give us an opportunity to show to our Government how anxious our people are for the establishment of libraries.

There are already several hopeful signs of sympathy on the part of the Government. The Central Government, I understand, is seriously considering the matter of a copy-right library. His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Governor of Madras have given their consent for the introduction of a Library Bill in the Madras Legislature. The Punjab Government is evincing a great deal of interest in

the Library Movement and what Baroda has done and is doing is well-known to all of us. We can certainly expect greater sympathy and help from the Government as our Movement grows and gathers strength.

Next in importance to the attitude of the Government comes the attitude of the wealthy. The help which liberal-minded rich people of this country can render to our Movement will indeed be invaluable. So far philanthropic benefactions in India have been mainly confined to religious institutions and indiscriminate charities. Some have been given to educational institutions, but only a few have gone to libraries. Among them the Dyal Singh gift needs special mention. Dyal Singh Public Library in Lahore is the most outstanding monument of gifts to public libraries in this country. We pay our homage to the memory of such generous donors and congratulate the Trustees for the wise administration of their funds.

For a unique example of a generous gift to libraries, however, we shall have to go outside our own country. There is no parallel in the world to the gift which Andrew Carnegie made to libraries. This wise and most generous giver gave away a good portion of his wealth for the establishment and improvement of libraries with no thought of a reward except the satisfaction of having given to the public the benefits of that institution which he himself enjoyed during the early years of his life. The whole country of Great Britain, and to a great extent the United States, Canada and some of the British colonies own their library systems to the munificent gift of Andrew Carnegie.

We need a number of Carnegies in India to-day not only to give us their gifts, but also to create an enlightened public conscience. We have perhaps many potential ones in the country. But they need to be convinced that public library is one of the most essential factors in the education of our nation, that ours is a cause worthy of their consideration and deserving of their support, a cause which gives opportunity for a new and excellent outlet for their charity. They should be persuaded to think that the creation and maintenance of libraries is as good an object of philanthropy as the establishment of other educational institutions. Libraries created by them will ever be standing monuments of their good work and they will always live in the memory of posterity. An Andrew Carnegie, or a Passmoro Edwards or a Dyal Singh or a Khuda Bux will never be forgotten.

Now, I have to be very brief in dealing with the other two factors for our success. Fortunately or unfortunately, the destiny of our land lies neither in the hands of librarians nor of the rich people, although they both have a part in shaping it. Next to the Government, it lies directly in the hands of our educationists, legislators and others who hold high and responsible offices in the country. Much of the progress of our work will depend upon their co-operation and support. If they take an unsympathetic attitude, our task becomes exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. On the other hand, their sympathy and support would not only give us encouragement, but also would secure for us the means for the achievement of our objects and ideals. What we can do is to represent our cause to them, but we cannot go beyond the lobby. It is for them to secure for the country the much needed library legislation. If they refuse, in all probability their successors will do it and theirs will be the honour for having done the country a great service. A right cause cannot be held back for ever. The British Library Legislation which would have been absolutely impossible in 1850 had the unanimous consent of the Parliament in 1919. We hope however that we will not have to wait for seventy years to see the passage of an Indian Library Bill, and we firmly believe that the honour for such a Bill will go to the legislators of this decade.

Lastly, we come to consider the attitude of the masses. It goes without saying that the illiterate masses will have no interest whatever in our movement except perhaps as a possible beneficial institution for their children who may be educated. But unfortunately even our educated masses seem to be rather indifferent towards libraries. Whether such an attitude is due to lack of opportunities for knowing the advantages of libraries or due to their disinclination for reading we cannot be quite sure. But I am inclined to think that when once they begin to enjoy the benefits of library facilities, they will be anxious to maintain them even at their own cost. That has been conclusively proved by the experience of other countries. Even such advanced people as those of Great Britain and America were rather indifferent to the Library Movement till their public conscience was roused by the Carnegie gifts and Government grants, and once they began to know what public libraries meant for the country, they never cared to seek for external financial aid. They were quite willing to bear the burden themselves.

# THE ALL INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

Opening Day—Bombay—26th December 1933

The All-India Medical Conference opened its tenth annual session at Bombay on the 26th December 1933 under the Presidentship of Dr. M. A. Ansari. Over 150 delegates gathered to participate in the deliberations.

Dr. Deshmukh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, referring to the Indian Medical Council Bill, said that it was passed in a hurry by an Assembly ignorant of medical matters. As regards the Indian Medical service, Dr. Deshmukh observed : "It is a very old service ; but there is another institution with a senile outlook, which refuses to acknowledge the birthright of modern medical India. Although started as a military service, it must grab and keep hold of as many civil appointments as it can in this country, in spite of the growth of a competent medical profession."

Regarding the high standard of the present medical education in the country, he thought it was entirely due to the independent medical profession. In conclusion, he observed : "The responsibility for improving the condition of our people rests with us. May our self-reliance ever grow, and the strength of our unity be utilised in the cause of our motherland."

## The Presidential Address

The following is the text of Dr. M. A. Ansari's presidential address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for the high honour that you have done me by asking me to preside over the session of the All-India Medical Conference. It is the highest honour that the profession could confer on a medical man and I ask you to believe me that, when I express my gratitude to you for it, I am not doing so in any conventional spirit.

Before I deal with the main problems, I feel I must dispose of a matter that had been exercising the feelings of the medical profession for a long time. The Medical Council Bill that had aroused a good deal of controversy and very legitimate indignation among the members of the Indian medical profession has now passed the legislatures. Conceived in a spirit of subservience to outside interests, it was, thanks to universal protests, materially modified in the Select Committee. But it is at best a compromise. While some of our demands have been accepted, there are others that have been postponed for four years.

I do not want to say more on this subject, but I must state three propositions that must guide medical policy in India.

(1) The standard of education must be governed by efficiency and the needs of the country without interference from outside interests.

(2) Reciprocity must mean reciprocity. We do not care much for recognition outside on conditions that may compromise our self-respect and if we can be denied recognition abroad, we must have, and exercise, the power to withhold recognition also.

(3) Our Licentiates are not a body of medical men to be despised. They are the backbone of the medical profession in relation to the work that the profession has to do. It is they who, as a body, come into contact with, and relieve, the sufferings of those who really constitute India. They may not enjoy the advantage of what is called "higher education," but they are a privileged lot where actual service is concerned. When we think of them let us not forget that, in certain respects that matter much to the people, they are superior even to the greatest among us.

Medical problems in the India of to-day, if they are professional, are also more peremptorily national. The duties of the medical man are so vast and urgent that they must take precedence over his professional rights and privileges. It is, therefore, our duty that I want to emphasise in what I have to say to you to-day.

India is a large country, and while she is rich in resources, the tragic paradox of the situation is that her people are utterly poor and destitute. They are backward in education and without those amenities of life and surroundings that are guarantee of health, ignorance, destitution, disease and terribly high death-rate are the prominent facts, so prominent that they must constitute the main and relevant criteria for judging what is being done and determining what ought to be done.

Judged by the above criteria what is being done is not a magnificent record of success but a monument of failure on the part of the State, whose primary duty, more important than any other, is the health of the people in its charge. What has it done except plead, in season and out, financial stringency? There is no money for any activity that may likely prove of real and extensive benefit to the people at large. And yet curiously, there is never a dearth of money for spending on salaries the highest and most scandalous in the world and for squandering on other cognate items to show of splendour in the midst of penury—which instead of helping only harm because they rob the people of what might otherwise have been usefully expended on them.

The State is not without its departments of Public Health. But they are merely part of a miscellany. The imperative importance of such a department cannot be minimised in any circumstances and in any country in the world. And when we consider it with special reference to a country like India where disease and death are the rule more than the exception, public health, in its broadest sense, must easily occupy the first place in the administrative scheme, if the State is to justify itself. But the position is otherwise. Let any impartial man read that illuminating publication, the Census Report of India and let him also read the official reports issued periodically by Medical and Health Departments. He cannot escape the impression that the whole business is, as it were, regarded an unavoidable nuisance to the State. Medical Departments do not represent a desire for achievement so much as a mild and apologetic protest against the inconvenience of difficulties.

I sometimes wonder if the duties and responsibilities of the Powers-that-be towards the life and health of our people have been conceived in a spirit of service at all. For, the practical expression of service is missing from the discharge of those duties and responsibilities. Service to the people is merely a pretext for surrounding the so-called servants with luxuries. The people's needs are recognised to the extent that they serve as a contributory incident to the main purpose of satisfying the exalted needs of others. Look where you will, the dominating factor of policy is the same.

This Association has, ever since its foundation, been dealing with medical problems in India. The main spring of the difficulties we have been deplored and pleading against is the indifference of Government, as if the welfare of the country and its children were of secondary importance, a mere corollary to the main questions of "perstige" "efficiency" and other such necessities of our bureaucracy.

Take the problem of sanitation and prevention of diseases. Look at them in the perspective of the present plight of the people. They demand more earnest and practical attention than any so-called emergency. A widespread and thorough campaign for the prevention of diseases does not require any argument to prove its sharp agency. Diseases are subversive of life itself and are, therefore, entitled to keener consideration than anything else affecting less material conditions of life. Preventable diseases are a challenge to the first *raison d'être* of a State. Here, however, the position is curiously anomalous. There is little organised effort in proportion to the country-wide needs. There is no national policy in regard to the health of the people. What little there is of it is rendered ineffective because the bulk of the money goes towards the upkeep of a notoriously top-heavy administration run by outsiders. If finances are mainly absorbed in salaries and allowances of the few at the head, no wonder that the people's sufferings should remain unalleviated.

The same is the case with Medical Education and Medical Research in the country. Hundreds of thousands of medical men are required to relieve suffering. But the problem of providing the country with such men is being racked with noachant leisurliness, as if it did not exist at all. I do not suggest the possibility of a miraculous production overnight to satisfy all needs.

Repeated protests have been made time and again, not from this platform alone against the manner of running medical institutions. The system stands condemned because as has been thoroughly demonstrated, the teacher occupies the bulk of attention and teaching appointments are made without regard to those conditions

that alone matter. Efficiency is not regarded as the guiding principle in appointment. And the fact of being an Indian serves as a disqualification.

The spirit of underlying the conduct of Medical Education is not informed by a sense of needs either of students or of the country. Yet, our protests have so far availed little.

The need for medical research in India is equally obvious. But the attention paid to it and the way it is encouraged leave everything to be desired. Universities are not given the opportunities for research that in their very nature they are entitled to. They are practically ignored. No serious attempt is made to attract brilliance and talent which, after all, are the foundations of success. On the other hand, they are more or less ignored. The one main source should be the independent medical profession. It remains almost untapped. Indeed, it is discouraged for the sake of service men.

The administration of the Research Fund and the constitution of its controlling body are guided by official and racial considerations rather than by those of medical science and the people of this country. No wonder that the grants do not bring material results in any degree or reasonable proportions.

Racial discriminations and reservations involving terrible waste of a poor country's money on top-heavy administration are the fundamental features of medical policy in India. I do not say that Indians are not entirely excluded. They are being given a chance here and there and the way they have discharged their duties not only justifies their inclusion among the "select", but is also a clear proof of the remarkable efficiency of Indians. The number, however, of these Indians serves the more glaringly to show the dominance of non-Indians.

Criticising the top-heavy administration of Research, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, said in his presidential address to this Conference in 1931 :

"If the solution of difficult problems be the object of medical research, why should we not have a first class worker from France with one-third the salary or from Germany with half of what is paid here? The scale of salaries sanctioned for departmental heads at the All-India Institute of Hygiene is double the salary of a Nobel-prize man or a Fellow of the Royal Society in some of the Indian universities. The top-heavy organisation where the salaries of the departmental heads alone swallow up 70 per cent of the total expenditure of the research institutes cannot be called a sound organisation." I need not add anything to the above save that Sir Nilratan Sarkar's criticism applies generally to every aspect of medical policy in India.

This brings me inevitably to the question of the I. M. S. The Civil side of it is admittedly indefensible. It has been recognised as such even by the apologists of the I. M. S.: yet it is one of the unique characteristics of the administration in this country that what is indefensible endures. But since it endures it still finds a few partizan champions.

It has been claimed that the I. M. S. in its Civil side constitutes a "Military Reserve". Actual wars have proved that "Military Reserves" do not satisfy even a fraction of medical requirements and that the civil medical practitioner does the job, after the briefest and simplest of training as successfully as the Military Doctor. This is the lesson of the Great War. This is also my own personal experience during the Balkan War. The Civil side of the I. M. S. as a Military Reserve is thus unduly costly, quite insufficient for war purposes and together superfluous as a Military Reserve.

Another reason advanced is racial prejudice. Indian doctors, it is said, do not command the confidence of Englishmen and women residing in civil stations. This is neither true nor fair. There are to-day about 500 Indian Medical practitioners in England. All of them enjoy successful and extensive practice which would not be possible, if they did not command the confidence of innumerable Englishmen and women.

Here in India almost every one of us knows from personal experience that racial considerations do not necessarily enter into the mind of the average European patient. But if there are some Europeans in civil stations of India who have no confidence in Indians, I do not see why this poor country should pay so that they may indulge in the luxury of their racial superiority. And why is it that the prejudices of a few Europeans should take precedence over the circumstances and poverty of the millions? Do Indians and their poverty—if not their prejudices count for nothing at all?

Agitation against perpetuating the I. M. S. as a "close preserve" has been universal and persistent. What is the result? Inspite of the superiority of Indians,

as revealed in open competitions, the service remains European and its position and prospects have been further strengthened as if in defiant response to the demands of India.

I count among the members of the I. M. S. many friends and I recognise that some of them are in talent and sense of responsibility, an honour to the medical profession. I say this because I want to stress the fact that the Indian Medical Service, as at present constituted, has no justification from the point of Indian requirements. The service is European and the requirement is not based on qualifications relating to the special needs and problems of the people. Yet I. M. S. officers are the monopolists of all the high and responsible posts with salaries that are a contrast to the usual apology of lack of funds. Imagine a country where medical problems are in charge of luxuriously paid outsiders, while there is no dearth of indigenous talents to do the job much more effectively and at a definitely less cost. A few weeks ago, three retired officers of the Indian Medical Service gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. I quote the following two extracts from the press reports of their evidence:

"Col. Baird expressed the opinion that medical relief in India was undergoing a decided deterioration which he ascribed to four factors, namely, the tendency of Ministers to interfere in details of medical administration, decrease in British personnel, incompetence and mismanagement by local authorities and waste of public money in fostering the Ayurvedic and Unani system which was like asking the army commander to raise and equip a corps of archers when machine-guns were urgently wanted".

"Lieut-Col. Broome, dealing with medical education, expressed the opinion that Indianisation in medical colleges was too rapid and urged that as long as Western medicine was taught in India the majority of professional appointments should be filled by Europeans".

These extracts are illuminating. They reveal the I. M. S. in its true light. They prove how utterly unsympathetic and anti-Indian the service is in every respect. This is the spirit animating the I. M. S. and yet India is invited gratefully to pay for it!

Nor has the State recognised our needs, in the matter of the provision of drugs and instruments. Bad health renders the demand for drugs and instruments proportionately greater. National poverty means that they should be cheap and available easily, yet the one thing that is lacking is encouragement to the manufacture of indigenous drugs, instruments and accessories. In every country in the world "swadeshi" is regarded as an obligation of the State. So far little has been done in India to show that the obligation is recognised. Not that we are without potential resources. This is evident from the efforts being made in Bengal, Bombay, and elsewhere. These efforts could supply much of our wants at far less expenditure of money but the patronage of the medical departments of the Government is not there. This is unfortunate and a very difficult obstacle in the way, but the independent Medical Profession can help materially in popularising Swadeshi drugs, instruments and accessories.

I must refer here to the Drugs Enquiry Committee. It was appointed by Government in 1930 to inquire into the conditions of the Drug trade and profession. Lt. Colonel Chopra, the Chairman of the Committee and his colleagues went, with commendable zeal and earnestness, into the whole question. In 1931 they submitted to the Government of India their report containing comprehensive and valuable recommendations relating to the control of traffic in inferior, inert and even adulterated medical products, the passing of a Drugs Act and other allied questions. Two years have passed without any action having been taken on those recommendations. The report, I believe, has met with its inevitable destiny—it has been shelved for want of sufficient funds. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was impatient about a Medical Council Bill because he was jealous of "India's honour abroad" and desperately anxious about "efficiency at home". He evidently does not realise that India's health depends on the efficiency of drugs.

But we cannot wait until Government discover the truth that control over the quality of drugs is more vitally important than control over qualifications of doctors and take up the questions in right earnest in their own time. Thanks, again, to Lt. Col. Chopra, a strong organisation under his presidency has been formed under the name of the "Indian Pharmaceutical Association". It proposes to work in the spirit of Colonel Chopra's recommendations to fight, as far as possible, the evils by the Drugs Enquiry Committee. It is also possible that the organisation and activi-

ties of the Indian Pharmaceutical Association may stimulate Government also to action. I wish Colonel Chopra and his Association all success and commend it to your hearty support.

There is another more or less allied problem which should be noted here.

The country requires a few hundred thousand medical men to fight diseases. Present educational institutions will take an indefinitely long time to supply even a fraction of the number. With due deference to the I. M. S. and its spokesmen, who would wait long and patiently for the preparation of the requisite number of "machine-guns" to fight the monsters that are already playing havoc with our people, the very obvious thing to do was to tap indigenous resources. That has not been done. There are in the country a few medical institutions teaching the Ayurvedic and Unani system of medicine on modern lines and they include in their curricula modern scientific subjects. The Government, if conscious of their responsibility for the relief of distress and suffering, and faced with the lack of allopathic resources, should have done their best in encouraging these institutions. But little has so far been done in that direction. There are Ayurvedic institutions in Madras, Benares and Calcutta. There is the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College in Delhi with which I am personally connected and about which I can speak with knowledge. It was my privilege to be associated with its founder, Hakim Ajmal Khan, in his great work. The Institution is a magnificent tribute to the remarkable genius of that great Indian. He combined in himself the qualities of a Hakim gifted with a sense of realisation of the value of modern methods. He also saw the problem facing India, and with realism and far-sightedness that were characteristic of him he saw the solution too. He, therefore, started the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College.

Conditions being what they are, I am not quite sure that we can fight the misery of our people on a countrywide scale except through men and women trained by such indigenous institutions. They will be efficient enough to fight the general diseases that are the ban of Indian life. They can be trained in less time and at less cost and they will be valuable to the general body of the population. Indeed, it is these medical men who can constitute the answer, in the present conditions, to the crying needs of rural India. But I have yet to know that the State recognises in any adequate manner the significance of indigenous institutions.

There is another cognate matter: about drugs. Thanks to the far-sightedness of Hakim Ajmal Khan, we have got, attached to the Tibbi College, an Institute for co-ordinating research on the drugs of the Ayurvedic Unani Tibbi pharmacopeia on modern scientific lines. They have already succeeded in doing some valuable work in connection with a number of drugs. The potential value of an institute of such kind need not be emphasised. Yet, like the parent institutions and other similar institutions elsewhere, the research institute lacks finances and recognition.

I have dealt above with problems that face us in connection with the health of the people as also the main difficulties in the way. For a full and complete solution we have to wait for more auspicious times, rather more auspicious circumstances. Meanwhile, something has to be done. As medical men and women we owe a duty to our people which is as great as the profession is noble. Bad health, bad sanitation and high mortality are a challenge to our sense of duty. Governmental indifference has made that challenge doubly compelling. We have to take it up.

Majar Naidu in his presidential address at the Lucknow session of our Association has offered a scheme of National Medical Service with the spirit in which I am in entire agreement. We can certainly organise a corps of medical men who will be soldiers, missionaries and propagandists of health. There are medical practitioners, brilliant, efficient, energetic and enthusiastic young men, who are wasting their time and talent in larger towns. I have always tried to impress upon those of such men with whom I have come in contact, the value to them as also to their people, of turning their attention to smaller towns and district headquarters. There they not only command a good practice but will also get the opportunity of doing a larger service to their people. If each district has one such man he can succeed substantially in organising medical help to the whole district. He can get assistance from the Teshils and Ayurvedic and Unani Hakims for groups of villages. With influence that service to sick and suffering humanity inevitably commands, he can not only organise medical relief effectively but he can also do much valuable work in propaganda about sanitation and other matters connected with the prevention of diseases. And, if he is enthusiastic, earnest, and selfless enough, response—even financial response—will not be very slow in coming. I must relate

here a remarkable instance of selfless service of which I have personal knowledge. Not far from Delhi there is a town which was chosen by a missionary lady as the field of her work. She arrived with literally nothing. She received the hospitality of one of the inhabitants who gave her a couple of rooms in his house. The lady started her hospital work with bagged and borrowed and otherwise improvised medicines and mat to serve as a patient's bed. Within 10 years, the lady has succeeded to the extent of having a hospital, well-equipped not only for the needs of out-door but also for those of a large number of indoor patients of the town. Her spirit of service was her only original asset. But it brought her, in fulness of time, everything else. It is this missionary spirit that I appeal for and I want to see in our young men and women. Given this spirit, we can at least bring under control the sufferings of the people. The scheme that I have in mind contemplates the man at the district headquarters as the central unit. He will have his assistants and colleagues in the towns and villages. The district units can be co-ordinated into a provincial organisation and the provincial organisations will work under the central authority of the Indian Medical Association. This can serve as the nucleus of an All-India scheme. It can be developed on all sides. And, if this Association accepts the principle, a sub-committee can thrash out the details. The whole point is that we must mobilise all the existing resources, indigenous and otherwise, to get the maximum results. Once we start the thing, it is, in my opinion, so certain of success that financial and other help will speedily be forthcoming to make our non-official campaign against disease and ignorance growingly extensive as well as intensive.

We must feel, feel actively and continuously, our duties to our people, who are extraordinarily poor and helpless. And we must approach our collective duty in the spirit of co-operation and selfless service. I deeply regret to have to say it, but I have noticed the prevalence of evils that are unworthy of our profession. Professional life has been increasingly yielding to the desire for material gain as its motive force. It makes inevitably for the spirit of rivalry.

I do not mean thereby that the profession is in a state of rotten deterioration. Qualitatively, the Indian medical man or woman still compares, I am proud to claim, favourably with his or her contemporaries in many of the advanced countries of the world. But the evil poisons have entered the body and they must be checked before they assume grave proportions.

### Resolutions—Second Day—27th. December 1933

Several resolutions touching the medical profession were adopted by the Conference to-day.

The Conference resolved that a scheme of National Health Insurance on lines similar to that in the West be drawn up.

The Conference urged the authorities controlling hospitals in India to alter the existing system, with a view to securing free treatment only for the poor and the levy of charges on those who are able to pay.

The Conference condemned the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933, as it does not satisfy the demands of the profession, and stressed that unless the Act is radically altered, it would remain unacceptable to the profession.

By another resolution an increase in the number of elected members, both graduates and licentiates, on the Provincial Medical Councils, was demanded.

The next resolution demanded that no members of the Indian Medical Service, a purely military service, should be employed on the Civil side.

The views expressed in the memorandum of British Medical Association and in the evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee by members of the Indian Medical Service were condemned by the Conference as "misleading", unwarranted by facts, dictated by self-interest and prompted by a narrow racial bias".

The sixth resolution recommended that open competitive examinations for recruitment to the Indian Medical Service, should be immediately resumed, and held only in India.

The next resolution approved of the main recommendations of the Drugs Enquiry Committee in regard to the establishment of schools of pharmacy in every province in India.

The last resolution approved of birth-control, and the education of the public in the interest of the health of the women of India.

# THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCES

## The All India Women's Conference

Opening Day—Calcutta—27th. December 1933.

About 200 delegates from all parts of India attended the eighth session of the All-India Women's Conference held on the 27th. December at the Town Hall, Calcutta under the presidency of Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore. Her Highness Maharani Sucharu Devi, of Mayurbhanj, was the chairman of the reception committee. Rajkumari Amrit Kuar read messages from among others, the Countess of Willingdon, who regretted her inability to attend the session, and Mahatma Gandhi, who wrote:—"I have always felt that service of the poor is the special prerogative of women. I hope, therefore, that this conference will take special note of Harijan service. Without the active co-operation of women the removal of the curse of untouchability is an impossibility." Besides others, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Prof. Radhakrishnan addressed the gathering. The following is the text of the Presidential Address delivered by Lady Abdul Qadir:—

### The Presidential Address

My acquaintance with the English language is not extensive and the only Indian language with which I am familiar is Urdu. I would have been happier if I could have addressed you in Urdu, but my friend Rani Rajwadi, the able and devoted organising secretary of this Conference, advised me to read the address in English, as it would be more easily understood in Calcutta. I wish I knew the sweet language of your Province and of Your great poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, and could address the ladies of Bengal in their mother tongue, but as unfortunately I do not know it, I have to read to you an English translation of my address in Urdu. I may be permitted to say a word here about the need of a common language, if we want to make real progress toward the goal before us. I think the Hindustani language has a greater claim on our attention in our meetings, than English, and it is a pity that stress has not been laid in our Conference on the necessity of using it more freely as the medium of discussion and exchange of ideas. I think this question, which I am touching incidentally, raises a problem of the highest importance for the good of our country. Our leaders have long felt the need of adopting a common Indian language for the whole of India, which every province may learn, in addition to its own. It is generally recognised that the unity of language is one of the most essential features of a common nationality. It has also been indicated on more occasions than one, that Hindustani alone has a chance of being utilised for this purpose with success. I remember that about this time in 1917, there was a great gathering of Indian leaders in this very town, when the Congress, the Muslim League and the Muslim Educational Conference were all holding their sittings here. At the end of their sittings a combined meeting of the representatives of these public bodies was held at which Mahatma Gandhi advocated the need of a common Indian tongue and was supported by other leaders, including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Sixteen years have elapsed since resolutions to this effect were passed, but unfortunately our thoughts have been so absorbed by other things that we have not advanced one step towards the goal of a common language. We must, therefore, as sincere well-wishers of our mother-land try to achieve this object. I pass on now to a consideration of the questions which are our main concern, that is, education and social reform.

So much has been said on these subjects from time to time that they had become very trite, but if you ponder seriously over them, they present fresh problems every day, which are bristling with difficulties, the solution of which requires the services of the best brains among us.

One of the most important questions is what should be the type of education for women. I think there can be no two opinions now as to the unsuitability of the existing scheme of studies to the needs of girl students. It was meant really for boys and is now becoming out of date even for them. It is more so for girls. It

may be all right for some girls, who want to seek employment as teachers in schools, but for the majority of them a line adapted to their particular needs must be chalked out, so that they may be able to complete their studies in a shorter period and may acquire knowledge which may be of use to them in their domestic life and in the bringing up of their children. In addition to this they should possess some general knowledge which may enable them to be wide awake and useful citizens of their motherland.

Among the educational achievements of our Conference is the starting of the Lady Irwin College at Delhi, where girls from various parts of India receive training as teachers. Its scheme of studies is different to that of the ordinary arts colleges and the institutions elsewhere. I understand that the number of pupils under training in the Lady Irwin College, which began with twelve girls, has already risen to about forty, which is quite a good start. In fact, I am told that demand for admission to the college is growing and several applications have been refused for want of accommodation in the present building, which is a rented house and has not got room for more. There is also the difficulty of want of sufficient funds. I think it would be a great help to the College, if we could secure some Government building in Old Delhi for its use.

Having referred to the institution which has been established to help the type of higher education suited to the needs of women, I wish to say a word about another type of institution needed for the majority of girls, whose circumstances require that they should aim at nothing more than elementary education coupled with a training in some useful handicrafts. I believe the time has come for an organised effort for the spread of such education and we require a large number of schools, teaching not only reading and writing, but also imparting vocational training of a practical kind, on economic lines.

Hitherto training in handicrafts was given to girls with the idea of adding to their accomplishments, but the increasing struggle of life clearly shows that the time is not far distant, when a growing number of women will be called upon to be their own bread-winners, and when marriage will no longer be considered as the only career for girls. We should equip them for the coming period, when many of them will have to live a life more or less independent of men.

Ladies and gentlemen, these schemes require money before they can be translated into realities, and the question is, where is it to come from. One source which must be tapped and which has not been sufficiently tapped in any part of India, is the securing of our proper share of the money set apart for education by the Central and the Provincial Governments. While gratefully acknowledging what Government has done to help female education in all parts of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that the help has been far from commensurate with the requirements of the situation.

So far the great difficulty in the way of social reform has been the appalling ignorance that prevails among the masses in our country, and nothing but wide-spread education can dispel it. A campaign for the enlightenment of the masses is needed and it requires an army of workers. Though a great deal of work has been done in the past and is being accomplished now by honorary workers, to whom we are extremely grateful, a devoted band of paid and duly trained workers will be needed if a vast campaign aiming at speedy results in all parts of the country is undertaken.

One of the means of spreading knowledge, which has already been tried with success, is the education of adults, but it will have to be carried on much more extensively as well as intensively in order to prove effective.

Another direction in which work is needed is propaganda by means of the press. At present the press in India is practically in the hands of men. In drawing attention to this I do not wish to be ungrateful to our brothers who control the press. I acknowledge with thanks that their attitude towards our aspirations has been full of sympathy and they have tried to help us in the great task we have set before us. What I wish to emphasise is the need of making a greater use of the agency of the press by women, by making literary contributions in the existing newspapers and magazines, in support of our claims and by starting newspapers and journals coedited by women to promote our interests. We have some magazines edited by women in Urdu and Hindi and other vernaculars. I should like to see them strengthened and improved, so that we may have a powerful voice in shaping public opinion.

### PUBLIC OPINION

The importance of a healthy public opinion is not often adequately realised. All measures of social reform depend on it for their success. Take, for instance, a reform on which our Conference has been so keen; that is, the discontinuance of child-marriage. Not long ago the Legislature passed the Sarda Act, penalising marriages between persons below a certain age. The organisations of women in India supported the introduction of this measure in the Legislative Assembly and have since its adoption felt a legitimate pride in their achievement, but it has been felt in some quarter that its practical effect so far has been comparatively small. In my opinion this is due to the fact that sufficient efforts have not been made to supplement this legislation by educating public opinion. I believe that in matters of social reform, methods of persuasion lead slowly but surely to success.

### USE OF THE CINEMA

A valuable agency, which can be used for the purpose of propaganda is the cinema. I think we can utilise it with advantage. If educational films are shown to women in towns and villages, and special films are prepared for them throwing light on subjects connected with social reform, I believe we can do much more in a short period than through a long course of teaching by means of books. I should like to see a distinct branch of activity started under the auspices of this Conference and a permanent sub-committee placed in charge of it. That committee should make it its business to have interesting stories or dramas written, showing the evils of customs we like to discourage or condemn. Similarly, if popular songs and poems are composed condemning bad customs and commanding reforms, and are translated in different vernaculars prevailing in our country, I think very good results can be achieved.

### REFORM OF CUSTOMS

Among the social reforms, that are urgently needed in all parts of the country, is the reform of customs relating to the celebration of marriages and to ceremonies connected with births and deaths. With very rare exceptions, the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, all follow customs which are extravagant and ruinous. Social reformers have been advocating that simplicity and economy should be observed on these occasions, and in theory every one agrees with them, but in practice the surrounding pressure proves too much for all of us, and some of the best people among us do exactly what their less enlightened sisters and brothers do. I do not think that it will be an exaggeration to say that at least half of the great burden of indebtedness in our country, particularly in rural areas, is due to the unnecessary expenses incurred in keeping up customs, which are either relics of days of barbarism, or have outlived their uses. By keeping them up we are adding to the economic poverty and misery of our country. It must be remembered that the responsibility of us women, so far as the reform of customs is concerned, is perhaps greater than that of men. The influence of their women folk is often pleaded by men as an excuse for the observance of customs, which they can no longer justify as reasonable, and I must say that this plea is not unfounded. If women's organisations make a real and earnest effort to get rid of extravagance on useless ceremonies, they will be doing a service of the greatest magnitude to our country.

### RIGHT OF INHERITANCE

Another important reform advocated by us in this Conference is that women should be allowed to inherit property. We have tried to get a measure recognising women's rights of inheritance passed in the Assembly, but our efforts have not yet met with success. I have no doubt, however, that there is a growing volume of opinion behind our reasonable demand and we are bound to get it, if we continue to press it. This is a matter in which the interests of Hindu and Muslim women are equally affected, though in theory Muslim women have already got, under their personal law, what their Hindu sisters are asking for, through legislation. As you all know under the law of Islam, females are entitled, along with males, to a share of inheritance and in families that still cling to their law, they do get it, but in many parts of India a custom has sprung up depriving women of their shares. It is necessary for us, therefore, to insist that in case of Muslim women the Islamic law as to the share of females may be given effect to in practice, and

a new law may be passed for the benefit of Hindu women, to enable them to get their share of the property of their husbands and parents.

#### WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

Sister delegates—I hope you will not think that I am unmindful of the value of political advancement, because I have not made any mention of the political aspirations of our sex. We are proud to have in our ranks women who have worked side by side with our men in the political struggle that has been going on in India for some time past. We have among us women who are keen political workers and have made great sacrifices in the cause of freedom. I have, however, advisedly refrained from venturing in the domain of politics, because from the beginning this Conference has decided to eschew politics. It appears that the reason underlying this decision is sound. For popularising the cause of education or for bringing about social reform you require to enlist the sympathies of all, irrespective of caste or creed or shades of opinion. On the other hand, in the arena of politics, there is a great clash of interest and sharp divergences of opinion. It would have been detrimental to the development of the feeling of unity and strength, on which we can now justly pride ourselves, if controversial political questions had been included in our programme. In fact, it is because we have not allowed ourselves to be divided, that we have been able to show remarkable unanimity on an important question like franchise of women, which is a part of politics but which has such an important bearing on education and reform that we could not leave it unconsidered. We formulated our opinions on this question, and our representatives who gave evidence before the Indian Franchise Committee, insisted on adult franchise as the ideal to be aimed at, and demanded equal opportunities for both sexes. In other words, our demand was that sex should not be made a ground of disability.

#### DISAPPOINTED

This year our Conference, in conjunction with the two other important organisations of women, that is, the Women's Indian Association, and the National Council of Women in India sent delegates to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee in England, and they repeated the demands already made by us, with certain modifications. We are disappointed to find that our claims have received very inadequate recognition, and the franchise proposed for us is even less than the recommendations of the Simon Commission and the Indian Franchise Committee. I would, however, advise the women's organisations to remember that even in advanced countries of the West, the task of women seeking to secure their rights has been uphill, and we should not be discouraged by the tardy recognition of our claims. We should utilise the opportunities that we have got and go on asking for more, trusting in the rightness and strength of our cause.

#### Resolutions—Second Day—the 28th. December

At the resumed sitting of the Conference this afternoon a resolution was passed expressing condemnation of war as a crime against humanity and whole-hearted sympathy with all who were striving honestly for world disarmament.

Moving the resolution, *Rajkumary Amrit Kuar* hoped the spirit of unity and all-embracing love for humanity would be the keynote and guiding spirit of the women of India.

*Mrs. Cousins*, seconding, characterised India as the most peaceful country and added that the Women's Conference had by its own actions proved its right to bring forward a resolution of support to world peace.

*Mrs. Sarojini Naidu*, supporting, said no Indian could be loyal to India and yet be sectarian and narrow in spirit. The ideal and genius of India had always been the inclusion and not exclusion of universal thought and culture. Only they understood the fundamental ideal preached by the world teachers of the indivisible oneness of man and mastered the spirit, they could give a mandate for the world to stop war. No matter whether it was a temple or mosque or church or fire shrine, let them transcend the barriers that divided man from man but were powerless to separate woman from woman. She was speaking an element of truth on which was founded the civilization of humanity.

#### INCLUDE A WOMAN DELEGATE

The Conference also demanded the inclusion of its representative in the Government of India delegation to Geneva.

## Third Day—The 29th. December

At to-day's sitting of the Conference, several resolutions were adopted touching educational, social and labour reforms.

The resolution on franchise, which was moved by *Mrs. Sarojini Naidu*, reiterated the demand regarding franchise and status of women in the future constitution placed before the Joint Committee by the representatives of the Conference.

It was also resolved that, after the publication of the Joint Committee's report, a special session of the conference, to which representatives of the National Council of Women should be invited, be called to determine the attitude to be adopted in case the demand was ignored.

## Fourth Day—The 30th. December

The Conference concluded its session this after-noon after adopting a number of resolutions on the removal of untouchability, the abolition of capital punishment, rural reconstruction and compulsory registration of dais and midwives. The resolution on birth control which was adopted by a large majority roused much enthusiasm in the conference and about two dozen speakers participated in the debate speaking in favour or against.

## OFFICE-BEARERS ELECTED

*Rani Rajwadi* was elected President for the next year and *Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee* was elected Organising Secretary while *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, *Doctor Muthulakshmi Reddi*, *Mrs. Cousins*, *Mrs. Hamid Ali* and *Mrs. Faridunji* were elected Vice-Presidents.

## DISCUSSION ON BIRTH-CONTROL

After a lively debate to-day, in which more than two dozen speakers participated, the Conference by a huge majority passed the resolution favouring birth control. No less than two dozens of speakers dwelt upon the subject and either supported or opposed it. Discussion was initiated by *Mrs. S. N. Roy*, who first sought to meet the arguments that were advanced generally against it either on grounds of morality or because it was considered that the discussion of the subject was indecent. These persons still believed in antiquated ideas and thought that there was something almost criminal and wicked about the subject. Those who opposed the subject on religious grounds, according to *Mrs. Roy*, did not realise that religion was based on comparative ideas and that true religion could almost hold its own and yet be in the vanguard of progress. There was still another section of people who thought that knowledge of the subject would give an impetus to loose living and moral turpitude. The tragedy of the situation was that those people who would have a liking for loose living were not generally influenced by conferences like theirs, nor by knowledge obtained in clinics.

*Mrs. S. Mehta*, supporting the resolution, said that whatever be the angle of their vision, if they wanted to look at it either from the economic, the eugenic or the medical point of view they could not but come to the conclusion that birth control was absolutely necessary. As regards the fuss of the moralists, *Mrs. Mehta* said that birth control would improve the chance in life and physique of their children and it would slow down the rate of multiplication.

*Miss Rani Ghosh*, who opposed the resolution, said that it appeared to her to be undignified for the Conference to discuss openly a subject which should be settled between the husband and the wife privately. She could well remember the agitation they had when the subject came up for discussion in Madras and also in Lucknow when the resolution on the subject was carried by a great majority. But she would enquire what practical work had been effected by the Conference in the direction within the course of a year or two.

*Mrs. A. Kale*, supporting the resolution, said by way of introducing herself that she was the mother of five children. While she found it to be a matter of wonder that most of them who opposed the resolution were unmarried, many of them were under the wrong impression that birth control meant birth prevention. Nobody would bother about a number of children if adequate provision for their upbringing could be arranged for. Nobody would question the fine civilisation that was developed in India once when other nations like pilgrims had to come to India for learning.

*Miss Khatidja Begum Ferozuddin* of Lahore strongly opposed the resolution and said that if birth control was advocated to save India from over population,

why was the Conference then backing up widow remarriage instead of pleading for birth control? To save the lower classes from producing too many children, the best method would be to educate them and raise their standard of living and morality. "Torch them", she said, "Brahmacharya and Atma Samyama" (self-control) which had been the key-note of Indian education. Only then you would be able to elevate your land. You could never", she concluded, "raise a nation by moral education.

### Dr. Tagore's Lecture

"Women's place in civilisation" was the subject of the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore's address to the Conference. The poet said: 'Man having the advantage over woman in a comparative freedom from biological obligations could devote his unhampered leisure in constructing civilization which naturally followed in a large measure his own temperament and tendencies, and woman for ages was constrained to adjust herself to the narrowness of sphere allowed to her. At the present stage of history civilisation has become primarily masculine, a civilisation of power in which woman from her captivity spends her surplus wealth of emotion in the merely decorative purpose of society. Therefore, this civilisation has lost its balance and is moving by hopping from war to war trampling helpless life on its path under its drunken tread. Its motive force of constant coercions in big scales for the sake of results of absurdly vast dimensions entailing an appalling number of human sacrifices. To-day we find this uncadened civilisation crashing at a tremendous speed along a perilous slope, knocking against unforeseen catastrophes, never knowing how to stop, and at last the time has arrived when woman must step in and impart her life-rhythm to this reckless movement of power.' A man's interest in his fellow-beings becomes real when he finds in them some special form of usefulness or striking gift of powers, but woman feels interest in her fellow-beings because they are human, not because of some particular purpose which they can serve. Her exuberance of vital interest is spontaneously expressive. Fortunately for us, our everyday world has the subtle and unobtrusive beauty of the commonplace and we have to depend upon our own sensitive minds to realise its wonders which are modestly reticent. If we can pierce through the exterior we find that the world in its common place aspects is a miracle. We realise this truth intuitively through our power of love and women through this power discover that the object of their love and sympathy, in spite of its ragged disguise of triviality, has infinite worth for which life itself can be sacrificed.

The domestic world is a world where every individual finds his worth as an individual. Therefore his value is not the market value but the inherent value of reality which is for love to discover, that is to say, value that God in his infinite mercy has set upon all his creatures. Woman cannot be pushed back for good into the superficial region of the merely decorative by man's aggressive atheism. For she is not less necessary in civilisation than man, possibly more so. In the present stage of history man is asserting his masculine supremacy and building the tower of his civilisation with stone blocks ignoring the living principle of growth. He cannot altogether crush woman's nature into the dust. It is not that woman is merely seeking to-day her freedom of livelihood, struggling against man's monopoly of business, but against man's monopoly of civilisation. The monster car of organisation is creaking and groaning along life's highway spreading misery and mutilation. For, it must have speed and profit before everything else in the world. Therefore woman must come into the bruised and maimed world of the individual. She must claim each one of them as her own—the useless and the insignificant, the lowliest and the lost. The world with its insulted individuals has sent its appeal to her. These individuals must find their true value and raise their heads in the sun and renew their faith in God's love through woman's own love. The union of man and woman will represent a perfect co-operation in the building up of human history on equal terms in every department of life. The future Eve will lure away the future Adam from the wilderness of a masculine dispensation and mingle her talents with that of her partner in a joint creation, a paradise of their own. The rudely elbowing age of relentless rapacity will give way to that of a generous communion of minds and means when individuals will not be allowed to be terrorised into abject submission by idealistic bullies compelled to lose their own physiognomy in a gigantic mask of a nebulous abstraction.

# The Calcutta Women's Conference

The annual constituent meeting of the Calcutta constituency of the All-India Women's Conference, convened to consider various questions of educational and social reform for women, was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Calcutta, on the 7th November 1933, under the Presidency of Mrs. P. K. Roy.

The meeting was largely attended by ladies representing different communities of the city.

After the annual report and accounts of the local committee for the year previous were adopted, the meeting passed the following resolutions relating to social, educational and political reform :—

1. Since education is the only means of removing ignorance, superstition and fear which are the true enemies of all advance, an intensive campaign of mass education should be undertaken through private endeavour, legislation and local bodies.

2. (a) That in view of the constant increasing number of girls from 15 to 20 who come to Calcutta to pursue their academic studies at the University and who reside in College hostels, this meeting is of opinion that these hostels are not sufficiently numerous or well-managed (with a few exceptions).

(b) That the parents and guardians of these girls should be urged to co-operate with the University and the Colleges in recognising the necessity for careful guidance both as regards health and morals for adolescent girls and that with this aim they should request the University to create a post for a qualified woman to supervise all recognised hostels and to keep them in touch with the University.

3. The Calcutta constituency in conference resolves that some form of scientific physical culture under trained teachers should be made compulsory and suitable games be encouraged in every possible way in girls' schools and homes; women having realised that the future of the nation depends on the health and physique of its mothers.

4. This Conference of the Calcutta constituency supports the revised joint memorandum of the All-India Women's Conference regarding the status and enfranchisement of women which besides other points, urges that the recognition of the principles of equality between men and women should find a definite place in the declaration of fundamental rights of citizenship in the constitution act, and that the extension of franchise for women should be giving votes to all women in urban areas in addition to literacy and property qualifications as proposed in the memorandum.

5. The Calcutta constituency begs to bring to the notice of the All-India Women's Conference the shameful nature of the posters which are being displayed in this country to advertise picture-theatre films. That such posters should be displayed is a source of real danger to the young manhood and womanhood of India, and it is imperative that we who represent the women of India should take adequate measures to prevent the continuance of a practice so contrary to our highest ideals of womanhood. We therefore urge either a rigid censorship of film posters, or their complete abolition from all advertising boards."

6. This Conference gives its whole-hearted support to the principle of Ram Krishna Jha's Hindu Widows' Maintenance Bill which is before the Assembly now providing for maintenance for Hindu widows and specially to the proposal for creating a charge on the husbands' estate to secure payment of such maintenance.

It emphasises the necessity for providing that no testamentary disposition shall affect the widows' right to maintenance providing for under clauses 3 and 4 of the Bill.

7. This Conference records its emphatic opinion that immediate steps should be taken to prevent the operations of those enemies of society, who deal in immoral traffic, and strongly urges upon the members of the Legislature to make the Bill an effective weapon to use with wisdom and justice to combat the evils of commercialised vice in the province. It therefore resolves that the following amendments be made to the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (1) the words 'for the gain of any other person' be deleted from the definition of a brothel; (2) that a mother living with a prostitute be made punishable under the Act.

8. That this Conference of the women of All-India desires to offer its heart-felt homage to the memory of that illustrious son of India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, on the occasion of his centenary as he was a staunch champion of their sex, and one of the foremost fighters in their cause.

The meeting also adopted two more resolutions, one condoling the death of Mrs. Kamini Roy and the other advocating village social work, the latter being proposed by Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani.

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## The Oudh Women's Conference

The Oudh Women's Constituent Conference held its annual session at Lucknow on the 30th. October 1933 noon at Kaisarbagh Baradari under the presidentship of the senior *Rani Saheba of Nanpara*.

In her *presidential address*, the *Rani Saheba of Nanpara* emphasised the need of general education among Indian women and felt that though compulsory primary education could not be an immediate possibility, all educated women and far-sighted men should help to remove all obstacles in its way. She regretted the apathy of the local Government in not paying sufficient attention to the cause of girls' education in spite of repeated demands from time to time by women's organisations. She also suggested the feasibility of changing the existing method and means of education to bring such education more in conformity with Indian ideals and aspirations.

Reading the annual report of the conference committees for 1922-23, Miss K. Khanna informed the conference that several sub-committees elected to work in the cause of education, untouchability, hospitals and village work, widows aid, temperance, leper asylums and orphanages had throughout shown good progress.

A number of resolutions were then adopted dealing with education, physical culture and removal of legal disabilities affecting the rights of women.

Another resolution urged upon all women to undertake the work of rural uplift and reconstruction with particular attention to the abolition of untouchability.

The third resolution requested the provincial municipalities to make rules and bye-laws to prevent lepers and beggars from frequenting the public highways and places and urged upon them the necessity of establishing asylums to house them.

Mrs. Perrill moved a resolution on the necessity of teaching temperance in schools and made a short speech on the evils of drink. The resolution was unanimously passed.

The proceedings of the conference concluded after a selection of the following ladies as delegates to the All-India Women's Conference :—

The Rani of Nanpara, Begum Habibullah, Rani of Mandi, Kunwarain Ram-Bahadur Shah, Mrs. Ghulam Husain, Mrs. Menon, Mrs. Wasim, Mrs. Gupta, Miss Khanna, Mrs. Alizaheer, Mrs. Perrill, Mrs. Mukund, Mrs. Ilahi Bux and Mrs. Ismail.

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## The Agra Women's Conference

Resolutions urging the opening of birth control clinics, the abolition of disabilities regarding the women's rights of inheritance and the introduction of courses of training in citizenship and condemning the spirit of communalism and provincialism in the country, were among the many resolutions, dealing with political, social, economic, educational, labour and industrial problems, passed at a conference of the representatives of the Agra constituency of the All-India Women's Conference, held at Allahabad on the 28th, and 29th, October 1933 at the residence

of Mrs. Prakash Narayan Sapru. *Lady Mukerji*, wife of Justice Sir Lal Gopal Mukerji, presided. Among the delegates present were Mrs. Kitty Shiva Rao, Miss Suniti Devi Kaira and Mrs. N. S. Rama Rao (from Benares), Mrs. A. C. Banerji, Miss S. K. Nehru, Mrs. P. K. Acharya, Mrs. Shri Ranjan, Mrs. Pratibha Mukerji, Mrs. B. N. Jha, Mrs. Purnima Banerji, Mrs. P. N. Sapru, Mrs. T. N. Sapru, Miss Sharkehwari Agha, Mrs. Kundrani Gandhey, Miss Monoram Chowdhry, Miss Leila Roy, Mrs. Rundra and Miss Gita Mukerji.

The proceedings of the conference opened, after speech welcoming the delegates by *Mrs. Sheila Dhar*, the secretary, with a resolution moved from the chair expressing the profound sorrow of the conference at the sad demise of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel and placing on record its deep appreciation of their contributions to India's cause.

The following resolution and another strongly protesting against the repealing of the Child Marriages (Sarda) Act and condemning the reactionary efforts of those members responsible for that agitation, were also moved from the chair and passed :—

The conference views with grave apprehension the growth of the population as revealed in Dr. Hutton's census report and recognizes that such an overgrowth of population amongst the poverty-stricken masses is detrimental to the welfare of the nation as a whole. It, therefore, strongly advocates the urgent necessity of opening birth control clinics under efficient medical advice and urges upon the Government and local bodies to take immediate steps in this direction.

#### UNTOUCHABLES

The following resolutions were next passed by the conference after a discussion : This conference notes with concern the appalling conditions (housing) of the so-called untouchables, especially the sweepers, as disclosed in the report of the Servants of the Untouchables' Society, Allahabad, and it urges upon the municipality to take immediate steps to ameliorate them. It likewise requests the other municipalities to take proper steps for improvements, wherever such unfavourable conditions may exist. Proposed by Miss S. K. Nehru and seconded by Mrs. Purnima Banerji.)

#### RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE

This conference is of opinion that all disabilities regarding the rights of inheritance of women should be abolished. (Proposed by Mrs. P. N. Sapru and seconded by Sheila Dhar.)

#### PHYSICAL CULTURE

This conference is definitely of opinion that sufficient arrangements should be made for the advancement of physical culture of women and girls. It calls upon the municipalities to allot separate parks in the congested areas of the city for this purpose. (Proposed by Mrs. Kundrani Gandhey and seconded by Mrs. A. C. Banerji.)

#### COMMUNALISM CONDEMNED

This conference strongly condemns the spirit of communalism and provincialism in the country and considers it a menace to the growth of national solidarity in India and dissociates itself from all such institutions and bodies that favour its growth. (Proposed by Miss Shyam Kumar Nehru and seconded by Mrs. Purnima Banerji.)

#### COMPULSORY EDUCATION

This conference realizes that all progress depends on education on an extensive scale and finds in the course of its activities the extreme backwardness of its majority of the illiterate masses. It further realizes that education of children would be furthered if parents realized the value of such education. It, therefore, calls upon municipal boards to open night schools for adults. It also requests the Government of India, through its legislative bodies to make the introduction of compulsory education for boys and girls possible after considering their local needs. This conference further considers its duty to help in this education scheme and calls upon the employers of domestic servants to supervise and make provisions for the education of such servants. (Proposed by Mrs. Roma Mukerji and seconded by Miss Leila Roy.)

### MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

This conference urges upon the Government the need for the medical examination of school children, as physical deficiencies mar the intellectual growth of the child. (Proposed by Miss Suniti Kaira and seconded by Mrs. A. C. Banerji.)

### TRAINING OF CITIZENSHIP

This conference strongly recommends that courses for the training of citizenship be instituted as part of the curriculum in all educational institutions. (Proposed by Mrs. Kitty Shiva Rao and seconded by Mrs. Sheila Dhar.) The mover was the recipient of congratulations for placing before the conference such an useful resolution.

### BAR AGAINST CO-EDUCATION

This conference requests the authorities of the Allahabad and Benares Hindu Universities to remove the bar against co-education and urges other universities to support co-education. (Proposed by Miss Sharkeywari Agha and seconded by Miss Monorama Chowdhury.)

### WORKERS IN MILLS

This conference views with disfavour and concern the condition of workers in the mill areas and the factories and considers it the right of workers to demand better living conditions. It calls upon and requests the factory millowners to take immediate steps to make satisfactory provisions for the labourers, ensuring upon them the means to live a healthy life and safeguarding their position in case of ill-health, unemployment, old age, etc., and special attention should also be given to women workers in connection with maternity leave and other privileges attached thereto. It further requests the Government of India to give effect to the recommendations of the Whitley Committee without further delay. (Proposed by Mrs. Purnima Banerji and seconded by Mrs. Shri Ranjan.)

### INDIA'S INDUSTRIES

This conference further reiterates its resolve to encourage Indian industries and views with favour the growth and protection of industries in India, believing that the growth of industry is essential for its economic development which will enable its trade to stand in line with other countries. (Proposed by Mrs. Purnima Banerji and seconded by Mrs. Ram Rao.)

This conference favours the opening of institutions, where women can be afforded such facilities to earn by means of handicrafts and other cottage industries as would enable them to be economically independent and to render help to their families. (Proposed by Mrs. A. C. Banerjee.)

## The Delhi Women's Conference

In picturesque surroundings and under a tastefully decorated shamiana at Saraswati Bhawan, the headquarters of the Delhi Women's League, a largely attended session of the Delhi Women's Constituent Conference was held on the 7th November 1933 under the presidency of Mrs. J. C. Chatterjee. A lengthy report surveying the activities of the Delhi Women's League was read by its energetic secretary, Mrs. Asaf Ali, who laid stress on the necessity for funds for propaganda purpose to educate women to understand their social, civic and political rights.

The conference passed a condolence resolution on the deaths of Mr. Patel and Dr. Besant.

It also resolved appreciating the extension of franchise to the Delhi women, but drew the municipality's attention to the 'unnecessarily restrictive' qualifications for women candidates.

By another resolution it demanded free and compulsory education for girls in Delhi and called for public support for the establishment of health, social and education centres in rural areas.

The conference directed the Delhi Women's League to devise a scheme of co-operation and 'practical social service'.

## The Cawnpore Women's Conference

The Rani Sakeba of Tiloi, who presided at the Women's Conference held at Cawnpore on the 23rd November 1933 in her speech said :—

I thank you heartily for giving me the honour of presiding over this Conference. It would have been in the fitness of things if you would have elected an abler person, who, on account of her greater experience and knowledge, would have been better qualified to guide your deliberations. However I, with my humble attainments, while not pretending to teach you anything, am prepared to serve you to the best of my ability.

With the change of times, some evil customs have crept in our society and we have come to regard them as part of our religion. They not only harm us, but are responsible for the degradation of our society. We have to remove these first. If we do not wake up even now, this cancer will steadily eat up the vitals of our existence. The question now is what are those evils ? They are (1) illiterates, (2) purdah, (3) early marriage and (4) untouchability.

Until a few years ago, our daughters were not given education, as our brethren were opposed to it. We were ignorant and blind. This was responsible for our downfall and infected our society with all those evils which are now difficult to be eradicated. We are now exerting to get rid of them by holding meetings and conferences. But times are altered, public opinion has changed, and in some small measure attention is being given towards our education.

The woman, who is educated, would not only give better comfort to her husband but would consider it her bounden duty to bring up her children better. It, therefore, behoves every mother to educate her children even if she has to go without her meals.

This is the second evil which has checked the progress of our society. There was no purdah amongst us originally, but later it crept in somehow. We should now drive this out as early as possible. Only physical and mental harm, and no good comes out of it.

I wonder how all the evils have conspired to come into our land ! This system of early marriage has ruined our country. Consider how many widows we have and what is their plight. Owing to early marriage our physical strength and longevity have both gone down. Look how superior to us a European is in both these respects. Therefore I wish to bring this evil pointedly to the notice of our mothers.

If we do not even now pay any attention to those humble, innocent and poor brethren, then remember our future generation would curse us. The uplift of Harijans can be done better by us, women, because we have to deal with them more. Therefore, it is my request to you all to pay attention to these down-trodden people, kept low by our own selves, and to lift them up and purify them.

### Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed at the conference :—

This conference requests the district and municipal boards to introduce compulsory education for boys and girls in our constituencies.

This conference requests the Legislative Assembly to recognise the right of inheritance of the women over the properties of their husbands and sons.

This conference requests the public to stop the demand for dowry in marriages.

This conference requests the public to popularise the use of Swadeshi goods.

This conference requests the public to stop child marriage and incongruous marriages.

This conference requests the public to remove the purdah system entirely.

## All India Aryan Women's Conference

The All-India Aryan Women's Conference was held at Ajmer on the 19th and 20th October under the Presidentship of Srimati Shaiqno Devi, Principal, Kanya

Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, and was attended by a large number of ladies from far and near, including the girl-students of Gurukuls at Dehra Dun and Kanya Mahavidyalala at Jullundur and Baroda, respectively.

*Srimati Shavno Devi*, in the course of her Presidential address, felt confident that their meeting on the occasion of the Semi-Centenary Celebrations of such a reformer as Swami Dayananda, who had done so much for the women-folk of India, would give them new life. Touching the importance of women in relation to human society was composed of two essential parts,—man and woman. Each one, she proceeded, was indispensable to the other, and no nation could progress without the help of women. Both man and woman had their respective sphere of work by performing which both contributed to the uplift of humanity—and the condition of women, she said, was an index to the condition of society. Each family, in which, according to the speaker, woman was the moving spirit, was an integral part of society; consequently woman was the principal figure in raising or degrading society. Woman, she explained, was the custodian of the hopes of the future, and by training her children along proper lines and keeping them healthy and happy rendered the greatest service to the humanity and society.

Coming to the services that Indian women could render, the President observed that they could ameliorate the economic and political condition of India by taking to the charkha.

Proceeding, the President condemned the system of acceptance of dowry for marriages, and untouchability, as also the non-preaching of the Vedic dharma. She advised the merging of all women's institutions into one All-India Association, the establishment of a Dayanand Women's Home for orphans, widows and the poor, control of all women's institutions by women, and the education of women through Vedic literature. Concluding, she appealed to the audience to resolve to serve the country in every way, and exhorted them to come into the field like Goddess Durga.

#### RESOLUTIONS

One of the resolutions passed condemned child marriage, purdah, untouchability, caste restrictions, and idol worship.

The Conference protested against the introduction of divorce in Hinduism. Signatures were obtained for a memorial to be presented to the Assembly against the Divorce Bill.

## The Hyderabad Women's Conference

The Seventh Annual Conference of Women's Association for educational advancement in Hyderabad was held at Hyderabad on the 3rd November when, owing to the unavoidable absence of the Maharani of Gadwal, who was to preside, the Rani of Papannapet presided.

Resolutions passed included subjects such as Child Marriage Act, training of kindergarten teachers, medical inspection of schools, and the necessity of a public park for purdah women.

## The Mysore State Ladies' Conference

The eighth session of the Mysore State Ladies' Conference met at Shimoga on the 3rd November, *Lady Mirza Ismail* presiding. The function commenced with invocation and reading of the welcome address of the Reception Committee Chairman after which the president delivered her address. The following is the text of Lady Mirza's address.

#### The Presidential Address

Members of the State branch of the Indian Ladies' Conference : It gives me great pleasure to meet you all once more after a year, to take stock of what we have attempted during the last year, and in some measure achieved,

and to form plans and frame a programme for the year before us. When the field is so wide, and the scope for work is so large, our achievements will naturally appear modest and even disappointingly small. This, I am sure, is due not to any lack of zeal or effort, but to the inevitable disparity between what needs to be done and what can be achieved in the initial stages. I am fully confident that if only we work patiently and persistently our labours will reap a plentiful harvest in the near future.

#### POSSIBILITIES OF GIRL GUIDE MOVEMENT

There is one Department of our activities which is full of possibilities. I refer to the Girl Guide Movement. As you are aware, attempts were made some years ago by the Department of Public Instruction to form troops of Girl Guides in the several educational institutions of the State, but although some troops were formed in one or two Girls' High Schools, the movement did not spread widely. Last year we took up the task of organising the movement in the State with the cordial co-operation of the Department and the necessary financial support from Government. An influential Committee of ladies has been formed, a number of ladies have been trained, rallies have been held, and there is every reason to believe that the movement has struck root and will spread rapidly from school to school. I attach great importance to a vigorous Girl Guide movement in the State, and consider that by participation in the activities of the movement and loyalty to its ideals, the rising womanhood of the country will receive an education which will be a highly valuable supplement to the training they receive in the class room.

I have more than once referred to the objective of the women's movement in India and particularly of our conference. If I do so again now, it is not from the mere desire for reiteration but to bring home their social significance to those who may yet realise them partially or not at all. Our objective is frankly to obtain for woman in India equal opportunities of service in the common cause of the advancement of the community. It is possible there are fields where scope for us may not be, so pronounced, just as there are fields which are the special province of women. It is possible for example to argue that Military service is not suitable for women, though even here effective service of an equally valuable character is performed by women in nursing the wounded and the sick, and comforting them in their suffering. It must be well known to many of you that women have been recruited even for Police work in Great Britain and other Western Countries. I shall not argue the point, but shall lay down this simple, and to my mind, acceptable proposition, women as women should not be barred from any sphere of service, however expedient it may be that the majority of them should find their vocation in life as makers of homes.

#### WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION

From this objective follows the obvious corollary that the educational opportunities for women should be the same as for men. I am aware that the malady of unemployment among the educated classes has spread from men to women, and we see the pathetic spectacle of women in possession of high University degrees searching for work. It may, therefore, appear undesirable that women should be further tempted to pursue courses of study which will increase the number of the unemployed. In answer, I should like to invite your attention to two important considerations. The first is that the present unemployment among the educated classes is due to the world wide economic depression and we know that they are unemployed not because our country has a surplus of University graduates, but because we lack the necessary finance to establish more schools which are the crying need of the State, and which would easily absorb the comparatively small output.

Secondly, even if the number of university graduates are such as cannot be absorbed by the community, that is an argument for regulation of the number both of men and women who should receive the university training, and not for shutting the doors of higher education against women only. If anything is to be gathered from the experience of Western countries, more and more women of course trained for the task will come to be employed in offices, public and private, as well as in the professions, and men will have to seek other avenues of employment.

#### DOMESTIC SCIENCE

I shall, before concluding, say a few words on the place of Domestic Science—as it is fashionable nowadays to call,—cooking, needlework, and nursing—in the scheme of education for women. Even when all the avenues of social employment

are open to women, there can be no doubt that the majority of them will have to mind the home either as bread-winners in the more humble ranges of occupations or as wives of poor workers who cannot afford to get the home managed by servants. Therefore some considerable knowledge of these subjects should certainly form part of the training of women. Even those who come to occupy more important positions in life or marry well would be all the better for such knowledge. Therefore, the essential elements of Domestic Science should form part of the training of all girls before they complete the High School stage, some training being given in the Middle Schools and supplemented in the High Schools. The University should provide a more advanced course in these subjects for the benefit of those who may be required to work as teachers, or, as we hope, will become social workers, who will be required to move among the poorer people and teach them what they will not have learnt in the schools in respect of cooking, sanitation, food values and so on.

Let me conclude by conveying our gratitude to the Reception Committee of Shimoga for the kind invitation to hold our Conference in their midst and for the excellent arrangements they have made for our stay. I hope that when we meet next year, we shall review one more year of useful work sustained by high ideals.

#### The Welcome Address

*Mrs. Isvaran*, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, in the course of her address, welcoming the President and the delegates, said :

Several largo problems touching upon the political and social advancement of the women of the State have been brought before the State Women's Conferences for deliberation and determination in the past and satisfactory conclusions have also been arrived at in respect of the majority of the subjects. But as you are aware, we have yet to cover a vast field in the years to come. On this occasion, however, I feel it to be my privilege to lay emphasis upon a few of the more important questions affecting the people of Malnad. Nature has been unmerciful and unyielding, so to say, in imposing restrictions on the life of the people in the Malnad and women more than the men are placed at a disadvantage in combating the evil effects thereof. Special remedies have, therefore, to be devised to overcome them. In respect of medical relief, particularly at the maternity stage, special and greater facilities are imperative. Local organisations to prevent infantile mortality and to educate the women so as to remove the prevailing ignorance in the matter are very necessary. Child welfare centres have to be established on a large scale in the several parts of the district. Suitable but modest dwelling houses have to come into being in the interior parts of the districts. I dare say that these and several other questions concerning the education and social uplift of the depressed classes will also be brought forward now for consideration before this Conference.

After the welcome address, Lady Mirza delivered her presidential address.

#### Annual Report

The organising Secretary of the Conference, *Mrs. S. Nanjamma*, then read the report of the Conference for the year 1932-33, in the course of which she stated :

The Conference has completed its eighth year of existence and it has entered upon its ninth year, its head-quarters being at Bangalore. During this year, the Conference was able to give an endowment of Rs. 2,500 to the new Maternity Hospital at Bangalore for a special ward to be named after our worthy President, Lady Mirza M. Ismail, who is the heart and soul of the women's movement in the State. Women of the State are justly proud of this endowment for so noble a cause and they deserve to be congratulated. Views regarding the status of women in the future constitution of India were sent to the All-India Women's Conference from time to time. The existing constitution of the Conference was revised by a sub-committee presided over by Mrs. Thyagaraja Aiyar, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference. Constitution was also translated into Kannada to enable our women to understand the rules and regulations. The resolutions too were printed in vernacular. Pamphlets describing the ideals and aims of the Conference are prepared and printed in Urdu, Kannada and English. These describe in a nutshell the work of the Conference and its ideals and objects. Miss Ruth E. Robinson, Mrs. Iqbalunnisa Begum and Sri S. Nanjamma were mainly responsible for this piece of work.

Echo meetings were held all over the State after the return of our delegates to the All-India Women's Conference at Lucknow to explain the work of the Conference. Several ladies took great interest in the Conference work.

### INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORK

The Industrial School for Women, started by Mrs. Iqbalunnisa Begum, one of our social secretaries, is doing excellent work. The attendance has increased and there is a great demand for the article turned out at the school. The exhibits themselves at the Exhibition, which you are seeing, will bear testimony to the quality of the work done at this school. The rural school at Yediyur which was started a year back has been progressing satisfactorily. The school does not prepare pupils to any examination. Instructions of an elementary standard is given. The honorary workers, Mrs. Singaravelu Mudaliar, Mrs. Wnlden, Miss Mahadevnu and Miss Ruth E. Robinson, are taking keen interest in the working of this school. A clinic is recently opened there, and Dr. (Miss) Mahadevan is giving instruction on sanitation and cleanliness and conducts a clinic there. The school has great potentialities for development. A building is under construction for this school. A few Harijan girls are also attending the school. The benign Government have sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 50 for two years to this experimental school.

The Creche at Belli Mutt Road is working well. The number of babies attending the Creche are steadily increasing. Our best thanks are due to Dr. Vas, the honorary medical visitor who has been taking deep interest in the working of the Creche. There is an antenatal clinic for the benefit of the cooly population. Medicines are supplied free of cost to the babies of the Creche from St. Theresa Dispensary. We take this opportunity to express our obligation to Dr. Vas and the nuns of the Convent.

Girl-guiding was re-organised last year and it was given a new lease of life by our popular and able Chief Commissioner Lady Mirza Md. Ismail in whose heart reigns supreme the welfare of our women and children.

### CONSTITUENCIES

Our constituencies are doing their best for spreading the ideals of the Conference. The Mysore sub-Constituency has been placed on a firm footing by the organisation of a strong local committee and a fund of its own. Shimoga constituency has done a lot of spade work and monthly musical evenings and lectures are some of the special features of the constituency. The sub-constituency of Chitradurg works five days in the week. Four days are allotted to handi-crafts, such as rattan work, sewing and knitting embroidery. Classes for teaching Hindi, English and Music are also started. Physical exercises and games are receiving sufficient attention. Seven ladies got through the prathamic examination with six in the 1st class. In Kolar a Hindi class is started. The class works on four days in a week and six ladies attend the same. There is a needle work class. Some learn embroidery and plain needle work. Three hundred frocks and Binnians were prepared by the members of the conference and distributed to the poor children at the baby-shows held in June 1933. Harikatha performances and musical evenings are also arranged periodically.

In Chikmagalur classes for rattan work, tailoring, embroidery and drawn thread work are conducted and classes for the teaching of Hindi are held regularly. In Tumkur a tailoring class and a class for teaching Hindi are held. Provision for indoor and outdoor games is made. The Hasan sub-constituency has been doing a lot of propaganda work to enlist the sympathies of women for the work of the conference. Girl-guiding work is undertaken. It is under contemplation to open a baby clinic next year.

In pursuance of the policy evolved by the conference to send members of the head-quarters standing committee on tours for propaganda work, Mrs. Srirangam and Miss Ruth E. Robinson visited Hasan. They held a meeting at the local girls school for ladies and explained to them the aims and objects of the conference. They enlisted members for the conference at the meeting. Mrs. Singaravelu Mudaliar and Mrs. Raghavachari could not visit Chitradurg on account of out-break of plague in that locality.

### Resolutions—Second Day—4th. November 1933

The Conference discussed resolutions to-day.

*Mrs. Kamalamma Dasappa* moved : "This Conference reiterates its opinion that the public examination at a stage below the High School be abolished."

In moving the resolution, *Mrs. Dasappa* said that the subjects for the lower secondary examination for children, particularly girls of tender age, were too many and instead of understanding the things they only mugged up subjects like parrots with a view to get through the examinations. This obviates the very object of education at an early age. Taking geography as an example, of the various subjects for the lower secondary standard, the speaker said children learn to repeat the names of places, rivers and mountains and whole world without knowing where they were, and knowing much less or nothing at all, sometimes, of the geography of their own country. Of what use is the knowledge of the distant parts of the world to our children, if they are ignorant of the conditions of their country and of their State ? Taking history as another subject of study by the girls, the speaker said that the cramming of dates of incidents of bygone days for the only purpose of passing the examination was not so very essential as the knowledge of what was going on in the world and in India to-day. Instead of subjects like geography of distant lands and countries and the history of the country, the knowledge of which might not be very essential to girls of this country in their latter life, the speaker appealed to the house that subjects like embroidery, stitching, etc., should be given more importance and to carry out these objects effectively, the public examination (the lower secondary examination) at a stage lower than the high school standard should be abolished.

*Miss Lazarus*, Headmistress of Empress Girls' High School, Tumkur, in seconding the proposition said that the system of having a public examination below the high school standard was a system peculiar to Mysore alone. Such an examination, she said, existed nowhere in India. Proceeding, she pointed out that one of the practical difficulties of this system was that of giving exemptions to some of the candidates who had failed to pass through the lower secondary examination. Since the exemption so granted depended upon the recommendations of the head-masters and head-mistresses of the Middle Schools, it was wise, she said, to abolish the public examination and to leave the discretion of promoting candidates to the high school classes to such Headmistresses themselves.

*Mrs. Rukkamma*, headmistress of Girls' School, Shimoga, while supporting the resolution, impressed upon the immediate necessity of changing the existing curriculum of study for the lower secondary standard.

The resolution was put to vote and passed by a majority.

The next resolution moved was by *Mrs. Theobald* and ran as follows :

"This conference is of opinion that English be started and taught along with Kanarese from the primary classes whenever possible to enable the children trained in the nursery schools to continue the English language without a break, as all Nursery schools that have been started are teaching both the languages."

*Mrs. Theobald* said that the English language had, whether the people wanted it or not, become an universal language throughout the world and of all the common languages understood and made use of in the daily life of the people of the different nations, English language was the only one of its kind and as such to understand the world round about, to move in society, even in India English was quite essential and the teaching of English language at an early stage side by side with the vernaculars of the locality would facilitate handling language in the higher classes and also would enable the students to grasp easily what was being taught in English, particularly subjects like science etc.

In support of this resolution two more ladies talking in Kannada said that in their experience as mistresses, it was quite easy to teach English and Kannada together in the lower classes. The Government, said one of them, might not concede this request because of financial considerations. The introduction of preaching the English Language in the lower classes i. e. in Kannada and Urdu primary classes would mean the addition of an English knowing teacher to handle that subject which would certainly cause some additional expenditure to the Government. But the speaker pointed out to obviate this difficulty, the system of introducing English along with the vernaculars might first be started in important towns and cities, which could not cost the Government too much, at a time.

The resolution was unanimously accepted by the house.

*Mrs. Sri Rangamma* of Bangalore, next moved on behalf of *Mrs. Thygaraja Aiyar* the following resolutions :

"This conference is of opinion that the establishment of vocational schools for girls with provision for general education upto a certain standard, is of prime importance and requests the Government to start such schools in some centres as an experimental measure.

"This Conference is of opinion that steps be taken for mass education by adopting the following measures : (1) Travelling libraries, (2) establishment of reading rooms, (3) appointment of agencies for educational propaganda, (4) educational trips.

"This Conference is of opinion that greater facilities be created for physical culture in schools—(1) providing sufficient playgrounds, (2) estimating physical achievements while promoting students (3) encouraging indigenous games.

Speaking on the resolution, the speaker said :—"According to Mysore census of 1931, out of a total female population of 32,03,339, only 89,307 were literate. This works out to about 3 per cent. The corresponding figures in the case of males is about 15 per cent or five times as much." This disparity, the speaker attributed to the want of a legislative measure, enacting compulsory education for women upto the middle school standard and till such an act was passed by the Legislative Council, the speaker urged upon the women of Mysore not to cease their agitation.

Proceeding, she said that women's education in the Primary Middle School Classes should be on lines entirely different from those on which boys were being taught. Practically every Indian girl contemplated marriage as the future career in life and her education should be so modelled as to make her a good wife, a careful mother and a competent house-wife. Instead they were now engaged in imparting to women more or less the same kind of education that was being given to boys. The History and Geography of foreign countries which they had not seen and which they were not going to see could not be of much value to the average Indian women especially when such subjects were being taught to the exclusion of other subjects which were likely to prove of greater value to them in the course of their daily duties as wives and mothers. The time often wasted in teaching them the elements of English currency, could be spent in teaching them arithmetic based on Indian currency with which they had to deal throughout their lives. Of the several important subjects which the speaker said was necessary for girls to know were the manner of maintaining household accounts, the art of keeping the expenditure within the income of the family, cookery, both theoretical and practical, domestic science and hygiene and a working knowledge of the medicinal qualities of the indigenous plants and herbs, care of infants and first aid and sick nursing and the ability to treat minor ailments in the family without the aid of the doctor, sewing and needle work and music. The speaker also laid particular stress upon the need for moral and religious instruction to children.

The resolution, when put to vote, was passed unanimously.

*Mrs. Srirangamma*, Headmistress of Girls' Middle School, Shimoga, moved that "This Conference reiterates its demand of previous years for the employment of adequate number of teachers to cope with the increased number of pupils in schools."

The resolution was supported by *Mrs. Mandyam* and was unanimously passed.

The Conference next adopted a resolution calling upon all women's organisations and all individual workers to take up in earnest constructive work in the villages.

*Dr. Ratnamma Isaac* then moved a resolution that "this Conference is of opinion that as the maternal mortality rate is high in certain parts of the State, steps be taken to investigate the cause and frame remedies for the same."

Dr. Isaac referred to high rate of maternal mortality in India and impressed on the woman the advisability of going to maternity hospitals at the time of their confinement where the best possible attention would be given to them and where cleanliness and antiseptic precautions, to an extent that was not possible even in the best of homes, would save many a woman from the grips of untimely death. She made an appeal to the ladies to start maternity homes in as many places as possible. The resolution was passed.

Suppression of immoral traffic in the State by legislation and carrying on of social work by women formed the subject of a resolution moved by Miss Perrin.

She said that the Conference should reiterate its demand for the immediate introduction of a bill in the Legislative Council to make all persons who keep brothels, etc., liable to punishment under the law. After explaining the various phases and life young girls who were enticed by unscrupulous people for such purposes had to pass through, she urged that the only method of eradicating this disgrace on womanhood was to take up immediate steps to open homes for girls rescued from houses of ill-fame. This work of starting rescue homes, she said, lay mainly in the hands of ladies. Every town in the State should have such a house, where girls who had erred for various reasons should be taught subjects which would enable them to earn an honest livelihood. It was a pity, she said, while the neighbouring Government of Madras, whose vast experience had made it feel the legislation a necessity, the Government of Mysore should have thrown down a move in this direction by the public themselves, though it should have been in all fairness, move on their part. Hence, she prayed the Government should once again be requested to introduce into the Assembly a bill for the suppression of immoral traffic.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

Mrs. Kamalamma Dasappa next placed before the House a five-year plan for the effective and permanent work of ladies' associations in the several parts of the State as also for starting more Sthri Samajas in almost every village of the State.

The scheme was as follows. The Government should employ at present eight lady graduates for a period of five years and keep them, one in each district, with sufficient salary to maintain themselves. Such ladies should first work in the district headquarters by starting Sthri Samajas, organising Harikathas and Bhajanals, conducting music classes, teaching women in the poorer quarters the necessity of cleanliness and the principles of sanitation, etc., and training local women not only to make them fit to conduct affairs of their Samajas and the social work to be done in their town, but also to train them to be able to organise such small Samajas in all the villages of the taluk. When this work is done in the district headquarters, such lady graduate should go to the next taluk of the district and do similar work there also. This would mean a simultaneous propaganda throughout the State and an effective one too. Such lady graduates should not be given any additional work beyond this. Such a five-years plan would be quite enough to rouse the latent energies of the State's women and that would cost the Government only Rs. 5000 a year.

Mrs. Dasappa said that at present ladies' associations existed only in some important places, like the district headquarters or the taluk headquarters and those who took a lively interest in the associations were mostly the wives of the officers. When those women in charge did some work, the officers were transferred and their wives naturally had to leave their work unfinished and go away. The slow progress the women achieved in anything constructive and practical was mainly due to this change of hands. The speaker then explained the scheme. This scheme also suggested to a certain extent a solution for the unemployed educated ladies of the State.

After some other resolutions were passed, the President made her closing speech and the Conference adjourned.

## The Travancore Women's Conference

The annual session of the Travancore Constituent Conference of the All-India Women's Conference was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, Trivandrum, on the 11th November 1933. There was a large attendance of ladies.

In welcoming the audience, Mrs. V. Sri Velayundhan Tampi said that they were all sorry that, on account of some unavoidable circumstances (Dr.) Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal, President of the Association, could not preside. The work before them was both important and serious. The presence of such a large number of women was proof, that Travancore's claim for its high literacy is justified and that her sisters could rise equal to the task when occasion arose.

*Miss D. H. Watts*, retired Principal, was then voted to the chair. In the course of her speech, Miss Watts said that she had been a loyal servant of Government for 21 years and that consistently with her loyalty and position, she could not preside, especially in view of the fact that the terms of the draft resolutions were all protests against the Education Committee's decisions. In those circumstances, she said she could not preside.

Then, *Mrs. Sri Velayudhan Tampi* was proposed to the chair to conduct the proceedings. She took the chair and the resolutions were then taken up.

The President moved from the chair resolutions placing on record the deep appreciation by the conference of the spirit underlying His Highness' visit to Europe and expressed its joy on the safe return home of Their Highnesses. The glorious services rendered to India by Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. V. J. Patel and the loss India had sustained by their deaths were also the subjects of resolutions from the chair. The conference also congratulated the All-India Fund Association on its success in starting the Lady Irwin College of Home Science. The conference whole-heartedly supported the proposal of the Committee on Travancore Educational Reforms to introduce Home Science as a subject in the Government Girls' High School and the colleges for women and requested Government to take prompt steps to give effect to this proposal by deputing one science graduate to undergo training at the Lady Irwin Home Science College.

The Conference also expressed its appreciation of the recommendations of the Education Reforms Committee to raise the status and standard of primary school teachers. The Conference gave its entire support to the proposal of the Reforms Committee to open Kinder-garten and Montessori Schools in the State and the proposal to introduce vocational schools for girls where such subjects as gardening, poultry-farming, weaving, etc., would be taught.

*Mrs. G. Raman Pillai* moved "that the Conference expresses its regret at the fact that the Education Reforms Committee did not consult any of the women's organisations, especially the Trivandrum Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference on education in forming their conclusions regarding women's education in the State.

The resolution was duly seconded and supported and passed nem con.

*Lady Rajagopalachari* next proposed a resolution protesting against the abolition of the degree classes in the Women's College.

The motion was duly seconded and supported and passed nem con.

*Sri. Narayana Amma* moved a resolution to prevent professional begging in towns and appealed to Government to put a stop to it and requested the co-operation of the public in eradicating the evil by proper legislation and provision of suitable poor houses. This was duly passed.

The Statham Committee's proposal to employ mixed staff in primary schools was condemned by *Sri Vanajakshi Amma* in the form of a resolution, which was passed.

*Mrs. Thairivam* moved a resolution urging the need for adult education. The motion was adopted.

There was a long discussion on married women and their entertainment in the Education Department on the motion of *Mrs. Anna Chandy*. The Statham Committee had recommended the non-entertainment in the higher grades of the service of women who were married especially in the Administration branch. There was also a proposal that those with a service of 10 years and under should be sent away. The speaker strongly condemned the proposal. Was it contended, she asked, that unmarried woman alone should be employed? Would it not lead to so many undesirable results in several directions which ought to be prevented in the Educational Department?

*Mrs. G. Sankara Pillai* observed that, if the proposal of the Committee was sanctioned, unemployment among women would largely increase. Out of 4,300 women employees in the State service, 3,270 were in the Education Department.

The last resolution expressed objection to the proposal to restrict admissions in colleges by various means and to raise the expenses of education by the increase of fees. This was proposed by *Miss Rajam* and duly passed.

The President was authorised to convey to Government a copy of the above resolutions.

## The Madras Women's Conference

The eighth session of the Madras Constituent Conference of the All-India Women's Conference on educational and social reform was held at the Museum Theatre, Egmore, Madras on the 21st October 1933, Dr. Miss McDougall presiding. There was a large gathering of ladies. The proceedings commenced with prayers.

*Dr. (Mrs). Muthulakshmi Reddi*, in proposing Miss D. McDougall to the chair, said that their President had rendered yeoman's service to the cause of woman's education and that she was truly fitted to preside over their conference. Services irrespective of caste and colour, was the only test to be applied by them for posts of responsibility and honour and judged by that standard Miss McDougall was the right person to preside over their conference.

*Miss McDougall*, in the course of her address, spoke as follows :—

"First of all, a warm welcome to all who have assembled here this morning for a day of conference on matters of vast importance, not only to woman, but to all who claim India as the land of their choice and adoption. The conference of ours is one of many which are being held in many parts of India in preparation for the All-India Conference which will be held in Calcutta at the end of the year. This is the eighth year of our meeting, and seems likely to be the most important session that has been held since, in 1925, the idea was first launched. The plan of the All-India Conference and its preliminary Constituent Conferences, we owe to our dear friend Mrs. Cousins whom we hope very soon to see among us again. This year which has been in many ways one of prosperity and progress and harmony among ourselves has also been marked by our regret at her absence. The close of this year has been marked also by the departure from our sight of one whose name must be in the thoughts of all who come here to-day. Two years ago when the All-India Conference met in this very hall in December, we were all invited to Adyar to share the kindly hospitality of Mrs. Annie Besant. From the first inception of these conferences she was active and generous in her help and approval. But when the guests came together she was not strong enough to speak to them, and after twenty months of increasing physical weakness she has passed away, leaving a memory which will be an inspiration to many. Large is the heart and brain, gifted beyond any woman of our time in eloquence and mental energy. She devoted with generous enthusiasm the great powers of her nature to the service of the land of her choice, and before her departure had the joy of seeing the dawning of a new day.

Our business to-day is to consider the resolutions which we are asked to send up to the all-India Conference for their deliberations in December. We think of the company which will meet there in Calcutta day after day, women from every part of India, speaking all her languages, and representing all the elements that make up the rich whole of Indian womanhood; the experienced and well-tried leaders, the pioneers from communities which have only just begun to realise themselves, women of all the religions of India, of every social level, of all ages from the ardent girl students to the aged people who remember a time when the facts of the present day seemed fantastic dreams. In a lesser degree our conference here to-day is composed of such elements also, and the greatest thing perhaps that has been accomplished by the organisation of the conference is the bringing together of women of such different sorts to enrich each other by sharing their knowledge and experience. It would be difficult to exaggerate the gains which have won through this new fellowship and friendship with one another. It is the great happiness and also the great glory of the women's movement in India, that it has always been free from narrow communalism, pride and prejudice which are so great an obstacle in the way of India reaching her goal of responsible nationhood. Women have entered the field of Indian politics with this message. "We are all one; let there be no division between us". Let us trust that Indian manhood always responsive to the voice of the mother will accept this message, and that the presence and growing influence of women in the public life of the country will make for peace, dignity and mutual good will. Yet there is no slumberous unanimity among us, no blind following of any one leader or authority. There is unanimous agreement indeed as to our hopes and aims and ideals, but there is abundant diversity of

opinion as to methods and detail, and no one who has heard the vigorous discussions carried on in smaller gathering and meetings, though such not possible in such a large gathering and in so short a time as the conference of to-day, can accuse our movement of torpor or apathy.

A new feature in the proceedings of to-day is the inclusion in our programme of some reports or accounts of things that are actually being done in this city to work the reforms which in past years we have been advocating. At first, our resolutions generally took the form of appealing to Government to remove certain evils and promote certain reforms. Two years ago we began to call on the general public as well as on the Government to carry out the things that must be done, realising how ineffective a good law may be unless the public opinion is actively supporting it. Now, we shall be hearing, for our inspiration and encouragement, of work that is in process and of improvement that may be visibly seen.

The year has been one in which anxiety and disappointment have not been wanting. The widespread poverty and misery caused by extensive unemployment have affected us deeply. Also members of our conference have called attention to new evils arising from the rapid spread of gambling, and we have disheartening evidence of frequent failure to make the compulsory education for girls and boys an actual thing in areas of the city where it is in operation, and of many cases of disobedience to law against child-marriage. Yet on the whole the year has been one of encouraging progress, and we in Madras have many reasons to look back with some satisfaction to what has been done. We are all proud of the part taken by our late President, Dr. (Mrs). Muthulakshmi Reddy, before the Joint Select Committee in London this summer. We have her inspiring presence with us again and one of the great things we look forward to in this meeting is her message on the principle of non-communal electorates.

We have had among us, though unfortunately not at a time when she could have spoken to the conference, the Principal of the new College for Home Science at Delhi, an enterprise which is of importance to the whole of India. We hope that from it may come inspiration and direction for the reform of the education of women and girls and also that it will prove to be a link of union between North and South India.

Progress has been made also in the gigantic task of combating the deep-rooted and obstinate evils such as the oppression of the outcaste classes, the evils of intemperance and the injustice still present in some of the laws concerning marriage, property and inheritance; we are to consider these things in our conference and also to hear of more positive lines of progress such as the increase of home industries, the new emphasis placed on the physical improvement of the children at school, the attention now given by the university to music and domestic science, better provision for the protection of animals, and activity in dealing with the problems of social vice and of begging. Women, sometimes alone and sometimes in valuable co-operation with men reformers, have done much useful work in all these fields this year. We will now turn to the actual work of the conference with the prayer that the divine blessing and inspiration without which our work must be futile and feeble, may be abundantly granted to us all.

#### The Annual Report

After the presidential address, Mrs. Kurian presented the annual report of the Madras Constituent Conference for the year 1933-34. The report, which showed good progress, stated that there were 80 members during the year on the General Committee. On the 21st. Jan. 1933 the General Committee elected the Executive Committee which, at its first meeting held in January, chalked out the programme of work for the year. At the second meeting of the Committee the Memorandum II on Women's Franchise drafted by the Joint Committee of the All-India Women's Conference, Women's Indian Association and National Council of the Women of India was discussed. The General Committee, after making a few changes in the draft Memorandum, accepted it. The following important matters, in addition to routine work, were also dealt with by the Committee.

Mrs. Rustemji Faridoonji and Mrs. Subbaroyan were nominated to the panel for the election to the presidentship of the A. I. W. C. to be held at Calcutta in December, 1933. A resolution was passed expressing regret at the Government of Madras holding the post of the Deputy Directress of Public Health in abeyance and also another resolution recommending to the Department of Education, Madras,

to grant scholarships annually to two lady students from Madras Presidency for training in the Lady Irwin College, Delhi.

A study of problems concerning the expansion of elementary and mass education was also conducted. The Educational Secretary had prepared the necessary materials for the same. In connection with the social work the report stated that a model colony for Harijans, called "Krishnampet Gokulam", in Lloyd's Road had been formed and education was being imparted to the fishermen colony of 100 families located near the Lady Willingdon Training College in habits of cleanliness and orderliness and inducing them to give up drinking and rioting and thereby saving them from eviction from the land by government for a period of three years.

Necessary preliminary work for Leper Relief in the City was undertaken. Leprosy being a disease which spreads in an alarming manner as the direct result of ignorance and dirt is pre-eminently a social work in which the active co-operation of all women is essential for success. The financial position of the Constituency was satisfactory. After meeting all the expenses there was a balance of Rs. 254-14-5. The work during the year was carried on in a spirit of good-will and harmony. The report was then adopted.

Mrs. Kandeth next presented the Treasurer's report which was also adopted and resolutions were next taken up for discussion.

The following two resolutions were moved from the chair and carried :—

"The Madras Constituent Women's Conference places on record its grateful appreciation of the glorious service that has been rendered to the whole world and particularly to India and to India's womanhood by late Dr. Annie Besant, and expresses its feeling of profound sorrow and the irreparable loss to the country by her demise."

This Conference welcomes the release of Mrs. Margaret Cousins, one of the founders of the Conference.

#### TRIBUTE TO RAM MOHON ROY

*Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi* next moved the following resolution :—

"This Conference pays its respectful and grateful homage to Raja Ram Mohan Roy during his centenary celebration for his inestimable service to humanity, to his country and to the cause of Indian womanhood in particular and appeals to the public to subscribe liberally towards his memory."

Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi said that as the courageous champion of the women's cause Raja Ram Mohan Roy had surpassed any reformer, ancient or modern. At this time when not a single woman in the east nor in the west could raise her voice against the oppressive customs to which women were subjected to, he had dared to challenge his own sex to prove that women were in any way inferior to men, and that women deserved a better treatment at their hands. Equally strong and convincing was his stand against polygamy and child-marriage. In his will, he had stated that if any one of his heirs married more than one wife, he should be disinherited of his property. His essay on the "ancient rights of females" showed that if he had lived long enough he would have reformed the Hindu Law of Inheritance so as to give a share to the wives, to the widows and to the daughters from their ancestral property. When we, women, were now in a position to demand equal opportunities and equal citizen rights and adequate representation in the future constitution of their country, it was incumbent on them, nay it was their sacred duty, to express their love and gratitude, and reverence, to that great personality who was the first to raise the banner of revolt on their behalf against all oppressive customs that hamper the women's progress.

The resolution, after being seconded, was carried amidst cheers.

#### EDUCATION

The next resolution adopted by the Conference ran as follows :—

"The Conference reviews with great joy and satisfaction the opening of the Lady Irwin College for Home Science at Delhi and regards this as the most important step forward in the educational progress of the whole of India and calls upon the women of India to give their whole-hearted support and to assist this college in every way, viz., (a) by giving wide publicity to the aims and objects of the college; (b) by sending students to it; (c) by influencing educational bodies to secure posts for the graduates from this college, and (d) by providing adequate endowment funds for the College."

*Miss M. F. Prager* moved the resolution on elementary and mass education. The resolution ran as follows :—

"This Conference urges upon the Government the great need of Education for the masses and strongly recommends the immediate introduction of compulsory Elementary Education for both boys and girls, as well as the creation of greater facilities for adult education."

She said that the resolution was comprehensive in its contents. It was an important subject in which they were very much interested. The women's movement could help the spread of elementary education a great deal. Elementary education was in fact a woman's problem. There were several aspects of elementary education which a woman could successfully tackle and she appealed to the delegates to bestow great care and attention to the subject. Elementary education, the speaker said in conclusion, could not make much progress unless there was a teaching order of women inspired by religion and love willing to take the work of the education of children.

*Mrs. Ramamurthi* and *Mrs. Chida* explained the importance of the resolution in Tamil and Urdu, after which the proposition was passed unanimously.

#### WOMEN FRANCHISE

*Mrs. Dadhaboi* next moved :

"(a) This Conference supports the Memorandum II of the All-India Women's Conference.

"(b) This Conference unanimously demands non-communal electorate and the maximum voting strength for women.

"(c) This Conference strongly recommends that a training for efficient citizenship should be instituted as a course of studies in all educational institutions."

In moving the resolutions, *Mrs. Dadhaboi* explained at length the demands made in the Memorandum II of the All-India Women's Conference. The memorandum stated that though they felt strongly that adult franchise was the best method of enfranchising men and women on a basis of equality, they would agree to certain temporary measures until such time as universal adult suffrage could be introduced. It strongly recommended (1) that literacy (ability to read and write in any language) should be substituted for the higher educational qualifications proposed in the White Paper, for voters to both Provincial legislatures and Federal Legislatures and (2) women of 21 years of age and over be enfranchised in all urban areas. The memorandum strongly objected to the election of women to the Federal Assembly from the Provincial Legislatures by the indirect system of election and also to the principle of reservation of seats for women in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures. The memorandum further submitted that a system of franchise and representation based upon the communal electorates and interests as proposed in the White Paper would be highly detrimental to the progress of the Indian people as a whole and to that of women in particular. They stand united in their demand for a system of Joint Electorates and record their protest against the Communal Award as it would introduce the poison of communalism into the now united ranks of the women of India.

*Mrs. Dadhaboi* stated these were their essential demands and hoped that a strong public opinion would be created in this direction.

*Mrs. Hensman* seconded the proposition. She said that property qualifications should also be maintained. She whole-heartedly supported the proposal that wives and widows should have votes on the basis of the property qualifications of their husbands. She said that she differed from the first part of the resolution now before the House.

*Srimathi Viralakshmiammal* supported the resolutions in a Tamil speech.

*Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi* said that there should be equality of status in all matters of franchise. Property qualifications would lead to complications.

*Mrs. Hanner Angelo* opposed the principle of reservation of seats.

The first part of the resolution was passed by a large majority of forty votes against three. The second and third parts were carried unanimously.

#### PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

*Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadass* moved the following resolutions :—

"Whereas in Madras City little boys of 5 years old and upwards are engaged in Beedi factories under deplorable conditions in small, dirty, over-crowded and

unventilated rooms for about 12 or 13 hours a day for which they receive about 1 or 2 annas, this Conference calls upon the Government to immediately pass a Bill forbidding the employment of children under 12 years of age in these factories.

"(b) This Conference calls upon the Government to amend the Madras Childrens' Act of 1920 Section 29 Clauses I, A and D by adding the words "Cruelty" and "Immorality" respectively as a cause for depriving the parent or guardian of the custody of the Child. This Conference whole-heartedly supports the 'Girls' Protection Bill' now before the Assembly."

Mrs. Abdul Wahab Sahed Bukari seconded the resolutions which were then unanimously passed.

#### SOCIAL REFORM

The following resolutions were then put from the chair and carried:

"(a) This Conference reiterates its former resolutions appealing to all concerned to remove the social disabilities of the so-called Depressed Classes.

"(b) This Conference rejoices that Gandhiji has resolved to devote his time and energy to the removal of the curse of untouchability and calls upon the women of the country actively to co-operate with him in this campaign.

"(c) This Conference whole-heartedly gives its support to the Temple-Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly.

This Conference thanks the Government for having supported the Sarda Act and appeals to the members of the Assembly and Government to amend this Act so as to prevent and penalise Child Marriage.

This Conference strongly protests against the Bills now before the Legislative Assembly seeking to amend and repeal the Child Marriage Restraint Act and recommends that representatives of organised Women's Associations should be invited to express their opinion on these Bills.

"This Conference reiterates its former resolutions urging reform of the Marriage Laws so as to bring about equality in marital relationships in the Hindu community and hence supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill now before the Assembly.

"The Conference urges upon the Government to pass immediate legislation giving adequate rights of inheritance to women and supports the Widows' Maintenance Bill now before the Assembly.

"Gambling—(a) This Conference whole-heartedly condemns gambling of any type and on any scale, public or private."

"Cinema—(b) This Conference calls upon the authorities to appoint on the Board of Censors a sufficient number of members with expert knowledge of child psychology, to avoid the increasing number of those cinema shows which are injurious to the mental and moral development of the youth of the country."

#### SUPPORT FOR SWADESHI

Moved by Srimati Kamala Menon and seconded by Mrs. Subhadramma, the following resolution was carried:

"This Conference reiterates its former resolution that while placing on record its appreciation of the work already done, it calls for increased effort in the support of indigenous industries (Swadeshi) such as hand-spinning, weaving, and all other cottage industries.

#### PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Mrs. V. E. Graham moved and Mrs. Tivali seconded the following resolutions which were carried unanimously:

"This Conference reiterates before the public the vital necessity for public parks and playgrounds for children in the city."

"This Conference gives its whole-hearted support to all schemes for the extension of physical education in all the schools and colleges of this Presidency."

She stated that the Government had taken steps to train girls as physical instructors in girls' schools and was doing its best to awaken an interest in the subject. The co-operation of the public was also essential and intelligent, enthusiastic and educated girls should come forward to get themselves trained.

Sister Subbalakshmi Anmal made an impassioned appeal to revive some of the games practised in the homes of Hindu women in ancient days. In India some exercises were associated with religion and if these revived, the general health of the girls in their schools would surely improve.

The resolution was then accepted unanimously.

### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Mrs. Chouriappa in moving the following resolution said that in other countries it would be very easy to enact legislation and getting things done. But in India the Government was a party and the speaker was afraid that these could not get any support from the Government.

**Temperance—Issuing license to intoxicating drngs—**This conference totally condemns the practice of issuing license to the vendors dealing in intoxicating drugs and urges upon the Government and the public to support prohibition.

The resolution was next adopted.

The following resolution were then adopted without any discussion.

"This Conference thanks the University of Madras for appointing Women Specialists to deliver extension lectures in Domestic Science and in Indian Music.

"This Conference congratulates the Government for the institution of a special court to prevent Cruelty to Animals.

"This Conference urges upon the public the urgent need for a Homo for women and girls in moral danger.

This Conference urges upon the Government for the passing of immediate legislation to check public begging.

### BIRTH CONTROL

The Conference then adopted a resolution authorising the general committee of the Conference to appoint a sub-committee to study the question of birth-control in all its aspects and to submit its findings to the general committee as soon as possible.

### TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi then presented a report of the working of the Madras Vigilance Association. In the course of the report it was stated:—

It has succeeded with the help of the Government and the police department in closing over 123 houses of traffic without any adverse reactions of public opinion and with as little injury to the inmates as possible. By the constant watchfulness of the workers it has ensured that the houses which were closed were not re-opened afterwards. It has tried to assist such of the victims of traffic who are willing to avail themselves of assistance; (1) by the offer of personal assistance during the house to house visitation of the lady workers; (2) by the offer of assistance by the lady workers at the time of the person of the inmate by direct police action; (3) by the opening of a shelter for girls who are threatened with being drawn into the traffic; (4) by providing stipends for such as are willing to be trained back into normal life.

Its failure in rescue work is to be ascribed in part to the absence of the attractiveness of the help and partly to the absence of an adequate number of capable women workers. The pressing need therefore is, for a women's home (which should not be called a rescue home) and for trained and sympathetic workers. The women of Madras ought to help in this. Further progress is difficult, if not impossible, without financial help from the public for the establishment and maintenance of the home. Such a house in Madras may serve both Madras city and possibly the mofussil towns also. The working of the rescue provisions of the Act depends upon the successful functioning of such a home.

The public in Madras at any rate has come to realise that the brothels are a public shame and disgrace and that girls and women should be protected, but they have not yet realised that women who are mostly victims of men's depravity and vice could be reformed, trained and made useful members of the society.

Principles of morality have to be enforced irrespective of sex. Unless men are pure, it is impossible for women to be pure, as naturally the impure man signify or denote the existence of impure women side by side. That is why we insist upon equal and high standard of morality for both sexes.

### HARIJAN UPLIFT

Mrs. Subadramma presented the report of the Madras Harijana Seva Sangha. She stated that intensive Harijan reform work had been done in the past year and the main item of expenditure was the payment of scholarship to poor Harijan boys and girls. Another item of work was the visit of cherries and organising of meetings in those areas to promote among the inmates a sense of cleanliness.

## LEPER RELIEF

Mrs. Kuriyan spoke on the Leper Relief Work done in the city. The City Leper League Council had started two clinics, one at Perambur and another at Triplicane. A survey had been made and it was estimated that there were more than twenty-thousand persons suffering from leprosy in the city. Ignorance was the main cause of the spread of the disease. The Council's main work would be the education of the people on the first symptoms of this dreadful disease and for this purpose they need money and they need as many women workers as possible. The "Leper Day" had been organised to be held on the 4th of November with a view to collect funds. The speaker appealed to the citizens of Madras to respond whole-heartedly to the appeal of the Leper Council.

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## The Andhra Provincial Women's Conference

The seventh session of the Andhra Provincial Women's Conference was held at Ellore on the 4th November under the presidentship of Dr. (Mrs). Muthulakshmi Reddi. The whole hall was packed to its utmost capacity with delegates and visitors. About two hundred delegates from several districts of the Andhra country came to take part in the conference, the largest contingent being from East Godavari.

Miss. V. Peter, Reception Committee Chairman, after welcoming the delegates to the conference first referred to the death of Mrs. Besant, one of the world's greatest persons and said that her death was an irreparable loss to India and Indian women. Miss Peter then said that the necessity and importance of female education seemed to have been realised by our countrymen and women in a larger degree than before, but the progress in that direction was not at all satisfactory. There were not enough girls' schools and women's colleges. It was necessary that a separate allotment should be made in the budget every year for female education. Zamindars and wealthy persons should come forward with donations for the spread of education among girls. Most of the Indian women were illiterate and steeped in ignorance. It was their duty to educate them. Female education should be national in character and must be in harmony with our civilisation and traditions. Western civilisation should not be their ideal but they might adopt such things from the West as would not be in conflict with their civilisation. The aim of education was not merely intellectual development; bodily health, good character, patriotism and belief in God were to be acquired by education. Indian girls should be taught physiology, hygiene, domestic economy, moral science and such other subjects. It was also necessary to teach them music, sewing and other handiwork by which they could earn their livelihood.

Continuing, she said that India was in a deplorable condition on account of caste differences, communal hatred, untouchability, child marriages and other social evils. It was a matter of gratification that the Indian national leaders were making every effort to remove untouchability which was showing signs of decline. But communal differences were being strengthened by communal conferences like Vysya and Kamma Conferences. As long as these communal differences and other social evils continued to exist, there could be no real national life and patriotism. Child marriages, she said, were on decrease on account of the Sarda Act but if the objects of the Act were to be fully achieved, their help and co-operation were absolutely necessary. Even in the matter of other social reforms no progress could be made without the active cooperation of women. If they had the welfare of the nation at heart they should devote themselves to the cause of social reform. In every town and village they should organise associations and spend their leisure in social service. Continuing the speaker said that among the Hindus women occupied an inferior position in the matter of inheriting property. Ordinarily, it was the man but not the woman that got a share in the property. Women were dependent on others for their livelihood and could not afford to live independently. No doubt, some efforts were being made to improve the condition of women in this respect by some

members of the Legislative Assembly but they would materialise only if they were supported by the determined co-operation of women.

Srimathi S. Lakshminarasamma, Joint Secretary of the Reception Committee, read out some verses in Telugu welcoming the President and eulogising her services in the cause of Indian woman-hood.

Srimathi Ch. Rattamma, Vice-President of the Reception Committee, also read out her speech welcoming the President and delegates in the course of which she appealed to Indian women to awake and fight for their rights and privileges, and to educate children compulsorily and to try to be self-dependent for redressing their grievances.

Srimathi D. Kamalaratnam then read out the annual report which was adopted.

#### Resolutions

The Conference discussed the draft resolutions prepared by the Subjects' Committee which met in the morning.

The Conference adopted resolutions of condolence touching the deaths of Dr. Annie Besant, the Maharani of Pithapuram and Mr. V. J. Patel and recorded its appreciation of the services rendered by them to the country. The conference referred to the centenary celebration of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, expressed its grateful appreciation of the noble services rendered to Indian womanhood by him and called upon the public to subscribe liberally to his memorial.

#### COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

The following resolution proposed by Srimathi B. Seetabai and seconded by Srimathi M. Kamalamma, was carried unanimously:

"As it is the duty of the Government to make people literate inasmuch as the new reforms are little understood by the illiterate people, this conference requests the Provincial Government and local boards and municipalities to introduce without any further delay free and compulsory primary education in every town and village throughout the country, appointing women as teachers in all the primary schools, which in the primary stage should be common both to boys and girls. It further urges that the schools should be liberally provided with all the requisite apparatus and appliances and that the powers of the Inspecting staff should be substantially increased to secure efficiency of instruction. It exhorts the public to carry on incessant agitation until the above is achieved."

Srimathi M. Kamalamma proposed and T. Rajeswarma seconded a resolution urging on the Government and the public the need of high schools for girls in all the districts and of lower secondary schools in all the talukas. Srimathi S. Lakshminarasamma spoke at length supporting the resolution which was carried.

#### WOMEN'S COLLEGE FOR ANDHRADESA

Moved by Srimathi D. Kamalaratnamma, seconded by D. Ramalakshmamma, a resolution was passed requesting the Government and the Andhra University to establish a Women's College in some suitable centre in the Andhra Desa at a very early date to encourage higher education of women in Andhra Desa.

Resolutions were adopted urging that vernaculars be made the medium of instruction for all subjects in secondary schools, that English should be taught as a second language and that Hindi be made a compulsory subject, and that in all local conferences and meetings, speeches should be made as far as possible in vernacular and recommending to the Education Department the employment of women having a good knowledge of Telugu as inspecting officers in the elementary schools in Andhra Desa in preference to women holding higher qualifications in English and the establishment of special schools, general education as well as vocational so as to train adults for a profession. The Conference urged women's associations to organise adult women's education centre with the help of local boards and municipalities.

The Conference called upon the women of Andhra Desa to organise subconstituency in each districts and requested local boards to give grants in aid to national schools and recommended the admission of Harijan boys and girls into all the municipal, board and aided schools. The Government was requested by another resolution to award scholarships to girls who are students of Sanskrit College.

The Conference also adopted resolutions recommending compulsory introduction of physical culture in schools, calling upon managers of schools to see that prayer conducted in schools were made acceptable to pupils of all religious beliefs and urging upon the men and women of India to encourage and support indigenous

industries by using Swadeshi goods. The Conference congratulated the All India Women's Conference on having established in Delhi a Central College to teach domestic science to women to do research in Indian education and recommended that the Department of Education should send Andhra students to be trained in the College as teachers.

The Government and the Andhra University were requested to provide more seats for women medical students in the Vizag Medical College and a women's section in the Medical College hostel attached to the College and also to liberally provide scholarships to women students, so as to encourage women's medical education.

#### SUPPORT TO MEMORANDUM IN REFORMS

*Srimathi D. Kamalaratnamma* moved and *Srimathi A. Bhasakramma* seconded that this Conference wholeheartedly support the memorandum presented by the three great Indian national women's associations, namely, the All-India Women's Conference, the Women's Indian Association and the N. C. W. I. before the Joint Parliamentary Committee regarding the Indian women's rights and privileges in the new reform scheme and express its complete arrangement with the opinion expressed by the elected representatives of the above three institutions, namely, *Srimathi Rajakumari Amritakur, Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Sheriffa Hamid Ali* before the Select Committee on the Indian reforms". The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### ENFORCEMENT OF SARDAR ACT

*Srimathi D. Kamalaratnamma* moved and *Srimathi P. Sundaramma* seconded that "This Conference appeals to the people to form vigilance committees in every town and village and carry on propaganda regarding the benefits that accrue by putting the Sarda Act in full force and thus put a stop to child marriages in the country, and requests the Government to empower the Magistrates to prevent child marriages to remove the clause demanding Rs. 100 as security from the complainant in such case and to enact that every marriage should be registered". The resolution was passed.

Resolutions were adopted appealing to parents to enable their widowed daughters to prosecute higher studies compulsorily, to get such of their daughters married again if they did not attain their puberty compulsorily in their own houses and to provide every opportunity to those widows who did not like to marry again to do social service and other patriotic work and urging the public very strongly to put an immediate end to the purdah system which was quite detrimental to the spread of education among women and quite injurious to their bodily health.

#### ERADICATING UNTOUCHABILITY

The Conference resolved that untouchability should be completely eradicated and the so-called untouchables should be allowed to work in the houses of the Cast-Hindus as coolies and servants, and appeals to the public to throw open to the Harijans all the wells and tanks.

The Conference requested the Legislative Assembly to enact that women should inherit a share of their husbands' or parents' property and also to pass the Bill of Haribas Sarda on the anvil of the Assembly regarding the right of inheritance of widows. The Conference appealed to the public to found in as many centres as possible Saranayams for unprotected children and emphasised the necessity of putting into operation the Brothels' Act in all the towns in Andhra Desa, of forming committees to detect such crimes and of establishing leagues for the protection of rescued girls and women.

#### REDUCTION OF LAND TAX

*Srimathi U. Kamalamma* moved and *Srimathi M. Sundaramma* seconded a resolution that in the interests of the country and the nation to reduce the enhanced land taxes and to collect them at half rate this year in view of the economic depression, fall in the price of paddy and the miserable condition of the ryots and it was carried.

*Srimathi P. Venkatasubbamma* proposed and *Srimathi T. Rajeswaramma* seconded that the local bodies should extend their financial help in the matter of rural reconstruction as the welfare of the country was mainly dependent on the welfare of the villages. It was passed unanimously.

The Conference passed a number of other resolutions appealing to the people to insure only in the Swadeshi Companies, etc.

#### BIRTH-CONTROL RESOLUTION REJECTED

Much discussion took place on the resolution relating to birth-control. Srimathis D. Kamalaratnamma, A. Bhaskaramma and others supported it, while Srimathis Duvvuri Subbamma, Varnasi Alivelu Mangamma and others opposed it. When the same was put to vote, it was lost.

#### DIVORCE RESOLUTION WITHDRAWN

The last resolution requesting the legislature to pass an act invalidating the marriage of a minor girl, in case her husband was found to be a eunuch, or a lunatic or a leper and legalising the divorce by a wife of her husband when he was putting her to untold troubles, was, after a long discussion, withdrawn and not pressed to vote.

The President, in her concluding remarks, strongly advised the women to study and think over every question that affected their sex for themselves and give their votes according to the dictates of their conscience without being led away by the opinion of others. She pointed out that customs and manners should be changing in consonance with the times. She made a fervent appeal to them to act up to the various resolutions passed in the conference. She expressed her heart-felt thanks to the Reception Committee for the honour done to her.

## The Tamil Nad Women's Conference

Tamil Nadu Women's Constituent Conference of the All-India Women's Conference took place in the Foulkes Hall, Salem on the 4th. November. A large number of ladies were present.

The Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, Mrs. Rajaiah De Paul, welcomed the delegates in a short speech in the course of which she stated that the educated portion of Indian women owed a great duty to their less fortunate sisters whom they should help to progress in every direction. They must remember, she added, that no nation could rise above the level of its average womanhood and if they were to rise as a nation, the women comprising it, should be very progressive.

She then appealed to the ladies gathered in the Conference to take to such services and work for the amelioration of the lot of Indian women at large.

#### EXPANSION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The first resolution which was proposed by Miss Levin and seconded by Shri Laxmi urged upon the local bodies of the Tamil districts, the great need for expanding the educational facilities for the masses and the necessity to introduce compulsory elementary education at an early date in their respective areas, with provision of greater facilities for adult education.

The conference drew the attention of Government to the inadequate facilities for adult education in the land and requested for greater facilities being provided in that direction. Mrs. Rajarajah D. Paul proposed and Shri Madhaviammal seconded this motion.

The conference considered that moral training based on spiritual ideals should be made compulsory for boys and girls in all schools and colleges. Shri Laxmi proposed and Mrs. Pravathiammal seconded the resolution.

Miss Stanyon proposed and Mrs. Masilamani of Trichy seconded a resolution appealing to local bodies to make adequate provision for playgrounds and parks for school children.

The next resolution requesting Government to reintroduce the system of medical inspection of school children for boys and girls was proposed by Mrs. Hatch and Mrs. Whitehead.

The next resolution drew the attention of Government to the need for providing the Government Girl's High School and the Queen Alexandra Hospital for Women

and Children, Salem, with more suitable and up-to-date buildings at as early a date as possible.

The District Boards of Tamil Nadu were then called upon, by the next resolution, to establish secondary schools for girls as was done in Malabar and Kistna District Boards. Mrs. C. R. Odayar moved the proposition which Mrs. Jesudasan of Trichy seconded.

#### DEMAND FOR EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

The next resolution which Mrs. T. M. Chinnaiya Pillai moved and which Mrs. Whitehead seconded, requested Government to embody a clause in the ensuing reformed constitution of India giving men and women equal rights of citizenship and failing about suffrage, it was suggested that the recommendations of the Lothian Committee be adopted to determine the voting strength of Indian women. All the above resolutions were adopted.

#### BIRTH CONTROL

The Conference then discussed a matter of present-day interest about which there was some controversy, in the resolution which stated that the conference viewed with satisfaction the proposal of the Madras Government to spread the knowledge of the means of regulating the size of families but considered that safeguards were to be taken to impart that knowledge only to those who needed it. Mrs. Whitehead proposed it and Mrs. C. R. Odayar seconded it. Mrs. R. V. V. Thathachariar and Mrs. Parvathi Ammal, opposed the motion along with some other ladies. Eventually votes were taken and the motion was passed by a majority of votes, 54 voting for and 45 against it.

Mrs. C. R. Odayar then proposed a resolution of condolence at the passing away of Dr. Annie Besant who had done yeoman's service to the cause of Indian woman. The resolution was passed *nem con* all standing. (From the "Hindu", Madras).

## The Hyderabad Women's Conference

The seventh annual conference of the Women's Association Hyderabad, (Deccan), was held at Hyderabad on the 4th November, 1933. The proceedings were held in purdah, the Press being accommodated in an adjacent room. Mrs. Tasker, requested the Rani of Papannapett to take the chair. After offering felicitations to the Nizam on the birth of a grandson, the Anjuman girls next sang the State National Anthem, composed in Persian, by H. E. H. the Nizam, the audience standing.

In the course of her presidential address the Rani of Papannapett paid a compliment to the work which was being done by the Committee. Quoting Maori's saying that "Where women are honoured there the gods dwell", the President referred to distinguished historic figures such as Chand Bibi and Ahalya Bai and concluded that women were not meant to be cribbed, cabined and confined, for woman's progress was man's progress. She stressed that it was necessary for the members of the Hyderabad Ladies' Association to work for the mental, physical and moral progress of the women of the State. The Annual Report of the Association was then read in Urdu by Mrs. Hussain Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary and in English by Mrs. M. K. Pillai, Joint Secretary.

Resolutions were then adopted requesting for legislation to prevent child marriage, requesting the Women's Association to help in procuring teachers for training in kindergarten at the Model Primary School or at the St. George's Preparatory Department and emphasising the need for a hostel for girl students. A motion was also adopted requesting the Government to remember the need of Purdah women for fresh air and recreation and requested them to allot places for this purpose in the crowded areas of the City.

With the President's concluding remarks, the conference terminated.

# The Indian National Social Conference

The session of the Indian National Social Conference met on the 29th December at the Pachiappa's Hall, Madras under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Devadhar of Poona. The first session of the Conference was held in 1886 in Madras and it went on meeting from year to year till a few years ago 'when for some reasons it ceased to function.' Attempts were made this year to revive the Conference and they led to the present sessions being held.

A large number of delegates and visitors, including many ladies, from different parts of India, were present at the Conference hall. Among those present were the Lord Bishop of Madras, Sir V. Ramesam, Messrs. C. Y. Chintamani, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Hridaynath Kunzru, M. Ramachandra Rao, M. Balasundaram Naidu, P. Varndarajulu Naidu, E. Vinayaka Rao, Ramaswami Sivan, K. V. Sesha Iyengar, V. Venkatasubbaiya, V. Rama Iyengar, O. B. Rama Rao, Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, V. M. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M. C. Rajah, O Kandaswami Chetti, K. G. Sivaswami Aiyar, S. R. Venkataraman, Mrs. Dandabni, and Mrs. Alamelumangayarammal. Some workers connected with the Ramakrishna Mission, Mylapore, and the Salvation Army were also present.

## Welcome Address

Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and visitors. In the course of his welcome address, he said that the Indian Social Conference which was inaugurated in 1887 was meeting regularly till a few years ago, when for some reasons which it was neither profitable nor necessary to canvass, it ceased to function. Many felt that an institution so closely associated with illustrious personalities and which they built up with great hopes should not be allowed to disappear together if anything could be done to salvage it, and that no place was more appropriate for its rejuvenation than the city of its birth. Others were of opinion that though some of the social workers could come together to refresh themselves at the fount of humanity which gave those organisations its vital energy, and to compare notes about the methods, in so far as they were common, with their fellow labourers in the neighbouring fields. It was further recognised that most of these organisations were provincial organisations not in a position to speak for India as a whole on such subjects as the Temple Entry Bill or the Divorce Bill which were being considered by the Central Legislature, or on such All-India questions as purdah, and women's rights in property. These latter views prevailed ultimately, and even the doubters had joined the Reception Committee and greatly helped its work. It was in these circumstances that they were assembled there that day.

Proceeding to make a few general observations, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar said that they should all feel grateful for the measure of success which had attended the efforts of their predecessors in the field. They were meeting under less difficult circumstances than what the great pioneers had to face when they began their work. Some of the problems set to them had lost some part of their difficulty. Opposition to sea-voyage, to higher education for women, to widow re-marriages and post-puberty marriages had all dwindled in strength. All these hopeful features of the present social situation, continued the speaker, were all the result of the devoted labours of the fathers of the movement; and he did not wish that the Conference should begin its work without paying their tribute of reverential admiration and gratitude to them, specially to Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, to Mahadev Govind Ranade, to Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, and to Sir. T. Sadasiva Aiyar, to confine one-self to those actively connected with conferences such as this and who were not now in the land of the living. In the work done in the past, political workers rendered great help and the movement also had derived great assistance from the new orientation which had taken place in the conception of Hinduism. The one stock objection to social changes was that the Hindu Social Polity was so intimately connected with Hinduism that any of the slightest changes in the one would shatter the other; and as most of the problems of social reform concerned Hindus only, the confusion of social polity and religion did great mischief. It had the disastrous effect of driving away many an ardent and sincere soul

from the rock on which this social reform movement should be built, namely, a high spiritual outlook on life. To-day, the confusion existed only in a very much attenuated form. For this change they were indebted to two great religious organisations which had done incalculable service to the country, though all might not see eye to eye with them as regards all their activities. He referred to the Theosophical Society and the Ramakrishna Mission. One might fancy that all had been said by him till then made the Conference less necessary than before. But he would make a different view if he had regard to two recent happenings. The political upheaval that he referred to had thrown out things of divergent values. It had given them not only things of surpassing usefulness, but it had also given them the fiery poison of communalism which had destroyed the royal harmony that had resulted from decades of strenuous work by the progressivists. Further, their opponents of the conservative variety were or raising themselves to an extent unknown in the days of the elders. Sanathanists' conferences were now becoming common and their deputations were getting vocal to a degree. Their attempts to set the clock back had to be met. Only the other day their sisters in Bombay rightly thought it necessary to meet to object to the whittling down of the Sarda Act. They had therefore to be alive and active to present any rudescence of reaction, if for nothing else. He was looking forward to the day in the near future when there would be a round-table conference of Sanathanists and reformers, wherein, by compromise, an agreed programme of social advance would be formulated. He was free to confess to a feeling that a grand opportunity of that sort was lost when the Sarda Act was fashioned, owing to the attitude of die-hards on both sides.

#### PROBLEM FOR SOLUTION

Proceeding, Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar said :—"It may be that all our energies are now required at the front at which the battle raged till recently. The concentration there may be unnecessary, and some part of the forces may be released for action elsewhere. The places of the old problems have been taken by new ones which are of equal importance and which are most urgent to-day. I have already referred to questions like Temple-entry and divorce. Others like the expansion of women's right in property, the raising of their position in schemes of inheritance, and other similar alterations of personal laws, now claim our attention. Social purity and suppression of immoral traffic and cognate problems of social and moral hygiene are becoming more urgent in view of what other countries with which we are coming into closer political contact are doing. Even our old friend "Temperance" has assumed a new importance. The reported failure of local option in some parts of this presidency, and America getting wet have given a rude shock to those who thought that an effective method of combating the evil of drink had been found, and have necessitated the devising of a new plan of campaign. Further, I think that the time is come when the term "Social Reform" must receive a far more liberal and comprehensive interpretation than our fathers gave to it in the peculiar conditions in which they started their work. It must now be equated with everything that makes for the social well-being of every citizen, in the manner in which that term is understood in other countries. Not that it is, altogether, a new view; even our elders knew it, but their energies were required nearer home. Now that a portion of our energy can be diverted, we may make it run along new channels with great benefits. In a sense the poor have been, no doubt, always with us. But their cry is becoming more and more insistent and is apt to go unheeded at least as regards the caste portion of it, in the enthusiasm for the no-caste part. There are as many slums within the pale as outside it, and work there is as urgent as among the untouchables. Better housing conditions and modern methods of helping the needy, such as poor homes and asylums for the aged and the infirm, will call for more and closer attention than they have received till now. Labour has become, no doubt, vocal, but it is not able to effectively assert itself yet. It must be helped to a proper share of the world's goods in an orderly manner lest unguided and unhelped, it may violently break its bonds. In a country where caste still determines one's profession to a large extent it is not altogether a question for the economist only, as it may appear at first sight. Problems of sanitation and hygiene—both personal and civic—will have to be faced and solved quickly if the new aggregation of humans in unthought-of forms are not to produce undesirable social wastage and loss of social efficiency. The greater political and personal freedom that all expect to come soon, and the loosening of age-old shackles will produce repercussions which are

not easy to predicate definitely, and those who desire for progress to be orderly must be ever watchful and ready to help and guide. How much of this wider field we should cover immediately is a matter for you to decide. But whatever the extent may be, I am sure that that and similar work will find as many active and sincere labourers as that for which the men and women of old toiled".

Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar concluded by saying that the Conference did not expect every one of them to take resolutions as might be passed wholesale. The omission of any matter need not necessarily indicate that the Conference was not for it. But they should all be agreed on the principles for which the Conference stood for, that was, to free the social shackles which had outlived usefulness, to remedy all social injustices of any sort. He hoped that with the co-operation of those present, the Conference would end in success.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Sir C. Sankaran Nair then proposed Mr. G. K. Devadhar to take the chair. He said that vast changes had been witnessed since the Social Conference was first started in 1880. The main questions that had engaged the attention of social workers in these days were the position of the Indian women, the caste system and the problem of untouchability. In all these spheres they had advanced far from the condition of those days. Indian women were to-day able to take care of themselves, and one had only to go to the Marina in Madras or the Guindy race course or to the hazar to see evidence of the great changes that had taken place. In regard to the caste system, the Brahmin rule that obtained till the reforms of 1919 was no longer the fact. The Non-Brahmin caste Hindus were now monopolising the Government. It would be more and more the case with further extension of the franchise. As regards untouchability it was gratifying to see that the leaders of the communities concerned were becoming alive to their needs and beginning to claim their due rights. It might be asked, if all these were true what need there was for the Social Conference? His answer was this: reforms which they all stood for and desired to see brought about were more and more coming within the ambit of their legislatures. Unless therefore the Conference and those interested in social questions educated the masses fully, and agitated persistently to induce the electorates to return the proper representatives to the legislatures, these reforms might not be helped forward. For such purpose such conference and organisations were necessary. He was sure they would unanimously elect Mr. Devadhar as their leader and he felt no other argument was necessary to convince them that he was the best fitted person than to say that he was a Mahatma.

#### Presidential Address

The motion was duly carried. Mr. Devadhar who was then formally installed in the chair, next delivered the following presidential address:—

Social Reform so far in this country had naturally to direct its attack against the citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism in which all reactionary and onesided factors of the so-called national advance remained perched but now in my opinion, the time has arrived when social reform could be freed from that narrow rut and placed on a wider and more constructive and less critical plane of social reconstruction in which several have been labouring without much moral support from the politicians. But luckily the spirit of the age and the shrinking of distances have caused even involuntary change of heart and outlook, which would facilitate the work of amelioration of the Society as a whole. In the past it was quite necessary to deal with the elementary problems of social reform such as sea-voyage, women's education, abolition of caste, stopping of infant marriages, promotion of widow remarriages and of post-puberty marriages, and furthering the age of consent, interdining and even intermarriage, etc.

The bogey of untouchability and unapproachability still haunts us, but its days are numbered as its foundations are unmistakably shaken by the most powerful influence of Mahatma Gandhi whose work, in this connection, I have always likened to that of a powerful and tremendous blast.

While, therefore, not neglecting work in those above mentioned directions, we must now begin to concentrate our attention on problems that embrace wider fields and touch the bottom and the top of Society. The justification for such widening of the outlook of Social Reform work lies clearly in the imperative necessity of flowing with the world currents of the rapidly advancing tide of what

we call civilization—not necessarily a disease according to Edward Carpenter. India fortunately has not lagged much behind, though the inevitable need for social reform is recognised by only the so-called educated few—using the phrase in its widest sense; it is a matter of no small surprise, however, that even after a century and a half of the spread of English education and contact with Western Culture, improvement in evil customs and demoralizing superstitions has not yet taken place on a wider basis, and advanced view or higher thought in social life is to-day possibly the luxury of the comparatively small number of those who crowd into big cities and towns where reformed life has its attendant evils as well.

We are all increasingly anxious now to lead a higher, purer, and truly nobler national life, in keeping with the changing ideals of higher social being so as to secure advance of our Society along lines of advance of the whole human race or humanity. In our search for truth of the science of human society we may in vain expect to-day, at any rate, any guidance to lead us safely to the goal, because among the many seekers after scientific truth and foundation for the human society, there has not yet been reached any unanimity of principle that ought to regulate the conduct of human beings that constitute the society as we see it developing to-day. Science has very miserably failed in this direction of supplying the much needed guidance, though its vast, wonderful, and epoch-making achievements have surpassed the imagination of even those toiling long in the field with great faith and expectations.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd in his book "Social Evolution" has elaborately shown how Science in various branches of research has proved her impotence to offer any acceptable solution of the rapidly changing social phenomena of the day in various fields of human activity like history, religion, etc. He observes: "In whatever direction we look, the attitude presented by Science towards the Social phenomena of the day can hardly be regarded as satisfactory." He further goes on to say in very terse language that "yet the social phenomena which are treated under the heads of politics, history, ethics, economics, and religion must all be regarded as but the intimately related phenomena of the Science of life under its most complex aspect."

If we go on worrying ourselves with the results of the so-called scientific research in the sphere of human society and wait till the guidance is forthcoming we may have to wait till Doomsday. We must, therefore, be prepared for onward march to take stock of the progress which society has made so long with the help of historical records in various countries and in different times with special reference to the history and institutions of our race; we would be securing sufficient date for us to proceed in that way. Most of our trouble is due to the confusion caused by the mingling of the little spheres of religion and Hindu social polity and political public policy. If we could only avoid this confusion much trouble could be saved. I have already suggested in my previous remarks that we must bring our work, our social reform work, in line with the other national activities, each one working in its own sphere or domain. Politics up till now has attracted the largest attention because, thereby, is afforded a common platform and differences with regard to religious or communal interests are reduced to the lowest minimum.

#### POLITICS AND SOCIAL REFORM TO BE BROUGHT IN A LINE

Thus, the trend of the politics is more attractive to those that wish to carry on their public activity along more constructive lines, and be least critical. Now we shall have to examine whether the work of fighting, on destructive lines, so heroically done by the early venerable pioneers in this field is not sufficient and whether the time has not come to interpret now the correct scope or sphere of social reform in the terms of the changing conditions of the world which are sooner or later bound to affect us. This will establish the necessity not only for our familiarity with the culture and science of the Western Christian countries but also that establishes a clear necessity for a living contact with the growing life under modern conditions in the New Far East Countries as well. India has always been a source of spiritual inspiration to many of these nations of the world and if now any of these nations have to supply any lessons to us it would be our right to receive them and their duty to give them, though, both the West and the Far East, would not desire a cultural separation from Indian spiritual eminence which is her special contribution to the world's happiness, and which is being recognised in an increasing measure from day to day in fields of religious and philosophical thought. If

Western nations have produced philosophies in common with India, more or less, in a matter based on heights of reason, India has supplied a unifying philosophy in relation to life which the rest of the world described as religion as distinguished from philosophy. And this when interpreted in the terms of Karma Yoga and Raja Yoga, and in the light of Bakhti ought to be our country's beacon light to the world, and precious treasure to us. It might be argued that all this is sterile philosophy, has not much bearing on the live problems of the day, but a deeper consideration of the changing environment will convince a student of Social Reform that his path would be rendered much simpler and smoother if he were to grapple with the problems with the help of some of the basic ideals.

### SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS

The country has been making experiments along social lines, and so will have to continue doing the same for many years to come. A change is an inevitable social factor, and reform is its necessary concomitant. I have not, therefore, ruled out of court the consideration of many of the modern problems—in fact I would be myself touching same of them briefly making here and there my own independent contribution. But why I deferred that treatment in my address to a later stage is due to my desire to emphasise the need for changed outlook on problems of social reform of to-day and distinguish them from those of yesterday that still loom large, and to define what constitutes the sheet anchor of social amelioration.

### WOMEN'S PROBLEMS

Now I shall deal with some of them very briefly alluding to several of the special features of development that need emphasis. Take the women's problem. Women of to-day have learnt to organise, to educate public opinion with regard to their needs, have now a regular net-work of their organisations all over the country. They have all along supported me in their advocacy for their wider franchise and some of them have also emerged out of their seclusion of purdah in a few places only to participate actively in the struggle for freedom; I hope not like the women of Turkey in the earlier days of her struggle for unity and progress to go back into purdah again. But I would like to see them engaged in common with men in day to day spade work for the general amelioration of their sex to entitle them to secure the fullest possible measure of freedom and liberty from men who have also to learn to trust women as their equal partners in national and social uplift. Active participation in public life should not be a mere matter of momentary sentimental enthusiasm. They should not commit the mistake of devoting all their energies to some of the barren fields of politics but should take upon their shoulders sufficient responsibility of sharing men's national work in the spheres of education of the masses, social reform for their advancement and the economic and other improvements of the rural parts of our country. I am glad to notice that some of these ideas have found favour with the women of India that meet in a conference in Calcutta on the 27th of this month. While proclaiming their readiness to enjoy adult franchise, they claimed greater attention to widening of their rights and privileges in respect of inheritance and widening of their franchise, the necessity for building an army of whole-timed workers for carrying on social reform activity and the need for effective propaganda with the judicious and wise use of the cinema and vocational education.

### CASTE AND CREED GROUPS

Of the communities formed into caste and religious and racial groups—the so-called caste groups—is, in my opinion, one of the most practical problems for solution before our country. Castes, like different creeds, have disintegrated completely our society, to which fresh momentum has been added by the preponderance of widely different creeds in our social polity. The only solvent of this situation is the attitude to learn to look upon ourselves, as our master the late Mr. Gokhale used to say that we must be Indians first and Moslems, Hindus, Christians, Jains, Parsis, afterwards. Some classes have to make a beginning to adjust their life along these lines, and it must be seen how consideration of larger self will propel some of them to practise these principles in life and realise the true unity of the Society.

## THE SO-CALLED DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THEIR POSITION

The third large question which should attract our attention is the position in the midst of our so-called depressed and suppressed brethren numbering between 49 to 50 millions. Mahatmaji has done the greatest service to this class directly and to the Hindus indirectly by sponsoring their cause, and offering even to fight, at the cost of great popularity, the stubborn attitude of the conservatives who, we must be amused to see, are very vocal and loud in their denunciation of the political disabilities under which they labour in their own country and outside, but which can scarcely bear any comparison with the existing disabilities to which this vast mass of human beings is unwittingly subject, let us say, by the rest of the Hindu community. It is, therefore, the duty of the Hindus as also of those in whose power it lies to improve their lot in most constructive ways, though such improvement is an equal necessity of the vast majority, in common with them, of the community at large. But their need has been rendered greater and more urgent by the fact of their being ruthlessly subjected to untouchability for generations past in the name of religion, contrary to the spirit of humanity, by our orthodox brethren. Untouchability which is universally condemned by all thinking sections as the darkest spot on the fair face of exalted Hinduism, is doomed for ever. But our business as social reformers is to see that no wrong emphasis is put by any of the parties immediately concerned on any wrong principles, and true constructive work is taken up as a lever to lift them with special reference to the eradication of untouchability and unapproachability. Here in southern India in some parts, some roads around some shrines are barred against these human beings whereas they are open for dogs and donkeys to tread upon. And I know it, as a matter of fact, that while a demand was made to higher authorities to close down some of the roads opened by municipalities round some temples, the grounds put forth were that they became polluted for the worshippers to cross over them after bath in the tanks outside the temple area, on the other side of the road, because the depressed classes are allowed to tread upon them, while no objection was taken to their being trampled upon by objectionable and dirty animals like asses and donkeys. Some of us are very keen on their social and economic uplift and that is why we have to-day in India more than 200 centres of active work started in the name of the Servants of the Untouchable Society now, which has been again changed to Harijan Seva Sangh. Temple entry and legislation thereabout are bones of contention more so, because the depressed classes have not shown much active enthusiasm for temple entry for the satisfaction of their truly religious cravings, while others who advocate it, in spite of this indifference of the community in some places that is directly concerned to do so, because in this sphere of social reform they do not like to be accused of allowing a weak point in the Hindu social polity to remain "as inferiority complex."

## JAPAN'S NOBLE ACTION

There was in Japan a class in existence called "Ita and Hinins" whose degraded social position was considered so low in their social polity that even a different set of numerals was used in counting that class corresponding to some such phenomenon in our part of the country in counting units of indigenous sports and games. But Japan woke up more than 50 years ago, to this enormity of great scandal perpetrated on human nature and abolished all those barbarous distinction among human beings by an edict in a moment. Cannot India do any such thing under the new Reforms now by State legislation? While on this topic, I would like passingly to refer to the furious controversy that raged round the question whether social reform should be pushed on in spite of people's wishes, with the help of legislation. But that controversy is buried now. It had poignancy when the spirit of the administration and controlling forces were mostly moulded by foreign spirit and outside considerations, but now all our provincial Legislative Councils and the central legislature are mainly Indian, composed of the representatives of the people and many provinces, like C. P., U. P., Bombay, Madras, and the Punjab, have lost no time in introducing useful pieces of legislation for the improvement of the general masses of the people in social, economic and international spheres. Moreover, it is further very refreshing and reassuring to note that many of the leading Indian States have utilised their legislative machinery and their peculiar position of independence in getting social legislation enacted in many matters of domestic social reform. In this connection I would mention the names of Baroda, Mysore,

Travancore, Indore, Cochino, Kashmere and Hyderabad (Deccan) and other small States. But it is very interesting to note in this connection that the British Government, who were in the earlier days of their rule very keen or in any case friendly on the introduction of social legislation, have changed that attitude now. Their present attitude in this behalf seems to many of their admirers and friends as extremely halting if not quite hostile and some of us would like the central legislature to be much bolder and imaginative in this behalf as they would be pushing on the cause of general upliftment of the vast masses of this country. One of the grounds in support of such an attitude being that society is advancing, and it would not carry on its functions vigorously with the old worn-out clothes in the form of institutions which may have justification in their own days, but which need constant repair and readjustment in the light of the growing bodies requiring new clothes for their full-grown bodies. We cannot ask a young man of 25 to be content with clothes made for him when he was merely a boy of 10. And we would like our countrymen always to be consistent in regard to their attitude towards the changes that are taking place in their daily life as a good guidance for their equally ready attitude to look upon changes that are taking place in the social environment on a large scale due almost to same causes.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Another most important sphere in which a colossal amount of work lies ahead of us I mean, in the direction of the improvement of conditions of life in rural parts. It is a pity that the vastness of the subject and its many sided solutions would require more detailed treatment. But I must content myself with briefly mentioning some of the salient points; the first and foremost, of course, is the education of the younger generation residing in more than 700,000 villages with the assistance of local leaders, giving them as far as possible suitable seasonal course as in Denmark. Modern improvement of course in agriculture, and cottage industries, should not be neglected, as industrial and vocational training should be gradually introduced to make education answer their daily needs. The education of the adults also by more attractive methods of cinema, magic lantern and the drama should be vigorously pushed on so as to change their outlook on life, give them a better grasp of the world situation of which they are perhaps a factor. We may in fact give them a new philosophy of life. The improvement of the economic condition of the masses had engaged the attention of the state; the greatest impediment in the way of such reform is the chronic indebtedness amounting to over a roughly estimated figure of 900 crores, if not more. Owing to the vastness of this problem the British Government have not dared to formulate any scheme of debt redemption; but it is refreshing to note in this connection, that some well meaning attempts are being made by small States. Bhavnagar under the leadership of my friend Sir Pravasinhji Pattaon being the first to put into practice some well-defined plan with the help of the State machinery. But there is, however, a very important direction in which the Government of India, all Provincial Governments and many of the leading Indian States took active measures to secure partially this object of economic improvement by the introduction of the co-operative movement, which has yet to make a large leeway, considering the vast potentialities of this great lever,

#### NATIONAL HEALTH

Another greater and more urgent need of the people residing in rural parts is public health and the many problems affecting this vast question such as, village sanitation, personal and public hygiene, food reform, so as to secure the best results with the least expenditure as is at present being experimented by some of my colleagues in Bombay in the work of the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association. Lastly, the new question which has begun to attract attention on the part of the intelligent public as a result of some of the figures published in the recent census report by Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner of India. Birth Control has offered a suggestion as one of the tried and possible practical remedies to combat the enormous rate of increase in the population of the whole country. We know our population has grown in the past ten years by nearly four crores but to give you a much clearer idea of this enormous growth I can cite figures from Travancore State where the population has risen to 51 lakhs from 41 lakhs ten years ago, thus showing an increase of two lakhs during the past decade, and in this increase of ten lakhs, five lakhs, i.e., 50 per cent of the growth is

supplied by one community alone, i. e., by the Christians alone who have grown to 16 lakhs and over from 11 lakhs. India's solution of the problem of birth control will be determined ultimately by the view she is compelled to take of the unit of a family, whether it is a social or a spiritual unit or it has only an economic character and relationship. I am interested to find that in your province, barring a few small religious communities, a great deal of public opinion is educated in its favour, whereas some women's conferences in Berar held recently adopted resolutions in support of birth-control clinics. Women have even begun to express their opinions emphatically on the need for divorce being sanctioned by legislation.

Many of the problems mentioned above are the great stumbling blocks in the way of rural uplift, which must now be the principal plank in the programme of any government whether it be federated or un-federated. It is a matter of very great satisfaction that many local governments have become awakened to their sense of responsibility in this direction, and several provinces have passed necessary legislative measures for the achievement of this all too inclusive and comprehensive problem. I am very happy to inform you that our present Viceroy of India, His Excellency Lord Willingdon, who was for a full term of five years your Governor as well as our Governor in Bombay, is very keen on the all-round improvement of rural population as he has stated in his fore-ward to Dr. Hatch Spencer's Book "Up from Poverty in rural India" "that as an old administrator in the country I can safely say that the rural problem of India has been one of the chief pre-occupations of the administrations throughout the country for long years past. Much has been done to improve the condition of the rural worker.

"But, to my mind, the main obstacle to this advance and progress lies in the psychology of the rural worker himself, owing to the custom and habit of caste and traditions that have governed his life and actions for generations.

"Under the rigidity of caste principles, he has always accepted his position of servitude as the brewer of wood and drawer of water, for his higher caste brethren, and for this reason and also through want of education and lack of ambition, he has shown little inclination to try and rise in the social scale. It is difficult to improve conditions of life with people who under the stringency of caste principle see no hope of improvement. But progress is being made, though it must be slow. I hope this great stumbling block of caste will have its rigours dropped off so as no longer stand in the way of these ameliorative processes, as a result of social service on the part of the educated countrymen. On this point, His Excellency Lord Willingdon, my old friend, has sent me a message in my capacity as the Chairman of the Deccan Agricultural Association, Poona, emphasising the need of help when it is badly needed by the rural population in attempts to improve their lot.

#### A PEN PICTURE OF THE LIFE OF PEASANTRY

A young writer from Travancore in his book on Co-operation in Indian States 1933, yet to be published, while speaking about the condition of the masses, makes the statement "Owing to the poverty of the soil, lack of general irrigation facilities and subsidiary occupations, the peasantry is in a state of chronic want and penury. The agricultural class is immersed in poverty and ignorance. The people are poor, desperately dirty and unhealthy with no conscious desire for anything better because they have no idea that anything better is possible. All their interest in life centres round the problem of their next meal or at the most, their next harvest. Life is made infinitely difficult for them by a mass of unhealthy and uneconomic customs. They never get out of these miseries. They are led down to a life of perpetual pessimism. They are heavily indebted to usurers. Chronic poverty, want of sanitation and medical relief, ignorance of diseases have conspired to reduce the peasant's vitality to its minimum. There are no roads, no sanitary arrangements, no hospitals or dispensaries, and no provision for lighting. People die in thousands for want of medical help".

Can anything be more ghastly in its outlook than the word picture of the condition of the masses extracted above?

Howsoever terrible this picture be, and whosoever be responsible for it, Government as well as people have to put their shoulder to the wheel to drive away the monster of ignorance, poverty, and disease. Most praiseworthy beginning in this direction has been made by the last Governor of Bombay, Sir Frederick Sykes who has just retired leaving most precious legacy of work to be accomplished by his

successor the present Governor of Bombay, His Excellency Lord Brabourne. The Government of the Punjab have taken a decisive step in this matter by the appointment of Mr. F. L. Brayne of Gurgaon fame as Director of Rural Reconstruction Department. Bombay Government have put on the Statute Book now an improved Village Panchayat Act, though unfortunately its author is no more to regulate its working. Several non-official members in U. P. C. P. and Madras, have brought bills to secure legislative help for rural reconstruction.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF LABOUR

Another important problem to the solution of which some of vested interests of the country will have to bring to bear all powers of imagination and larger human interests, and of industrial welfare. It is the problem of labour. It is no use our telling them that their compatriots were at the beginning of industrialism in an infinitely worse condition, which Benjamin Kidd describes as follows :—"England, when early in the century, Robert Owen's theories were discussed, and for long after the working classes, it must be remembered, were almost without political rights of any kind. They lived like brutes, huddled together in wretched dwellings, without education and without any voice in politics or in the management of public affairs. Since then all this has been gradually changing and so things must change in India as well. It would not serve any useful purpose by telling them that labour is overworked in Japan, and labour there is comparatively cheap. Those who need the employment of labour in their industrial pursuits must test them with better consideration than they show to their tools. While dealing with labour, the Central Government will have to recognise some of its special responsibilities which it cannot easily leave to provincial governments. Several international conventions, having a more intimate bearing on the daily life of the people engaged in industrial production in British as well as in Indian India, have to be given effect to and it falls within the purview of the Central Government, and also when it resumes a Federal character to see that they are put into practice.

#### TEMPERANCE AND LITIGATION

In considering problems dealing with the improvement of rural classes we cannot afford to pass over the need of the problem of temperance and discouragement of the habit of drink among them and the avoidance of unnecessary and wasteful litigation. I am told that litigation and drink have absorbed between them two, as great evils, a sum not less than 100 crores of rupees a year to err on the safer side, though it is reported that some committee which set to consider the question of prohibition estimated the total expenditure in India on intoxicants alone to the extent of 100 crores. The rejection of Prohibition by U. S. A. and the comparative failure of local opinion in this Presidency need not dis-spirit us. Our efforts at organising temperance leagues and Village Panchayats of settlement of disputes must go on in faith, and a regular net-work of such institutions should be undertaken as is done in the case of temperance by the United Provinces.

#### INDIANISATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE

I have enumerated in their general aspects some of the outstanding problems of social reform before the country, but have not dealt with my own views with regard to the method to be adopted for their solution. When a social reform ceases to be fighting in its attitude and lays considerable stress on its constructive side, considering the urgency for work in different fields, it naturally assumes the character of social service which must be and should be rendered by as large a number of Indian men and women as the magnitude of the problem demands. This, in brief, in my opinion, is the case for Indianisation of social service. To complete our just demands from the political platform for Indianisation of civil services and Indianisation of military services, we must also be ready to make up the responsibility of Indianising without detriment to the work of other friends from foreign lands, in this sphere of social and educational reform. All honour to those who laboured strenuously during the period of over a century in bringing light and life within the reach of those who needed them very badly. In fact, we must not be content with merely cataloguing the topics of questions of social reform. That stage is gone. What is needed now is immediate action for which the country must supply a very large army of patriotic young men with missionary zeal for this great task before the nation. If a well thought out and defined programme of

social uplift is to be worked out seriously then there is need for those who feel the urge to come forth and husband all their resources. It is a matter in which Government and the people should work conjointly securing help from every available source. To carry on the programmes of such work a vast net-work of social service or welfare work organisations will have to be set up in each important district and taluk as well as the States included therein. In countries where most successful work along these lines has been achieved, that achievement is invariably a combination of intelligent study of the two problems assisted by surveys of local conditions carried on by young men and women ready to sacrifice enthusiastically their small interests bent upon service rendered in a spirit of religious devotion.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have long tried your patience. You will have now to listen to many speeches on several important resolutions touching the many aspects of the problem that we are met here to study and to solve. The resolutions, even though they be hastily drawn, bring out the point of view that we have to make and urge on the attention of the Government and the people. There is need for propaganda of our cause being carried on, from day to day and from several platforms. Whosoever, there, renders that service, to this cause of the so-called masses and neglected classes acquires great merit and I have no doubt that all of you assembled here will carry the torch of reforms and burn before its lustre the devils of ignorance and selfishness. Let each one of us rise superior to smaller considerations and do our utmost to promote the cause of social reform and social service which must be the watch-words of the coming religion, or which themselves are religion, and the modes of worship of the deity and through humanity.

#### CONCLUSION

In the weighty words of the revered Guru of Social Reform—I mean the late Mr. Justice Ranade—I will ask you to recognise these facts. He says :—

"I want to recognise this fact. I have no authority to suggest to you remedies. These will suggest themselves to you. These fetters of the mind once realised as fetters will drop off themselves. They cease to be fetters, and even become a discipline for a better existence. It may take years and generations to achieve this result. We may all have to die and become mature for the seeds of life in future generations. But once we enter upon the right path, the torch of light blazing inside us, which we only seek to darken with our artificial rushlights, will show to those who come after us the way to heaven. The way to heaven is a narrow path and one has to tread upon sharp-edged instruments carefully balancing the weak limbs and spirits. The way to hell is, as you all know, abroad well-paved with good intentions and we have only to close our eyes and shut our ears, to be listless and indifferent, lead a butterfly existence, and die intellectually and spiritually. We have pursued that way too long, and it is time now that we should take due care to set our house in order, as no mere whitewashing and no plastering would remove these hidden sources of our weaknesses. The whole existence must be renovated. The baptism of fire and not of water must be gone through by those who seek a renovation of heart such as this."

Lastly, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to thank you once more for the opportunity you have given me to serve this noble cause publicly and for the indulgence you have shown me. I trust you will all range yourselves on the side of reform and hasten our country's onward march. May you all be blessed with health and social happiness which is the objective aim of social uplift for all!

#### Discussion on Resolution

Immediately after the conclusion of the presidential address, resolutions were taken up for consideration. The first resolution that was considered ran as follows :—

"(a) Welfare Work : This Conference desires to place on record its appreciation of the labours in the cause of national service of the various welfare-work institutions throughout the country. While welcoming the rapid growth in the number of such institutions including those devoted to rural reconstruction, this conference is of opinion that their endeavour for national uplift needs and deserves to be amply supplemented by State aid either through legislative action or through financial assistance or through both."

"(b) Social Programme : This Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived for the formulation of social programmes including those relating to housing and health and for training and utilising the growing enthusiasm of the country for constructive work in the various departments of national life.

"(c) Study of Social Science : This Conference is of opinion that the study of social science with special reference to Indian conditions should be actively promoted by the Universities in the country".

*The Lord Bishop of Madras*, speaking on the resolution, said that when he first came to India there was but one social organisation, but now there were many organisations and institutions which was a very gratifying feature. But it was for this Conference to correlate the work of these several institutions and see that there was no wastage of men and money. Government had done a great deal to help social reform and they were grateful for their help. But a great deal yet remained to be done. It was for them to press on with the reform and do the necessary work and Government might give them statutory recognition. The way to Swaraj lay through the door of social reform and this sort of work could not be done without sacrifice.

Mr. G. Solomon, supporting it, said that universities and educational bodies must give a lead in these social matters by inaugurating study in sociology.

Mr. M. D. Sahane (Central Provinces) said that in the West, sociology and study of social problems was an important part of the education imparted in universities. In India, there was need for similar lines of activity, so that students of sociology and leaders of opinion might try to evolve an organised plan of social work. The resolution was put to the House and passed.

#### THE TEMPLE ENTRY QUESTION

Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu next moved the following resolution :—

##### 1. (a) Untouchability.

"This Conference is of opinion that whatever justification there might have been in the past for the practice of untouchability and unapproachability, such justification has ceased to exist for a long time, and that its continuance works great social injustice at present. It therefore exhorts all caste Hindus to remove all obstacles to the legitimate self expression of those suffering from such disabilities in all departments of life and to see that no non-easte Hindu suffers any disability by reason only of his birth."

##### (b) Temple-Entry Bill.

"This Conference approves of the principle of the Temple-Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly, and requests the members thereof and the Government to pass it with suitable modifications to meet all legitimate criticisms as to the qualifications of the votes prescribed by the Bill."

Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu moving the resolution said that the resolution represented the common ground among all sections of social workers. There might be some among them in whose view the resolution did not go far enough. But he would ask them to pass the resolution and carry on further propaganda for their point of view elsewhere.

Mr. Venkatasubbaya seconded the resolution and said that legislation for temple-entry had become necessary because in the view of competent lawyers and judges temple-entry could not be made unless there was specially permissive legislation. The resolution merely supported the principle of the Bill. It was said that some sections of the depressed classes did not wish to have temple-entry but he could say from his own personal knowledge that the majority of them were desirous of it.

Mr. Ramasamai Sivan said that the practice of untouchability and of keeping temples closed to untouchables, was a great injustice for which they must expiate by opening the temples to them now.

Mr. B. G. Dalve (Bombay) said that it was high time their society was reconstructed on principles of humanity and eternal verities. Hindu law as laid down by Manu had gone changing from time to time but it was only after the British courts had come to interpret Hindu laws that it had ceased to progress. The attempt to remove untouchability was not a new one. Chaitanya, Tukaram and a succession of religious and social leaders had tried to solve it. Gandhiji had now given it a new force. Their appeal to Government was now only to support the progressive movement when it was shown it was on right lines.

Mr. S. Ramanathan first asked for leave to move an amendment and handed it in. The President perused it and said it only negatived the resolution and was no amendment. He however had no objection to allow him to oppose the motion.

Mr. Ramanathan asked the House to reject the resolution which he described as reactionary. It shirked the issue. Unless the Varnashrama system went root and branch, there could be no solution of the untouchability problem. It was duly seconded.

Mr. Altekar (Bombay) opposed the amendment and said that if accepted its effect would have to wait till caste system was abolished.

#### A DISTURBANCE

Mr. O. C. Srinivasan then moved the following amendment to the resolution :

"This Conference is of opinion that untouchability should be statutorily abolished and made penal, punishable by imprisonment."

"This Conference strongly supports the Temple-Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly and requests the members thereof and the Government to pass it."

Mr. Srinivasan charged the reception committee with having framed the resolution within closed doors and said that the "rankest sanatanist" would support the resolution as it stood. (A voice : shame). He wanted the house to nip this mischief in the bud. "Every word of the resolution", he said, "was put in by their oppressors and inflicted a wound on the respect of the so-called 'untouchables'."

The President asked the speaker to address the house on the merits of the question and not to descend to attacking the framers of the resolution or refer to personalities. A large section of the audience also resented the tone of Mr. Srinivasan's speech.

"It is not Parliamentary", one of them remarked, "there are other platforms for you!"

Mr. Srinivasan concluded by challenging Mr. V. Venkatasubbayya to prove that the untouchables were keen on temple-entry.

Mr. V. Venkatasubbayya replied to the challenge and said that in a certain meeting of Harijan "leaders" he had recently attended, the overwhelming majority had declared themselves keen on entering temples.

One member in the audience took objection to the word "leaders".

At once two or three of his supporters raised shouts of "We have no leaders", "that is all humbug" and "the Congress has spoiled our rights" and rushed to the platform.

The President came from his seat and soon restored order. "This is a disgrace" he said, "that when we are espousing such a good cause, a few should spoil the effect by their irresponsible and undisciplined conduct. If you have any opposition to express, you take my permission and speak."

Order was restored.

Mr. Venkatasubbayya, continuing, said that in his recent rounds to untouchable quarters he had enquired of the people if they were keen on entering temples and they had all said they were.

Mr. C. D. Nayagam then moved an amendment in the following terms :—

"This Conference is of opinion that the practice of untouchability and unapproachability works great social injustice and is a blot on humanity and therefore urges all those interested in the welfare of the country to remove all such disabilities in all departments of life and see that no one suffers any disabilities by reason only of his birth."

"This Conference approves of the principle of the Temple-Entry Bill now before the Legislative Assembly".

Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, on behalf of the Reception Committee, wished leave to explain certain matters in view of some accusations made. He was glad of the opposition and the full discussion that had taken place. But he could not help feeling that much of the opposition had proceeded from ignorance of the provisions and text of the Bill now on the anvil.

The resolution, he said, was worded as it stood because that was the form most acceptable to all sections in the Conference.

A voice : Are there many ?

Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar : Yes. There are anti-Varnashramites as well as Varnashramites.

Another member in the audience : Are there any who support untouchability ?

Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar : I think that people who believe in untouchability will not have come here.

He did not want that they should condemn themselves as possessing a double dose of any sin. Untouchability in some form of degree existed in every society. That was another reason why the resolution was so worded. As regards the second part, the words objected to if removed would have the effect of the Conference extending approval to the Bill in its present form. It was desired that the qualification of voter prescribed in the Bill should be widened, and the drafting errors in which it abounded be removed. Hence the present wording of the resolution.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry said that the solution of the problem of removal of untouchability and temple-entry need not await the solution of their caste problem. But that was what the amendment sought to do. So far as he could see the temple-entry and removal of untouchability was not the same as removal of caste differences. He urged the House to pass the original resolution.

The various motions were then put only by one to the vote of the House.

Mr. Nayagam's amendment was carried 40 voting for and 7 against. The other amendment (Mr. O. C. Srinivasan's) was rejected, and the resolution as amended was passed by the House.

### WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry next moved :—

"The Conference approves of the recent legislative attempts to extend the rights of Hindu women in property and is of opinion that while the small changes till now advocated are beneficial to the extent to which they go, there is urgent need for a comprehensive survey of the whole question. It therefore requests the government to appoint a committee, not less than one-third of whose members shall be women, to investigate and report on the changes required to give women a legitimate share in joint family property and in the separate property of their husbands.

(b) Purda.

"This conference is of opinion that the custom of Purdah leads to serious injuries to the health and intellectual advancement of women and exhorts the public to take all possible steps to alter it.

(c) Domestic Science Colleges.

"This Conference views with satisfaction the great advance that has been made in the matter of higher education of women, and request the Government and the public to arrange for the establishment in each Presidency of at least one college on the model of Lady Irwin College, recently established in Delhi, so that women's education may be of more practical use than it is at present."

He said in old days Hindu women had rights of inheritance but later on they had been eliminated. It was now necessary to revive them. Baroda and Mysore has already passed Acts on these lines. The resolution merely wanted a committee of enquiry to be formed and he urged the House to pass the resolution.

Mr. V. Ramadoss Pantulu seconded the resolution, and said that whatever justification there might have been for the system of inheritance in the past, it no longer existed now. The joint family system was no longer the rule in Hindu Society. It was necessary now to confer absolute rights of property on Hindu widows and wives. As regards Parda, it had been discarded in Turkey and by enlightened Muslim rulers and citizens in India. He hoped the House would adopt the resolution. The committee he hoped, when appointed, would do substantial spade work in order to inaugurate legislation on proper lines.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by the House.

### MARRIAGE QUESTIONS

Mr. M. D. Allekar (Bombay) moved the resolution which dealt with the age of marriage, age of consent, and widow's rights on remarriage. It ran :

"This Conference while feeling grateful to the Government for the passing of the Child-Marriage Restraint Act is of opinion that more effective steps should be taken than at present to enforce its provisions. It is further of opinion that the provision for a deposit by the complainant should be deleted, and that the penal provisions of the Act should be more rigorously enforced."

"This Conference is of opinion that the age of consent outside marriage should be raised and taken up to 18 years.

"This Conference deplores the continuance of Kanya-sulkani and Varadakshina and the high and ruinous expenses connected with marriage celebrations. It calls upon all to simplify the marriage ceremonies and celebrations so that the celebration of marriages may be felt to be less of a burden than it is at present. It welcomes the law promulgated in some of the Indian States to put down this evil.

"This Conference is of opinion that unequal marriages between old men and young girls should be prevented by suitable legislation.

"This Conference while viewing with satisfaction the diminution of opposition to widow re-marriage is of opinion that the present law depriving the widow of the property inherited from her former husband on her re-marriage, works great hardship in several cases where the second husband is not rich enough to provide for the re-married widow also, and that suitable amendments should be made in the Indian Widow Re-marriage Act to remedy this defect.

The whole resolution, he said, was permeated with the spirit of individual liberty and the individual's right to the fruits and pains of life. No man had a right to sign a cheque before he was 21 of years age, but a girl could sign her whole body and life away if she was not even eighteen—the present age of marriage was fourteen. The age of marriage, he thought, should not be earlier than the legal age recognised by Government. He congratulated the Government on having placed the Child marriages Prevention Act on the Statute Book; but it was ridiculous to see how child marriages were going on still in spite of the law. He wanted that Government should enforce the law fully.

Mr. M. V. K. Rangachari seconded the resolution. The Government had developed of late a softness for the Sanatanist view and that, he thought, was responsible for the offences against the Sarda Act being let off so lightly. The expenses incurred in connection with marriages by Hindus and Muslims were very often out of all proportion to their ability and this was bound to have had economic repercussions. This ought to be put an end to. The entire resolution advocated rationalisation of the relations between man and woman and he urged the House to adopt it. The resolution was passed unanimously.

#### NEED FOR RESCUE HOMES

Mrs. H. Dadabhai then moved the following resolution :

"This Conference approves of the legislation recently enacted to prohibit immoral traffic and is of opinion that its operation should be extended to the whole of British India. It calls upon the Government and the local bodies to establish homes where girls that have to be dealt under the Act can be trained to become normal citizens of the State."

The unfortunate girls who were rescued should be given a fair chance of living more healthy and purer lives. By merely rescuing the girls from the houses of evil, they would not have solved the problem; they must provide some place where the rescued girls could be trained to earn a living. She appealed to the public to give their wholehearted support financially to starting these homes.

Mr. K. G. Sivaswami Aiyar seconded the resolution which was then passed unanimously.

#### PROHIBITION

On the motion of Mr. Andrews Dube (Lucknow), seconded by Mr. S. Narayanan, the following resolution was then adopted by the House :

"This conference views with regret the setback which the movement for total abstinence from drink has received by the abolition of prohibition in the United States of America and by the reported failure of local option in certain parts of the Madras presidency."

"This conference requests Government to appoint a committee to investigate and recommend measures to eradicate altogether the evil of drink."

"This conference calls upon the public to take vigorous measures to put down the drink evil, though propaganda, organisation of counter attractions, social boycott of those addicted to drink, closing of the facilities now provided in some clubs and similar attractions for getting drink, and the prohibition of the supply of alcoholic drink in all functions arranged with public subscriptions."

#### POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. O. C. Srinivasan then moved :

**"Poverty and Unemployment:** (a) This conference notes with great regret the prevalence of poverty and unemployment throughout the country and is of opinion that the situation is one which calls for immediate remedial measures:

**"(b) Vocational Education:** This conference desires to draw the attention of the Government and of the public to the need for the extension of vocational education closely related to the industrial needs and possibilities of the country.

**"(c) Labour Legislation:** This conference while appreciating the action of the Government in carrying out some of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission, emphasises the need for early action through legislation and otherwise for carrying out all its recommendations.

Mr. K. G. Sivaswami Aiyar said that the benefit of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission in regard to the summary liquidations of indebtedness of industrial workers should be extended also to Agricultural workers. The Agricultural Commission had made several proposals for relieving agricultural indebtedness and he urged Government to take immediate steps to implement them. There was need for a progressive agricultural income-tax, death duties, and succession duties. All these reforms were necessary not only for removal of several social and economic evils that now troubled India. He wanted the conference to generally approve of legislation for protection of tenants' interests. Further, the Government of India ought to adopt steps at once to implement the decision of the International Labour Conference recommending rights of association to agricultural workers and the prohibition of employment of children below a certain age in agriculture. Lastly, he urged the conference to express itself in favour of extension of the franchise to agricultural workers also.

Mr. Sivaswami moved an amendment embodying all these proposals and the mover of the resolution accepted them.

Mr. Jamal Mahomed Sahib supported the resolution as amended. The country, he said, had been hard hit by the long drawn and intense economic depression. The sufferings had been aggravated by the exchange and currency policy of the Government. Indian agriculture and industry had been severely hit and there was a great deal of unemployment. It was high time that something was done to relieve the situation.

Mr. V. Ramadoss Pantulu seconded the resolution which was then put to the House and passed as amended.

#### PREVENTION OF HOOKSWINGING

Mr. T. Sundara Rao Naidu next moved:

"(n) This conference heartily supports the recent action of the Madras Government to prevent the practice of hook-swinging and hook-dragging in certain festivals in South India and requests the Government to rigorously enforce their order passed in 1894 prohibiting them."

"(b) This conference is of opinion that the public exhibition of similar practices of self-torture during popular festivals should be sternly prohibited and calls upon the public to discourage the resort to self-torture under any conditions."

Mr. R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle seconding it said while there were associations for prevention of cruelty to animals there were none to prevent cruelty to man. It was high time, he said, that the cruel practices referred to were stopped.

The resolution was then adopted by the House unanimously.

#### INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES

Mr. C. D. Nayagam moved the next resolution which was as follows:—

"This Conference while it appreciates the recent changes which have made marriages between members of different castes legally valid is of opinion that the time is come for the enactment of a purely Civil Marriage Act."

He said that the passing of this Act would lead immediately to several other reforms—such as equal rights of men and women, property rights for women and similar reforms—for which they were now agitating.

Mr. Dahlvi (Bombay) seconded it and said that the resolution was based on the principle that a marriage should be purely a civil affair and not a sacrament.

Mr. A. A. Paul, in supporting the resolution, refuted the allegation made by some persons earlier in the day that the resolutions were all drafted by one particular individual or community. It was not so, he said, as some of them had been drafted by him and a few of his friends.

After Mrs. Alamelumangathayarammal had spoken in support of the resolution, it was put to vote and passed.

#### BIRTH-CONTROL CLINICS

The next resolution related to the local Government's proposal to open birth control clinics. Sir V. Ramesam moved the resolution relating to this subject. It ran as follows :—

"Having regard to the prevalence even now of early marriages and the consequent early motherhood and frequent pregnancies, and the resultant deplorable deterioration in the health of young mothers, this conference approves of the proposal to open birth control clinics under the charge of competent medical authorities to give advice in proper cases."

This, he said, was a woman's resolution. As things stood at present, he said, in most families, woman was merely the child-bearer. Her life was one of alternate pregnancy and nursing and the ordeal went on annually till she was a total physical wreck or died of child-birth. It was a deplorable state of things and ought to be remedied. He was glad Government had now come forward with the proposal. The resolution was duly seconded and carried.

#### CASTE

The next resolution discussed ran as follows :—

"This Conference deplores the continuance even at the present time of the rigidity of the system of caste by birth. While noting with satisfaction the changed outlook that has come over the country on this question it views with regret the growth of class consciousness. It notes with regret the increasing tendency to lay emphasis on the membership of specific social and religious groups and to claim special privileges based on such membership. This conference exhorts the public to repel such claims and to work for national solidarity by affording equal opportunities for all."

After it had been moved and seconded, Mr. C. D. Nayagam moved an amendment in the following form :

"This Conference is strongly of opinion that the prevalence of the system of caste is detrimental to the welfare of the country and urges all those interested in its welfare to disown it by precept and sincere practice."

He said that the effect of the original resolution would be to take away certain special facilities and privileges now accorded to certain communities in view of their backwardness and without which they would never be able to compete with other communities on an equal footing.

Mr. Balaguruswami seconded the amendment and appealed to the House to consider the sad plight of the depressed classes and not to deprive them of any privileges they now enjoyed.

Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar explained that the words 'Special privileges' in the resolution referred to special privileges only in the special sphere.

After some further discussion the resolution was passed in the following form :

"This Conference deplores the existence of the system of caste and is strongly of opinion that its prevalence is detrimental to the welfare of the country and urges on all those interested in its welfare to disown it both by sincere practice and precept."

"This Conference therefore exhorts the public to work for the rapid extinction of caste and thus for national solidarity."

The following two resolutions were moved from the chair and passed by the House unanimously.

#### DIVORCE BILL

"This Conference is of opinion that in the present circumstances of the Hindu society the total absence of the right of divorce works great hardships on Hindu women. It approves of the principle of Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill now before the Legislative Assembly and requests the Government and the members of the Assembly to enlarge its scope and pass an enactment providing for divorce in all cases in which divorce is allowed under the Indian Divorce Act and also in cases where a Hindu husband marries another wife without the petitioning wife's consent."

## ENFORCEMENT OF CHILDREN ACT

"This Conference urges upon the Government the desirability of enlarging the scope of the Children Act and of widely enforcing the Children Act in the several provinces and calls upon the public actively to co-operate with the Government in the carrying out of its provisions."

## COMMITTEE TO FRAME CONSTITUTION

Mr. R. Krishna Rao Bhonsl then moved:

"This Conference appoints the following committee to take the necessary action to give effect to the resolutions passed, frame a constitution to be placed before the next session of the conference and carry on the work of the Conference till the next Conference."

The mover proposed a committee of about twenty members with Mr. G. K. Devndhar as the President. The resolution was approved by the House.

Mr. M. D. Sabine (C. P.) suggested that the Conference called itself 'National' and professed to speak in the name of the whole country. He therefore said that they should not in the name of the nation do anything that would lead to the creation of new vested interests by according to any "privileged class" any special rights. Further, he noted with regret that on the committee only a particular part of the country was represented.

Mr. Dahlvi (Bombay) explained that the question of representing other provinces on the committees had been considered by them all but it had been given up for the present as this was but a provisional committee appointed to draw up the constitution and carry on the work during the 'interregnum' till the constitution was approved and the regular conference came into being constitutionally. For such a purpose a committee which could meet from time to time easily was considered a necessity and hence the selection of members mostly from the same part of India. He was sure when the regular committee was constituted after adoption of the constitution every province would be represented in it. If it was not, then would be the time to raise a protest.

Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar then communicated to the House that messages of good wishes and sympathy with the conference had been received from Mr. Haribas Sarda and Raja Narendra Nath.

## PRESIDENT'S CLOSING REMARKS

Mr. G. K. Devndhar, in winding up the proceedings, expressed his gratification that Madras where the conference was first started in 1886, had now revived it. The times and the present awakening in the country were propitious to their work and they must take full advantage of these. They had passed several important resolutions and he urged them to go forth and work for them in the country. He thanked the Reception Committee for the honour done to him.

Two of the delegates from Poona invited the conference to hold its next sessions there. The conference accepted the invitation and resolved to hold its 1935 session in Poona.

Sir V. Ramesam proposed a vote of thanks to the chair. Mr. Jamal Mahomed seconded it and Mrs. Alamelumangalaynrommal supported it. The proposition was carried with acclamation.

The Conference session then came to a close.

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**THE LEADERS' CONFERENCE**

**MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST**

**&**

**MAHATMA GANDHI'S FAST**

# THE LEADERS' POONA CONFERENCE

## OPENING DAY—POONA, 12th. JULY 1933

The informal conference of Congressmen called by Mr. M. S. Aney was held punctually at 2 P.M. on the 12th. July 1933, at the Tilak Mandir, Poona.

Mr. Aney, who presided, opened the conference with a short speech, welcoming the delegates.

Mr. Gandhi, in a brief speech of 22 minutes, placed before the conference the relevant issues on which he desired the definite views of the delegates present.

Seventeen delegates addressed the gathering, stating their views on the situation.

The discussions were not complete when the conference adjourned at 7 P.M. All the provinces were well represented.

### MAHATMA INVITES FRANK EXPRESSION OF VIEWS

That he was very keen about establishing peace in the country, and that he would certainly try his best to secure it, Mr. Gandhi is reported to have remarked in the course of his speech.

Mr. Gandhi, at the outset, stated that the necessity for calling the Conference had arisen not because circumstances had altered or that the Government had offered terms, but because of the peculiar circumstances created by his fast and his consequent release. He felt ashamed that one man should have been responsible for this, but he could not help it.

Asking the delegates to express their views freely and frankly, Mr. Gandhi stated that he would like to have their views whether they wanted suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement indefinitely or for a definite period with conditions, as he had gathered, that some were of opinion that it should be an unconditional calling off, while others thought it should be a kind of truce and some conditions should be laid down for acceptance by the Government. After hearing their views, Mr. Gandhi said he would give his own considered opinion the next day and advise the Congress as to what action it should take.

### QUESTION OF CALLING OFF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

After Mr. Gandhi had concluded his speech, some of those who were understood to hold the view that there should be a change in the policy of the Congress were the first to address the conference.

Except one or two, the rest of the speakers were unanimous in their view that Civil Disobedience should be called off, and that it should be done without regard to what the Government may or may not do regarding the question of the release of politicals.

Mr. Purushotham Tricumdas expressed the view that Civil Disobedience should be called off unconditionally.

Mr. Harisarvathana Rao (Andhra) thought that experience had shown that Mr. Gandhi's ideals were impracticable so far as the masses were concerned, and therefore the movement should be called off and some other constructive programme planned before the country.

Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan (Bombay) is stated to have expressed the opinion that Gandhiji's leadership had failed, and therefore the movement should be called off.

Mr. Jamnadas Davarkadas expressed the view that, though not intentionally, in effect, the Congress had played into the hands of capitalists who, under the pretext of supporting the Congress, were filling their own pockets. He therefore urged the unequivocal and unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience.

Mr. S. Satyamurti opined that under the circumstances, the best course for the Congress to adopt was to call off the movement.

### EXCLUSION OF THE PRESS

Prior to the holding of the Conference, Mr. M. S. Aney issued the following statement to the Press:

'After a full consideration of public interest it has been decided not to allow the Press to be present at the discussions of the informal conference that has been con-

vened to consider the political situation. It may be stated that this step was taken knowing very well the considerable advantages there are in the presence of accurate reporters at a meeting of this kind. The main consideration that weighed with us is that for a full frank and helpful discussion at a private informal conference, it is necessary that there should be no one present other than those who have actually have to participate in the discussions.

"We are aware that half-truths and inaccurate statements and misleading speculations are likely to appear in the Press if we exclude the reporters, but the public can be warned against such statements, whereas if we admit the Press and visitors, the discussions will lose reality. It is true that some gentlemen connected with newspapers have been invited in their capacity as Congressmen, but it is hoped they will not permit any unauthorised reports or speculations to appear in their newspapers, and that they will take every care to prevent the appearance of any matter without their knowledge which it will be improper for them knowingly to permit. The public are warned not to accept as true any speculations or unauthorised reports that may appear in the Press, simply because they are not contradicted."

"There will be no authoritative statement issued at the close of the Conference which will put the position clearly and accurately, and it is hoped that the public will patiently await such a statement. I take this opportunity to appeal to the editors and correspondents of newspapers to co-operate with the conference in its endeavour to keep the discussions unhampered by premature speculations."

## SECOND DAY—POONA—13th. JULY 1933

The conference of Congress leaders adjourned at 4 p.m. to-day, after three hours' discussion, till 1 p.m. the next day. Unlike yesterday when, with the exception of one or two, the speakers urged the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience, to-day, it was understood, a good many speakers opposed withdrawal, prominent among them being Sardar Sardul Singh and Acharya Kripalani.

Of eight or nine persons who spoke at to-day's meeting, four or five only supported the view that the Civil Disobedience had proved ineffective and the country was too exhausted and therefore the movement should be called off.

Two days' discussions and confabulations at the conference and informal talks appeared to have not produced any tangible results, inasmuch as the major issues which faced the conference at the commencement, still remained undecided.

Will Mr. Gandhi seek an interview with the Viceroy with a view to arriving at a settlement with the Government? Will Civil Disobedience be unconditionally called off, or what modifications will be made in the present Congress policy? These questions still remained undecided. But there had been a sufficient exchange of views on all these issues during these two days to warrant the hope that some decision would be arrived at the next day.

While Mr. Gandhi was stated to be still keen on arriving at a settlement with the Government by seeking an interview with the Viceroy, the majority of the leaders seemed opposed to the idea, and therefore it was difficult to state, with any precision, what he would finally decide in this respect.

According to well-informed circles, while a few days back Mr. Gandhi was opposed to total and unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience, to-day, as a result of his discussions with the various leaders, a change in his view-point seemed to have taken place, but doubts were entertained whether he would agree to giving up Civil Disobedience altogether.

The views expressed at the conference were so conflicting, that it was really difficult to make a correct forecast as to how these would react on Mr. Gandhi's mind in making a final decision.

Strong views for and against the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience were expressed, and there appeared to be no unanimity of opinion even among the delegates from one and the same province.

## THIRD DAY—POONA—14th. JULY 1933

### GANDHI AUTHORISED TO MEET VICEROY

The Conference to-day authorised Mahatma Gandhi to seek an unconditional interview with the Viceroy with a view to arriving at an honourable settlement with the Government.

Gandhiji sent a brief telegram to the Viceroy asking for an interview. Mr. Rajagopalachari himself went to the Central Telegraph Office and booked it twenty minutes past midnight.

#### STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

The following statement issued regarding to-day's proceedings at the conference:—  
The adjourned session of the informal conference of Congress-men was held to-day, Mr. Aney presiding.

The session to-day opened with a speech by Mr. Gandhi, which lasted for eighty minutes.

Referring to the several points raised by the delegates present Mr. Gandhi placed before the conference his views on the situation.

After Mr. Gandhi's speech concluded, the conference adjourned for an hour to enable the delegates to have informal consultations among themselves.

The conference reassembled at 3-30 p. m. when the delegates submitted questions, which Mr. Gandhi answered serially.

There was further discussion after this, at the end of which the sense of the House was taken on the issues raised, which were kept confidential in public interests. The conference then dissolved, and the delegates dispersed.

#### MAHATMAJI'S ADDRESS

At to-day's conference, Mr. Gandhi is stated to have observed, at the outset, that the three steps taken by him, namely, signing of the Poona Pact, the acceptance of conditional freedom for carrying on the Harijan movement from jail, and the suspension of Civil Disobedience after he came out of jail, had been adversely criticised, both at the conference and outside. He would try to meet the criticisms in his own way.

Regarding the Poona Pact, Mr. Gandhi observed that he would like to point out that he had declared at the second Round Table Conference that he would resist with his life any attempt to separate the Depressed Classes from the Hindu fold by conferring separate electorates on them. He had to be true to his word, and therefore he worked for the Poona Pact.

The second step, namely, work for Harijan uplift from behind the prison bars, was, Mr. Gandhi observed, a natural corollary to the Poona Pact, as he had to honour the terms of the Pact. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at the Bombay meeting, had declared that Caste-Hindus would do their utmost to right the wrongs done to Harijans. Therefore, to keep that promise, he had asked for liberty to work from jail, and that freedom he obtained from the Government after a good deal of correspondence.

The third step regarding the suspension of Civil Disobedience, Mr. Gandhi said, he took, as he believed that people still had love for him and would, therefore, be in a state of suspense during his fast.

Dealing with the present situation, Mr. Gandhi is reported to have stated that he had listened to every one of the speeches made at the conference with rapt attention, but he had been left absolutely unconvinced about the advisability of unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience. On the other hand, the very arguments advanced in favour of withdrawal had confirmed him in his provisional decision, namely, not to withdraw the movement.

Unconditional withdrawal of the movement, in Mr. Gandhi's opinion, would be nothing short of an absolute surrender, and the end of their ambitions, though he would admit there was scope for an honourable settlement with the Government. Several people had urged him not to make an appeal to the Government, but he saw no reason why as a true and experienced Satyagrahi, he should not give the opponents a chance at this stage to right the wrongs. If the opponents failed to take advantage of the chance so offered, they would be the worse for it. He did not think such a step would be an admission of weakness on his part.

Mr. Gandhi regarded the talks of weariness and fatigue as not fair to the masses. If individuals were tired, they might say so, and take rest. There was no reason to throw down arms in despair.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said that he would advise giving up the mass movement, and have it in a modified form, if an honourable settlement by negotiations was not possible.

During the one hour interval after Gandhiji's speech, it was stated there was brisk canvassing among the delegates, with regard to the attitude they should adopt when the motions were put to vote at the conference.

Soon after the conference reassembled, it was stated, volleys of questions were put to Mr. Gandhi by various delegates, to all of which he was understood to have replied in a convincing manner.

#### PT. MALAVIYA'S APPEAL

Pandit Malaviya then addressed the conference supporting in the main Mr. Gandhi's views. His speech lasted for over an hour and it was stated the delegates were very much impressed by the arguments advanced by him.

Pandit Malaviya declared that he did not desire continuance of Civil Disobedience, and was keen on an honourable settlement. He was in total agreement with Mr. Gandhi that unconditional withdrawal would be nothing short of an abject surrender on the part of the Congress. This was more so, because of the unbending attitude of the Government. He was, however, opposed to individual Civil Disobedience, which Mr. Gandhi seemed to favour. The Pandit therefore made an earnest appeal to the delegates to authorise Mr. Gandhi to seek an unconditional interview with the Viceroy for arriving at a settlement, if that was possible.

#### MR. ASAFA ALI OPPOSES INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr. Asaf Ali, in the course of a vigorous speech, was stated to have opposed Mr. Gandhi's proposal for individual Civil Disobedience which, in his opinion, however glorified it may appear to certain people, would be nothing short of a disaster. If people favoured such a disastrous step, he maintained that it should never be done under the auspices of the Congress. Even if his opposition to this step meant Mr. Gandhi's withdrawal from the leadership of the Congress, he was prepared to face the consequences.

Mr. Kanitkar, another speaker, vehemently opposed the continuance of Civil Disobedience.

After Mr. Gandhi had answered a series of questions, closure was applied and carried without opposition.

Mr. Aney put the first proposition, urging the unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience, to vote. Only about 30 to 40 delegates were reported to have supported the proposition, and it was rejected.

Therefore, the second proposition regarding individual Civil Disobedience was put to vote which also was rejected.

Mr. Aney was reported to have declared that in view of the rejection of the two propositions, the status quo would be restored after the suspension period had ended.

#### MR. JAMNADAS DWARKADAS' SUGGESTION

As Mr. Aney was about to put the proposition to vote, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, it was stated, raised a point of order suggesting that, in view of the rejection of the two propositions, it was necessary to take the sense of the House, whether they were agreeable to authorising Mr. Gandhi to seek an interview with the Viceroy for an honourable settlement, which idea both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malviya had stressed in their speeches.

#### CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

Mr. Rajagopalachari supported Mr. Jamnadas, and thereupon Mr. Aney put the following proposition before the House :

"This Conference authorises Mr. Gandhi to seek an unconditional interview with the Viceroy with a view to arriving at a settlement with the Government."

This proposition was put to vote and was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The adoption of the above resolution, by an overwhelming majority, was regarded in conference circles as an indication that, while the delegates were opposed to unconditional withdrawal of the movement, they were ready for a settlement if such a settlement was possible by negotiations.

#### Interview Refused—Viceroy Explains Govt. Position

On the 16th July 1933, the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy replied to Mahatma Gandhi's telegram, regretting His Excellency's inability to grant an interview. The following is the text :—

"In reply to your telegram asking for an interview, His Excellency has directed me to say that if the circumstances were different, he would gladly have seen you.

"But it would seem you are opposed to withdrawing Civil Disobedience except on conditions and that the interview you seek with His Excellency would be for the purpose of initiating negotiations with the Government regarding these conditions. It also appears to have been decided that unless the Congress reach a settlement with the Government as a result of such discussions, civil disobedience will be resumed on 1st August.

"It is hardly necessary to remind you that the position of the Government is that civil disobedience is wholly unconstitutional and there can be no compromise with it and that the Government cannot enter into any negotiations for its withdrawal. On 29th April, 1932 the Secretary of State stated in the House of Commons that there would be no question of making a bargain with the Congress as the condition of its co-operation. The same position has been consistently maintained by the Government in numerous subsequent statements.

"If the Congress desires to resume its position as a constitutional party and to put an end to the movement which has brought grave injury and suffering to the country, the way is open to it as it always has been. It is within the power of the Congress to restore peace by withdrawing, on its own initiative, the civil disobedience movement.

"As, however, the Congress is not willing to take that action, an interview with His Excellency would be to no purpose".

#### Refusal of Interview—the Commons Debate

On the 17th July 1933 Sir Samuel Hoare speaking on the debate on the India Office vote in the House of Commons congratulated himself on the improvement in the situation in all directions in India. Politics, according to him, has ceased to be the absorbing question. "Questions interesting the people are health, the weather and crops", said Sir S. Hoare. "I, therefore, deal with those as really important and leave politics and Law and Order to the last."

Sir S. Hoare declared himself quite satisfied with the situation. Public opinion on the side of the Government was increasingly manifest. No substantial opposition was visible. People were tired of civil disobedience and Government now controlled the terrorist movement.

Sir S. Hoare read the Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi which he said he fully approved and emphasised Government's determination not to admit negotiations with the Mahatma and Congress. "Our position is unalterable and we cannot discuss conditions for the observance of law or bargains thereto."

Mr. Lansbury, the Leader of the Opposition, said the Secretary of State may have his own delusions about India being contented. He had no right to claim that Government was unopposed, seeing that it refused to allow the opposition to voice its criticism. Any Government could crush its opponents but on that ground it was not entitled to make the claim that the country had been pacified. Information received from India by himself and by Indians in London showed that the Secretary of State was entirely wrong.

Mr. Lansbury, caused a surprise in the House by reading a letter signed by Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar.

The letter read :

"We do not read in Mr. Gandhi's telegram threat of any kind. We understand, however, that the request for an interview has been refused. We would be very glad indeed if you could draw attention to the terms of the telegram and press for further consideration of the matter so that Mr. Gandhi would have a chance of putting his views before the Viceroy. It would be most unfortunate if he was denied an opportunity of seeing the Viceroy. We should not allow the question put by Mr. Gandhi to be prejudiced by tendentious telegrams which have been appearing in the Press during the last two days. It seems to us inconceivable that a leader, occupying the position that Mr. Gandhi does in the national life of the country, should be denied an opportunity of seeing the Viceroy for the purpose of exploring possibilities of peace in India."

The letter seemed to surprise and irritate Sir Samuel Hoare.

Mr. Lansbury declared that the refusal of the Viceroy and Sir S. Hoare's determination were a tragedy and a disgrace. Mr. Lansbury said, "I say Mr. Gandhi's telegram is unconditional and shows he sincerely wants peace. Why not grant the interview? Prestige demands that he should come in a white sheet."

"When Lord Carson organised a revolt in Ulster and raised an army, you Tories applauded. The Government met Lord Carson in conference and peace was concluded without his yielding anything.

"The Secretary of State's attitude is the same as we had in Ireland when Chamberlain negotiated with Parnell who was in prison, without conditions and promises.

"History will show that the Willingdon Government's obstinacy was a tragic blunder."

#### Mahatma's Second Telegram to Viceroy

On the 17th July 1933 Mahatma Gandhi despatched the following telegram to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy explaining his position :

"Your wire of even date has come up on me as a painful surprise. I had not expected that the Government would take official notice of unauthorised publications of confidential proceedings of an informal conference, and on the basis thereof, reject the request for an interview. If the interview were granted, I could show that the proceedings, taken as a whole, were calculated to bring about honourable peace. The Conference was undoubtedly favourable to peace, if it can be obtained without humiliation.

"If, however, the Government hold they cannot have any conversation even for promoting peace, with a representative of an Association engaged in activities in breach of State laws, however repressive they may be, until that Association first discontinues activities, which it believes to be in pursuance of the inherent right belonging to a human family, I can have nothing to say.

"Nevertheless, I would like to add a personal note. My life is regulated by peaceful motives. I hanker after reasonable peace, but I must confess, I cannot be satisfied with a make-shift. If I resort to non-co-operation or civil disobedience, it is for establishing true and voluntary co-operation and obedience to laws in the place of forced co-operation and forced obedience. I, therefore, hope my request for an interview will be granted".

#### THE VICEROY'S REPLY

The Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy sent the following reply to Mr. Gandhi's second telegram :—His Excellency had hoped that the position of the Government was plain. It is that Civil Disobedience is a movement intended to coerce the Government by means of unlawful activities, and that there can be no question of holding conversation with a representative of an Association which has not abandoned that movement".

#### Gandhiji on Government's Attitude

Mahatma Gandhi in a special interview to "The Hindu" said :—

"Since the Viceroy has turned down my very simple request, not accompanied by any conditions, there is no present prospect of peace. I made every effort that was humanly possible, but when the door was banged in my face, I became helpless.

"The informal Conference was favourable to peace. It is difficult to say what would have been the basis of an honourable peace, but it would certainly have been reinstatement, at the very least, of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, in so far as it was possible, for I could show that there was a breach of that Pact not by the Congress, but by the Government.

"The White Paper has satisfied no party. It will never satisfy the Congress, but I would not have even discussed the White Paper at the interview. I had a wholly different scheme in view, which could have been acceptable both to the Government and the Congress.

"Civil Disobedience will certainly be renewed, after the suspension period, unless it is anticipated by the Government taking any precipitate action. But the acting President of the Congress is stopping mass Civil Disobedience including the no-tax campaign. He is also forbidding secret methods, and since Congress organisations can only function through secret methods, he is scraping all Congress organisations for the time being. Civil Disobedience will, therefore, be confined to individual efforts. Individuals will offer disobedience on their own responsibility, without the expectation of financial or other help.

"You ask what I should do if the movement became violent. I can only say that it had remained non-violent under the gravest provocation. It is not likely now to become violent, but if it does, I know that I have a prompt remedy for it."

#### MAHATMA'S INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

Reclining on his cot with his nearest and dearest seated around him, Mr. Gandhi gave an interview to the Press. Asked about his immediate programme, Mr. Gandhi stated that he was going to Sabarmati simply for the sake of visiting the people at the Ashram. "It will be a matter of regret to me, if I did not go to the Ashram before being imprisoned. Imprisonment is a certainty, whether it comes to-day or a few days later."

Asked what he thought of the Viceroy's reply, Mr. Gandhi answered :—

"In my opinion, the Viceregal reply has created a regretful situation fraught with grave danger. The doctrine laid down in that reply, in my opinion, is altogether new. I do not know that civilised States have refused to carry on conversations with their rebellious subjects for the sake of peace, and whilst hitherto they have parleyed with rebels who have been armed from top to toe, in the present instance civil resisters are admittedly non-violent. It is also a matter for deep regret that His Excellency should have taken any notice, whatsoever, of unauthorised Press reports of confidential proceedings in answering a simple request for an interview for promoting peace. This, again, in my opinion, is a dangerous doctrine. I am not aware of heads of States having taken notice of Press reports in situations such as this. The duty, therefore, before self-respecting Indians is perfectly plain. I cannot imagine a greater degradation or humiliation than for one to deny his faith."

#### PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

Questioned regarding the exact purpose of the conference, Mr. Gandhi said :—

"Without fear of any contradiction, I can say it was convened solely for the purpose of ascertaining whether Congressmen desired peace or not. I would not have been a party to convening this informal conference had I not been in utter ignorance of the situation in the country. It was convened for the sake of guiding me. Having found myself outside the jail, naturally, co-workers expected me to advise them regarding the course of action to be adopted. I could give no decisive advice without knowing the state of affairs in the country. The conference was therefore the only method whereby I could do so, and I am glad to be able to say to-day that, whilst the conference as a whole was not prepared to give up or call off Civil Disobedience, undoubtedly there was every desire to withdraw the movement on honourable terms. But the Viceregal telegrams are clear proof of the fact that, what the Government desires is not an honourable settlement, but a complete and humiliating surrender on the part of the Congress.

I prophesy that what has been impossible to-day, will be possible to-morrow. When that to-morrow will come, I do not know. That it is coming sooner than men expect is to me as much a certainty as the fact of my giving the present interview."

Asked whether the majority of the conference favoured withdrawal, and the present decision was forced on the conference, Mr. Gandhi said : "It is not right, and if it had been right, I would not be guilty of forcing my opinion. But I freely admit that there was at the conference a fair body of opinion that favoured complete withdrawal, but not in the sense that the Government would have it."

#### MASS MOVEMENT TO BE SUSPENDED

Asked about the future Congress policy, Mr. Gandhi stated : "Mr Aney will be issuing a statement, and I betray no secret when I say that his statement will be found to advise the country to suspend the mass movement for the time being. There are causes for this step into which I need not go at present. He is also advising cessation of all Congress organisations and secret methods, which alone made their functioning possible".

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi stated : "The movement remains under suspension up to the end of this month as announced by Mr. Aney for my sake ; and, though the Viceregal refusal has considerably altered the situation in view of my having regained sufficient strength to do a moderate amount of work, in order to avoid all possibilities of any misunderstanding, it is decided to continue the suspension."

Asked if he would be all-India Director, Mr. Gandhi said ; "I am just now in the role of a humble adviser. I do not regard myself really as fully out of Yerowada. My discharge was due to unforeseen circumstance. I have desire, whatever, to take undue advantage of that circumstance. I am not going to do any act of civil disobedience after the suspension period, without telling the Government previously about it".

#### FUTURE OF THE HARIJAN MOVEMENT

Asked about what would happen to the Harijan movement, Mr. Gandhi said : "Many people had expected I would devote the whole of my time to the Harijan movement. These do not understand me. In the first instance, my life is not divided into water-tight compartments. It is one indivisible whole, and therefore I could not possibly give up the activities of a life time, which are as dear to me as the Harijan movement itself. My activities react upon one another. Therefore, if I excluded other activities, my Harijan service will itself suffer. Then, again, I could not, all the twenty-four hours of the day, be doing Harijan work. That is an impossible thing ; and if it was suggested that I should give up prison life, which the Civil Disobedience movement implied, for the sake of Harijan work, it means that I should give up a life principle. Therefore, I can only render this service to the best of my ability and consistently with the principles that govern my life.

"Lastly, as I have already stated, Harijan work requires tremendous individual efforts for self-purification. In that respect, perhaps, it may be distinguished from other movements, social, political or semi-political. The recent fast perhaps best illustrates my point. Therefore, I am certain that my attention to other activities does not in any way affect my capacity for serving the Harijan cause".

#### Gandhiji on Sir Samuel Hoare's Defence

"I have seen the report of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the House of Commons during the India estimates debate. It is another surprise, like the Viceregal telegram and equally painful", observed Mr. Gandhi in the course of an exclusive interview to the Associated Press. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said :

"I may say that since the fast, I have not been able to read newspapers regularly, and during the past ten or twelve days, I have not even looked into newspapers, for the simple reason that I had no time. I therefore cannot say whether the reports in the newspapers were truly reflective of the proceedings of the informal conference. My point, however, was not that the reports were necessarily untrue, but that no notice should have been taken of unauthorised reports of confidential proceedings. Surely, it ought not to have mattered to the Viceroy, what I or anybody had said at the informal conference. The Viceroy could have judged for himself what I might have said at the interview, had it been granted. The proceedings were kept confidential purposely in order not to prejudice my request for an interview. I have been asked even now to deny the accuracy of the reports. How am I to do so without going through the files of newspapers, and how many newspapers am I to read ? I venture to suggest that it is not a business proposition. It ought to be sufficient that my request was not fettered by any conditions. It was a mere request for an interview to explore the possibilities of peace and I think that it should have been considered on its merits.

"But, perhaps the proper question to put to me at this stage is whether I personally repent of having advised the country to take up Civil Disobedience, and whether I would advise its withdrawal. That question I have already answered before now."

The interviewer then asked Mr. Gandhi if the door for negotiations had been finally closed, to which Mr. Gandhi replied sharply : "Not for me. So far as I am concerned, the door will never be closed. Whenever I see the slightest opportunity, I would not hesitate to knock at the Viceregal door. But I suppose, so far as the authorities are concerned, they have finally closed the door unless the Congress will call off Civil Disobedience altogether."

#### Aney's Statement—Disobedience to be Suspended

On the 22nd. July, Mr. M. S. Aney issued the following statement :—

"Having considered very carefully the recommendations of the informal conference recently held at Poona and the discussions among Congressmen in the Confer-

ence and outside, and the advice tendered by Mr. Gandhi, I have come to the conclusion that the country's best interest will be served by the following instructions being carried out :

"Firstly, the Civil Disobedience campaign should not be unconditionally withdrawn in the existing circumstances.

"Secondly, mass civil disobedience, including no-tax and no-rent campaign, should be discontinued for the time being, the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering, and are prepared at their own responsibilities to continue Civil Disobedience being reserved.

Thirdly, all those able and willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibilities without exception of any help from the Congress organisation are expected to do so.

"Fourthly, secret methods followed hitherto should be abandoned.

"Fifthly, all Congress organisations, including the All-India Congress Committee office, should cease to exist for the time being, provided, however, that, wherever possible, dictators in the provinces and all-India dictators should continue.

"Sixthly, all the Congressmen unable for any reason, whatsoever, to offer civil disobedience are expected to carry on individually or corporately such constructive activities of the Congress for which they are fitted.

"I regret it has not been possible to call off the movement, and it has become necessary for me to issue these instructions. I share with many others, Congressmen or others, the disappointment that Mahatma Gandhi's very simple request, unaccompanied by any condition for an interview with the Viceroy in order to explore peace possibilities, was summarily rejected. His Excellency has very wrongly allowed himself to be influenced by unauthorised reports of confidential 'proceedings of the informal conference, which for the sake of furthering peace efforts, were purposely held back from publication. His Excellency should know that at the conference overwhelming opinion favoured seeking such an interview for honourable peace. I hold it impossible for any Congress organisation or its representative to accept the terms peremptorily laid down by His Excellency as a condition precedent to peace conversation. I hope the nation will compel revision of this attitude by developing requisite strength, whatever the cost be.

"Despite the instructions, suspension of the campaign till the end of this month stands".

#### Gandhi on Mr. Aney's Statement

On the 26th July, Mr. Gandhi in the course of a statement on the statement issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, said :—

"This statement issued by Mr. Aney closely follows the advice tendered by me at the informal conference. It does not give any reasons for the decision taken. It was left to me to give them. This does not mean that they are necessarily the reasons that guided Mr. Aney and all those friends who accepted my advice. They must be taken therefore to be solely mine."

#### "SECRET REPUGNANT TO SATYAGRAHA"

"Mr. Aney's instructions taboo secret methods. There is nothing inherently wrong in them. I fully admit the purity of purpose and great cleverness of the workers in conducting a campaign by secret methods devised to meet the situation created by the repressive measures of the Government, but secrecy is repugnant to Satyagraha and hampers its progress. It has undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to the present demoralisation of the people. I know that the ban on secrecy will stop some of the activities which appeared to keep the Congress before the public eye, but this doubtful benefit will be outweighed by the certain elimination of a method which is foreign to the spirit of Satyagraha, and which interferes with its efficacy.

"Another change made is the stoppage of the mass movement. The masses have acted bravely and suffered much wherever they have responded to the national call, but ample evidence is forthcoming to show that they are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of ordinance rule now crystallised into statute by the so-called legislatures. The Congress, as an organisation, finds it increasingly difficult, day by day, to render them effective aid, the stoppage of which would prevent even the little relief that it was possible to give them. The masses have not yet learnt to act as one man and without direction. They need more training and experience, through the example of individuals.

such organisations had been declared illegal. What was therefore working were secret organisations, and shadow cabinets, and this was calculated to lead to chaos. That condition had been anticipated, and stopped by the action of the Acting President. If there was any chaos now, it would be confined to individuals.

The more he read the criticisms levelled at Mr. M. S. Aney's action, Mr. Gandhi said, the more convinced he felt that, as time passed, people would understand the necessity for his action, as also its beauty. It was the only action possible in order to save the Congress and the national honour and national spirit that had been awakened among the masses.

Asked whether he had decided his plan of civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi said there were undoubtedly many schemes floating in his brain, which it would be purposeless to recount, but as soon as anything took a definite shape, he would gladly share it with the public. But he would share it first with the Government.

Asked whether he would launch his civil disobedience on the 1st August and call upon anybody to join him, Mr. Gandhi said that, whether it would be 1st August or when, he was unable to say.

#### REPORT OF "LETTER" TO VICEROY CONTRADICTED

Interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent on the 30th July, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. Gandhi's Secretary, stated that there was no truth in the report, published in the "Bombay Chronicle," that Mr. Gandhi had prepared a letter to the Viceroy suggesting that the door for honourable compromise was still open, and also stating his future plans. Mr. Gandhi had written no such letter, stated Mr. Mahadev Desai.

#### "ONLY ONE FETISH IN LIFE"

Interviewed by Pressmen, Mr. Gandhi said that he had only one fetish in life, and that was Truth, and he was not sorry for having made a fetish of it. In his opinion, prestige came unasked and unsought from right conduct, right speech and right thought. His endeavour ever since he entered public life had been to regulate it by those three golden rules.

#### "REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW WITH VICEROY UNCONDITIONAL"

Asked if his request to the Viceroy for an interview was accompanied by a threat of the revival of Civil Disobedience, Mr. Gandhi said that in no sense was the request for the interview accompanied by threat of any kind whatsoever, whether direct or indirect open or veiled. It was for the sake of avoiding the slightest suspicion of a threat, that the proceedings of the informal conference were made confidential. It was a public misfortune that the present code of conduct of newspapers not only permitted, but seemed even to applaud, the gaining of confidential information by hook or crook and gave it publicity. That, at the informal conference many things were said in connection with the possibilities that might arise if the interview was not granted or if granted proved infructuous, could not, in any way, be interpreted as a threat. The relevant fact was that his request for the interview carried with it no condition.

#### "THE ONLY RIGHT COURSE TO TAKE"

In the course of a statement issued, Mr. Gandhi, said :

"On the eve of what is to me an act of greater dedication than perhaps ever before, I would like to urge all Congressmen not to fritter away their energy in debating over the decision of the Acting President. I reiterate my opinion that the decision was the only right course to take. In my opinion it is also constitutional.

"To Englishmen, whether belonging to the services or others, I would say :

"If you want peace in the land and real friendship with India, Ordinance rule is not the way. That of the Congress is the only way. I say this as a friend of the English people. Some of you may regard me to-day as your enemy. I make bold to prophesy that the day will come when the mists will have rolled away, and you will admit my claims."

#### Disbandment of Sabarmati Ashram

"The disbandment of the Ashram would mean that every inmate would constitute a walking Ashram, carrying with him or her the responsibility for realising the Ashram ideal, no matter where situated, whether in prison or outside", declared Mr. Gandhi interviewed by Pressmen on the 26th July.

Mr. Gandhi added that the impending disbandment would not mean loss or diminution of incentive, but it would be a greater incentive to greater effort, greater dedication and greater sacrifice. He would disband the Ashram as early as possible after the end of the month. "Every step regarding the Ashram will be taken with the full knowledge of the authorities", he declared.

Asked if he was closing the Ashram for want of funds, Mr. Gandhi said : "It is malicious and baseless to say so. The Ashram has plenty of friends who have never kept it in want".

Asked if he was closing the Ashram because of disappointment, Mr. Gandhi said that it was also equally baseless to say so. He declared : "I am not only not seriously disappointed, but I am convinced that the majority of the inmates have made all endeavours humanly possible to come up to the ideal. This much, however, is true that though the inmates, including myself, have made an honest endeavour to come up to the principles, we have all failed. But that is no cause for disappointment. It is a cause for greater effort".

#### SUSPENSION OF CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS

Asked if the suspension of all Congress organisations would mean the prevailing of anarchy in India, Mr. Gandhi replied : "No. Anarchy means want of rule and discipline. The Congress would be under rigid discipline. Individuals' activities will be within the limits prescribed by the Congress resolutions".

#### QUESTION OF HOLDING A. I. C. C. MEETING

Regarding the suggestion to hold a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, Mr. Gandhi said : "I would not mind, but personally I think it is impossible unless step is taken to give up civil disobedience altogether. Such an intention should be made known to the Government. Whether it would be advisable or not, is a question the answer to which will depend upon the temperament of each member".

#### Interview to "Daily Herald"

In an interview to the "Daily Herald," London, on the 27th. July, Mahatma Gandhi disclosed that the ashramites and himself were voluntarily giving up possession of the Sabarmati Ashram properties to the Government.

Mahatma Gandhi told "The Daily Herald" correspondent : "My merely going to jail is not sufficient sacrifice in the face of the sacrifices and sufferings of thousands of men and women of which I have had knowledge since the breaking of the fast. The Ashram has three lakhs worth of immovable property, that is, land and buildings; and movable property worth nearly two lakhs, including a rich library containing 81,000 volumes. We estimate the value of the books at least at Rs. 40,000. The members of the Ashram and I came to the conclusion that we should no longer enjoy these things when others have been deprived of what was just as precious as the things of the Ashram to the Ashram people. Moreover, many members of the Ashram having decided to offer individual civil disobedience, it would be wrong to expect the Government to treat the Ashram differently from other properties similarly affected. Of course, there is a fundamental difference. The Ashram is a public trust, with well-defined objects ; and if the members of such a public institution adopted an attitude which brings upon them the heavy hand of the law, good or bad, the property which is the subject-matter of the trust might not be easily affected. It is for this reason that we have decided that we should voluntarily give up possession of the properties to the Government. Hence this step to be taken of disbanding the Ashram."

Replying to supplementary questions, the Mahatma said : The immovable property will revert to the Government. The movable property, subject to what the Government have to say, will be given to public institutions.

Gandhi said that he had not finally decided on his method of individual civil disobedience. He added : "I shall resort to no overt act of disobedience without first informing the Government. I shall be ready with my plan on the 1st August."

Asked about the reports current that he is contemplating another march, Gandhi said : "That is all bazaar gossip. I have not decided on anything yet. It might be another march or might not be. I cannot say yet."

### Mahatma's Letter to Government

On the 30th. July, Mr. Gandhi decided to vacate the Ashram on Tuesday morning (31st. July) and proceed with the inmates to Ras village in Kaira district.

Mr. Gandhi passed practically the whole day in his Ashram giving final instructions to the inmates, and stayed there till late at night after prayers. As he was observing his weekly silence to-day he had to write his instructions.

The movable property of Mr. Gandhi's Ashram, including the huge library was being removed in the night.

Among those who accompanied Mr. Gandhi in his march were Mr. and Mrs. Mahadev Desai, besides Mrs. Gandhi.

### THE CORRESPONDENCE

The following is the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Secretary to the Government Bombay, Home Department :—

Mr. Gandhi wrote under date, Ahmedabad July 26, 1933, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department, Poona :—

"Dear Sir,—My first constructive act on returning to India in 1915 was to found the Satyagraha Ashram for the purpose of serving truth. The inmates are under vows of truth, ahimsa, celibacy, control of palate, poverty, fearlessness, removal of untouchability, swadeshi with khadi as the chief item, equal respect for all religions and bread-labour. The present site for the Ashram was bought in 1916. It conducts to-day certain activities mostly through the labour of the inmates. Its principal activities are khadi production as a village industry without the aid of power-driven machinery, agriculture, scientific scavenging and ordinary education.

"The Ashram has 107 inmates at present (men 42, women 31, boys 12 and girls 22). The number excludes those who are in prison, and those who are otherwise outside. Up to now it has trained nearly 1,000 persons in manufacturing khadi. Most of these, so far as my knowledge goes, are doing useful constructive work, and earning an honest livelihood.

"The Ashram is registered. The trust funds at its disposal are earmarked. Whilst the aim has been to make every department self-supporting, it has hitherto been obliged to receive donations from friends to meet all its obligations. Experience has shown that so long as it not only charges no fees, but actually feeds and clothes learners, it cannot be wholly self-supporting. The Ashram owns immovable property estimated at over Rs. 3,50,000, and movable, including cash, estimated at over Rs. 3,00,000. The Ashram takes no part in politics so called".

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, the time had come, owing to the policy pursued by the Government in combating the Civil Disobedience movement, followed by the demoralisation among the people, and the curtailment of the liberty of the Press and of freedom of person when the vast constructive programme of the Ashram could not be carried on with safety unless the Ashram ceased entirely to have anything to do with the campaign. "To accept such a position" he says, "will be to deny its creed. Up to now, I had hoped that the existence of the Ashram side by side with civil resistance of its individual members was possible, and that there was bound to be honourable peace between the Government and the Congress in the near future, even though the Congress goal might not be immediately realised. The unfortunate rejection by His Excellency the Viceroy of the honest advance of the Congress, through me, in the interest of peace, shows clearly that the Government do not seek or desire peace. They want abject surrender by the largest and admittedly the most, if not the only, popular political organisation in the country. This is impossible so long as the Congress continues to repose confidence in its present advisers.

"It follows that the greatest measure of sacrifice is to be expected of me, as the author of the movement. I can therefore only offer that which is nearest and dearest to me, and for building up of which I and many other members of the Ashram have laboured with infinite patience and care, all these eighteen years. Every head of cattle and every tree has its history and sacred association. They are all members of a family.

"What was once a barren plot of land has been turned by human endeavour into a fair-sized model garden colony. It will not be without a tear that we shall break up the family and its many activities. I have had many and prayerful conversations with the inmates, and they have men and women, unanimously approved of the proposal to give up the present activities.

It may be superfluous to mention that the Ashram has for the past two years refused to pay revenue dues, and consequently goods of considerable value have been seized and sold in respect of them. I make no complaint against the procedure, but it cannot be a matter of pleasure or profit to carry on a great institution in such precarious circumstances. I fully realise that whether the State is just or unjust, and whether it is under popular or foreign control, the citizen's possessions, may, at a time, be forcibly taken away from him by the State if it comes into conflict with it. In the circumstances, it seems to me to be simple prudence to anticipate the inevitable.

"But whilst it had been decided to break up the Ashram, we want everything to be used for public purposes. Therefore, unless the Government for any reason desire to take charge of any or all the movables including cash, I propose to hand them over to those friends who will take them, and use them for public benefit and in accordance with the earmarking. Thus, khadi stock and the contents of the workshop and the weaving sheds will be handed over to All-India Spinners' Association on whose behalf that activity has been carried on. Cows and other cattle will be handed over to the representatives of the Go Seva Sangh, on whose behalf the dairy has been conducted. The Library will be handed over probably to an institution that will take care of it. Monies and articles belonging to the various parties will be returned to them or kept for them by friends who will care to take charge of them.

"Then there remained the land, buildings and crops. I suggest that the Government take possession of this and do what they like with them. I would gladly have handed this also to friends, but I cannot be a party to their paying revenue dues and naturally I may not hand them to fellow-resisters. All, therefore, I wish is that beneficial use be made of the land, buildings and valuable trees and crops, instead of the same being allowed to run to waste, as I see has been done in many cases. There is a plot of land with buildings occupied by Harijan families. They have hitherto paid no rent. I have no desire to invite them to take part in civil resistance. They will now pay a nominal rent of one rupee per year to the trustees of the Ashram, and be responsible for the revenue due on that portion.

"If, for any reason, the Government decline to take possession of the property mentioned, the Ashram will still be vacated by the inmates as soon as may be after the expiry of the suspension period, viz., 31st instant. Unless the date is anticipated by the Government, I request a telegraphic reply to this letter, at least in so far as the Government's wishes regarding the movables are concerned, so as to enable me to remove them in due time if I am to remove them at all."

#### GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

Copy of the letter received from Mr. R. M. Maxwell, Secretary to the Government of Bombay (Home Department).

To M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

Sir, I am directed to acknowledge your letter of 26th July 1933.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant, (Sd) R. M. Maxwell,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

#### Mahatma's Decision to March from Ashram

In the course of an appeal addressed to the people of Gujerat, on the 30th July, Mr. Gandhi stated: 'On Tuesday morning (31st July), I propose, God willing, to march from the Ashram with thirty three companions. Some of these will be even physically weaker than I, for there are nearly as many women with me this time as men, but I could not resist their desire to sacrifice themselves. We hope and pray that God will help us to carry out our pledge.'

'Our immediate destination is Ras. In case we are allowed to reach there, we shall proceed further, but it is quite likely that we all will be arrested as we proceed on the march. If we are not so arrested, it is our plan to carry the message of fearlessness to every village home.'

'Let me set out in brief what we shall expect of the villages we visit. We will not have a copper on us. We shall cheerfully and thankfully accept what the humble villagers offer us. The coarsest fare, willingly served, will mean to us the choicest treat. As this is the rainy season, we shall be thankful to be put up in a cottage having a roof and we shall march by easy stages.'

'As many amongst us are not strong and our programme will not be rigid, we shall halt whenever our legs cannot carry us further. But we do not propose to spend more than a single night at one place.'

'It is possible that the Government may take me before Tuesday. Even then the march will continue so long as there is any marcher left free. I am confident that if the sacrifice that we are offering is pure, it will generate non-violence that will put us in reach of the Swaraj that millions of us are pining for.'

### MAHATMAJI ARRESTED

Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Mahadev Desai and thirty-three other inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram, were arrested at 1-40 a. m. on the 1st. August at Seth Ranchodlal's bungalow and taken to the Sabarmati Jail.

The arrests were made under Sec. 3 of the Special Emergency Powers Act.

The District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and other police officers proceeded at 1-15 a. m. in four motorcars to Sheth Ranchodlal's bungalow, where Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai were sleeping.

The small gathering, including Pressmen, that had collected in the compound of the bungalow in anticipation of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, rushed towards the main building where Mr. Gandhi was sleeping. Mr. Gandhi woke up and all the inmates of the building, including Seth Jammalal Bajaj, offered prayers, Mr. Gandhi himself singing his favourite hymn, "Vaishnava Jann".

Prayers over, Mr. Ranchodlal, Mr. Gandhi's host, placed kumkum on the foreheads of Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Kasturbai and Mr. Mahadev Desai.

Thirty minutes' time was given by the police officers to Mr. Gandhi to get ready.

Mr. Gandhi's coming out was the signal for cries of "Gandhibiki Jai", from the waiting crowd outside.

As Mr. Gandhi was boarding the motor car, he was surrounded by Pressmen to whom he said, "You will no longer trouble me now".

Mr. Gandhi asked the District Superintendent of Police if he was arresting the other members of his batch. The latter replied in the affirmative, whereupon Mr. Gandhi said, "Then you can arrest one young boy, named Bal, who was sleeping with me". The District Superintendent of Police arrested him also.

Mr. Gandhi was seated in the car of the District Superintendent of Police, and was taken to Sabarmati Jail, followed by Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai who were seated in the car of Deputy Superintendent of Police.

Mr. Gandhi's kit, which had been packed by Mr. Mahadev Desai, was taken after him in a motorbus.

The whole affair was finished within half an hour. The other members of Mr. Gandhi's batch, who were sleeping in Mr. Gandhi's Ashram, were also arrested, and taken to the Sabarmati Jail.

When Mr. Gandhi's car neared his ashram, he asked the driver to stop the car for a second and cast a melancholy glance at what till yesterday was the nearest and dearest earthly possession of his.

A crowd had collected at the spot. Messrs. Kikabhai and Rajbhoj, Depressed Class leaders, asked Mr. Gandhi for his blessing. Mr. Gandhi remarked that he would not forget Harijans even in jail.

After Mr. Gandhi and his companions, numbering in all thirty-six, were taken to the Sabarmati Jail, Mr. Devadas Gandhi, son of Mr. Gandhi and other guests who had left the Ashram the previous evening, collected on the Ashram premises for final prayers and left for their respective places.

Mr. Gandhi, who had spent most of the day in his Ashram, had returned late at night to sleep in Seth Ranchodlal's bungalow. At first, he wanted to sleep in his Ashram, but subsequently changed his mind.

The Ashram, which was once humming with activity wore a deserted appearance now.

#### Simpla Communique

A Govt. of India communiquo said: "Mr. Gandhi has recently engaged himself in active incitements to continuance and incusification of Civil Disobedience through the action of individuals, and in pursuance thereof, has sent the following telegram to the Bombay Government :

'I hope to vacate the Ashram on Tuesday morning and, if free, march with companions in easy stages, the immediate destination being Ras, with a view to tendering sympathy to the villages most hit. No desire to invite villagers to mass civil disobedience, but individuals will be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of the Congress resolution. Will give talks to villages on teetotalism, to liquor dealers on leaving liquor trade, to foreign cloth dealers on dealing exclusively in khaddar and to all to go through the Congress constructive programme. Hindus will be asked to shed untouchability. Self and companions will march piecemeal, and depend on the villagers for feeding us. In the event of my earlier arrest, my companions, thirty-two in number, including sixteen women, will take up the march.'

The Government of Bombay therefore found it necessary to direct the arrest of Mr. Gandhi under Section 3 of Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1933. Mr. Gandhi was arrested last night'.

#### Bombay Government's Statement

The following statement explaining the reasons for Mr. Gandhi's arrest was issued by the Government of Bombay on the 1st. August :—

On the 8th May Mr. Gandhi began a twenty-one days' fast which, he stated in a telegram addressed to the Government of India, was for reasons wholly unconnected with the Government, and solely connected with the Harijan movement. In view of the nature and the objects of the fast and the attitude of mind which it disclosed, the Government considered it desirable to set Mr. Gandhi at liberty, and he was released unconditionally the same evening.

After his release, he issued the same evening a statement to the Press in which he affirmed that his views about Civil Disobedience had undergone no change whatsoever. At his suggestion, however, Mr. M. S. Aney, Acting President of the Congress, suspended the Civil Disobedience movement for a period of six weeks.

This period was subsequently extended in order to give an opportunity to Mr. Gandhi to consult Congress leaders in regard to the continuance or otherwise of the Civil Disobedience movement. For this purpose, a meeting of Congress leaders was held at Poona from the 12th to 14th July at which about 150 delegates from all over India are said to have been present. Although the meeting was understood to be private, the public had already drawn their own conclusions regarding the course and character of the proceedings from the accounts of them published in the Press.

The decisions of the Conference, which were announced by Mr. Aney, in a published statement issued on 22nd July, included the following :

"Mass civil disobedience, including no-tax and no-rent campaign, should be discontinued for the time being—the right of individuals, who may be ready for every offering and who may be prepared to act on their own responsibilities, to continue civil disobedience being reserved. All those who are able and willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibilities without expectation of any help from the Congress organisations are expected to do so."

#### THE DECISION TO DISBAND ASHRAM

After the issue of Mr. Aney's statement, Mr. Gandhi announced his intention of disbanding his Ashram on the Sabarmati river. This was followed, on the 26th July, by a statement explaining the course of future action which he intended to follow in association with the inmates of the Ashram. On account of many objectionable passages in it, inciting to civil disobedience, this statement has not been published in full by the Press with one or two exceptions. In order that the public may realise fully the grounds on which the Government have acted, the following extracts giving Mr. Gandhi's view regarding the continuance of the Civil Disobedience movement are now published :

"In my opinion, it would have been disastrous if, in the existing circumstances, civil disobedience had been altogether withdrawn."

"Continuance of civil resistance even by one person insures its revival by those who might have given it up through despair or weakness."

"Another change made is stoppage of the mass movement."

"Ample evidence is forthcoming to show that the people are not able any longer to suffer the prolonged torture of ordinance-rule, now crystallised into statute by the so-called legislatures. Civil Disobedience is therefore to be confined to individuals on their own responsibility, although they would be acting on behalf of and in

the name of the Congress. Those who will so act may expect no financial or other assistance from the Congress. They would be prepared for indefinite incarceration, whether ill or well. They may not come out of jails except by the termination of their sentence in due course, or through the strength of the people. On the termination of their sentence, they should seek re-imprisonment at the first opportunity. They should be prepared to brave all risks attendant upon their action, including uttermost penury and loss of all their possessions, movable or immovable, or physical torture such as lathi blows."

"Naturally, such action can only be expected from a small number, especially in the beginning. The very enumeration of the hardships is likely to frighten many people. But the experience of patriots and reformers all the world over shows that Nature provides us with the capacity for suffering when it is taken up in the true spirit."

"It follows that such a response, if it comes at all, must come in the first instance from the intelligentsia. Their example will prove infectious in the long run and pervade the whole nation, resulting in a mass awakening that cannot possibly be crushed by any repression, be it ever so ferocious. Moreover, individuals from among the masses can certainly not even now. I am convinced that these men and women will represent the national spirit and the nation's determination to win independence in every sense of the term. For I hold that true independence, in terms of and on behalf of the masses, can be proved in India's case to be unattainable by any other method."

"Whilst Congressmen may be counted by the crore, civil resistance under the new scheme will be represented only by a few thousand or even less. If these few are true men and women, I am certain that they will multiply into millions."

"It will be the aim, wherever possible, to give relief to the indigent families of civil resisters, especially to the utterly destitute peasantry who joined the no-tax campaign; for they must be ensured that every inch of land confiscated during the campaign (I think lawlessly and wrongly) will be returned to them or their progeny, when the nation comes to her own, as it must some day."

#### "PREPARATION FOR PROPAGANDA"

It is apparent from this announcement that, while Mr. Gandhi did not appear to contemplate the immediate commission of an overt act of civil disobedience in the sense of a breach of the ordinary law, he was about to begin a period of preparation and propaganda which could not fail to lead to the same unfortunate results as his policy of 1921 and 1930-31 and his announcement of renewed civil disobedience in January 1932. The new campaign was to be inaugurated by the spectacular abandonment of the Ashram by his closest followers. Thereafter, local sympathy and benevolence was to be appealed to and local sentiment excited by their homeless condition. The former owners of lands in Gujarat in 1930-31 in the No-Tax campaign were to be stirred up by an assurance of the return of their lands. By these means, it seemed to be intended that opportunities for propaganda in favour of continued and intensified civil disobedience should grow.

These apprehensions of the Government were confirmed by Mr. Gandhi's telegram on the 30th July to the Government which has been published. This telegram included the intimation that, with his companions from the Ashram, Mr. Gandhi intended to march to the village of Ras in Kaira District in order to "tender sympathy to the villagers most hit." The message also stated that he had no desire to invite the villagers to mass civil disobedience, but individuals would be invited to offer civil disobedience in terms of the Congress resolution. He also stated that he and his companions would march piecemeal and depend upon villagers for feeding them. The villagers of Ras have been outstanding in the past in their adherence to Mr. Gandhi and his policy and even after the settlement of 1931 and despite the great patience exercised by the Government, many of them persisted in contumacious refusal to pay land revenue and suffered forfeiture of their lands.

#### MASS AND INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

There is of course no real distinction between mass and individual civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi himself contemplated that the example of individuals should pervade the whole nation, resulting in a mass awakening. There is nothing in effect to distinguish the proposed campaign from that inaugurated in 1930 by Mr. Gandhi's march from his Ashram to Dandi in the Surat district for the ostensible purpose of breaking the salt laws. After the experience of 1930-31, and after the

successful efforts made by the Government during the last eighteen months to maintain peace and order, it was impossible that the Government should allow Mr. Gandhi continuance of the liberty which he obtained in May in order to enable him to pursue his fast, in view of the fact that he has declared his intention of using this liberty to carry on a campaign subversive of law and order. Mr. Gandhi has had full time and opportunity, since his fast, to understand the present political situation and the views of the public including his own followers. The Government believe that they will have ample public support to the measures taken and described in the following paragraph :

"In December 1932, the Bombay Legislative Council passed a Bill, now entitled the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act 1932, which as stated in the preamble, conferred special powers upon the Government and its officers for the maintenance of public security in cases of emergency. Acting under the powers conferred by Section 3 of this Act, the Governor-in-Council, being satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. Gandhi has acted, is acting and is about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety, or peace, has ordered Mr. Gandhi's arrest."

#### OPINION IN SIMLA OFFICIAL CIRCLES

The Bombay Government's action in arresting Mr. Gandhi had the full approval of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. News of the arrest did not cause surprise at Simla, and as forecasted yesterday, the action of the Government was considered inevitable at the end of the period of the temporary suspension of the movement.

The view taken in official circles was that some of Mr. Gandhi's recent statements, contained in passages which the majority of newspapers for obvious reasons did not publish, consisted of definite incitements to civil disobedience making it clear that individual civil disobedience was considered a mere prelude to the revival of mass civil disobedience. Further, his telegram to the Bombay Government announcing his plan to march to Ras left no doubt that he was going to invite the population to offer civil disobedience. Official opinion, therefore, was that the arrests, in the circumstances, were unavoidable.

It was recalled that there was a remarkable resemblance between the policy adopted by Mr. Gandhi now and on the previous occasions. The idea of a march through the country in defiance of authority was made use of first in South Africa and again in 1930. The chief feature of Mr. Gandhi's plan on this occasion seemed to be a desire to stir up feeling again in Gujarat villages which in 1930 were the main centre of the agrarian phase of civil disobedience. In a recent statement, Mr. Gandhi appears to have held out suggestions that land confiscated as result of the no-rent campaign would be returned to owners. In view of the dangerous situation created by the agrarian agitation in Gujarat in the past, it was felt in official circles that no course was open to Government, but to prevent the march.

#### Mahatma's Trial and Sentence

On the 4th August, Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment by Mr. Israel, Additional District Magistrate, Poona, under Section 14 of the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1932. The trial took place in Yerowada Jail and Mr. Gandhi pleaded "guilty" to the charge.

Mr. Gandhi was placed in 'A' class, while Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. Gandhi's Secretary, who was subsequently tried and sentenced under the same Section to one year's simple imprisonment was placed in 'B' Class.

The order under Section 4 of the Bombay Special Powers Act of 1932, for breach of which Mr. Gandhi was sentenced, required him, among other things, to remove himself from the limits of Yerowada village by 9-30 a. m. and to reside within the limits of the Poona City Municipality. The order was served on him at five minutes past nine, and he was released forthwith along with Mr. Mahadev Desai. Mr. Gandhi was rearrested near the golf links falling within the Yerowada village limits at 9-50 a. m. by the Assistant Superintendent of Police for non-compliance with the order.

#### DETAILS OF TRIAL

The trial commenced at 3-15 on the 4th August before the Additional District Magistrate in the Jail Superintendent's office.

Mr. Gandhi sat opposite the Magistrate on one side, wrapped in a khaddar shawl.

Mr. Mathurdas Tricumjee, Mr. Gandhi's nephew, who was the only outsider present at the trial, sat behind Mr. Gandhi. A few police officers and Mr. Raghunath Vasudev Kurlekar, Police Prosecutor, sat on the other side of the judicial desk. Two Press representatives were present.

A few motor cars parked at the jail gate were the only evidence that something unusual was going on inside.

After the Magistrate had explained the circumstances under which the trial was taking place, Mr. Gandhi suggested, as he intended to plead guilty to the charge, that witness might not be examined.

But the Magistrate informed him that the procedure required that some evidence should be recorded.

Mr. Gandhi : I think in 1922, when I pleaded "guilty", all evidence was dispensed with.

The Magistrate : It is very kind of you. I understand what you say. It will of course simplify matters, but it is my duty to record some evidence. But I shall reduce it as much as possible.

The trial was then proceeded with.

#### POLICE SUPERINTENDENT'S EVIDENCE

Mr. F. W. Ogorman, District Superintendent of Police, who was the first witness deposed : It is within my knowledge that Mr. Gandhi was served with a notice under the Bombay Special Powers Act by the Government this morning, which notice *inter alia* directed him to remove himself outside the limits of Yerowada village by 9-30 a. m. to-day.

Continuing, the District Superintendent of Police stated :—

"I was present when the order was served on Mr. Gandhi by Lt.-Colonel Martin, Superintendent of the Yerowada Jail. Mr. Gandhi endorsed the order in his own handwriting, refusing to abide by it. I produce the order which was signed by Mr. Gandhi in the presence of the Jail Superintendent. To a question asked of me by area prescribed by the Government for his residence was that of the Poona City Municipality, and that if he continued in the limits of the Yerowada area or if he entered the Poona Cantonment limits, he would be infringing the terms of the said order. I made it known that a private taxi was at his disposal, which had been provided by me in order to enable Mr. Gandhi to remove himself outside the restricted area. This Mr. Gandhi refused to do both orally and in writing. When Mr. Gandhi entered the private taxi subsequently, he asked me that he should be driven to some secluded spot in Yerowada itself. This was accordingly done. Mr. Gandhi had at that time received his morning's post which he desired to peruse. Some time later, the Assistant Superintendent of Police returned, bringing with him Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai under arrest. The Assistant Superintendent informed me that Mr. Gandhi had refused to comply with the terms of Government orders, and that he had informed him twice that he was violating the terms of the order by remaining within the limits of the Yerowada village."

Asked by the court if he wished to cross-examine the witness, Mr. Gandhi replied in the negative.

#### JAIL SUPERINTENDENT'S DEPOSITION

Lt. Col. Martin, Superintendent, Yerowada Jail, the next prosecution witness, stated that the order produced in court was served by him on Mr. Gandhi at five minutes to nine that morning. A few minutes afterwards, Mr. Gandhi was released along with Mr. Mahadev Desai.

#### EVIDENCE OF ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

The next prosecution witness was the Assistant Superintendent of Police who actually arrested Mr. Gandhi. He deposed that he was present outside the jail when Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai came out and entered the private taxi. The District Superintendent of Police instructed him to watch their movements, and see if they complied with the order that had been served on them. Mr. Gandhi drove away and stopped at a secluded spot near the golf links. At 9-40 a. m., as they were still at the same spot, he approached them and informed them that the time as stated in the Government order had expired and if Mr. Gandhi

desired to comply with the order, he should leave at once. Mr. Gandhi stated that he did not wish to comply with the order. The witness waited for ten more minutes, and at 9.50 told them both that if they did not leave Yerowada limits at once they would be liable for arrest. Both replied that they did not intend to leave the spot, and at 9.53 the witness arrested them and brought them over to jail authorities. He registered an offence under Section 14 and set up the charge-sheet.

Mr. Gandhi declined to cross-examine this witness also saying "No, thanks".

The taxi-driver, in whose taxi Mr. Gandhi drove to the golf links and remained there, was the next and last witness. He corroborated the other witnesses.

#### MAHATMAJI'S REPLY TO MAGISTRATE'S QUESTIONS

To questions put by the court, Mr. Gandhi stated that his age was sixty-four and that he was a Hindu by caste.

Magistrate: What is your occupation?

Mr. Gandhi hesitated for a moment and said: I am by occupation a spinner, weaver and farmer.

The Magistrate: Your residence?

Mr. Gandhi: Yerowada Jail now. (Laughter).

The Magistrate: Now of course; but otherwise?

Mr. Gandhi: Otherwise, Sabarmathi in Ahmedabad District.

The Magistrate: Have you anything to say regarding the prosecution evidence recorded?

Mr. Gandhi: I think that the statements that the several prosecution witnesses have made are quite correct.

#### Gandhiji's Statement

Mr. Gandhi, proceeding, stated that he desired to make a brief statement as to why he had committed a breach of the order.

The court consenting, he dictated off hand a brief statement in slow, measured tones, often with feeling. He stated:

"I would like to make a brief statement as to why I have committed what must be described as wilful and deliberate breach of the orders of the Government of Bombay. It cannot be a matter of pleasure to me to commit a breach of the orders of constituted authority. I am a lover of peace and regard myself as a good citizen, voluntarily tendering obedience to the laws of the State to which I may belong. But there are occasions in the life-time of a citizen when it becomes his painful duty to disobey the laws and orders of his State. As is well known, such a painful duty came upon me in 1919, and I have not only regarded it as my duty to offer civil disobedience, but also to preach it to others."

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi stated:

"This law or Act under which I have been tried, is a glaring instance in proof of my contention that the system under which India is being governed to-day, is not merely unjust, but dragging her down economically and morally. I have had recently a spell of freedom, and was in the midst of the people, and had an opportunity of coming into contact with a very large number of men and women. I made what was to me a painful discovery, that men, high and low, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, were demoralised and were living in perpetual fear of loss of liberty and of their possessions. It was a trial for me to live in the midst of that atmosphere. Being by nature from my childhood a confirmed believer in the methods of non-violence, I sought shelter in self-suffering such as might fall to my lot. That was the only way in which I could relieve myself of some of the agony that was burning in me. It is for reasons such as this that I am offering all resistance to this system of government—resistance that is within my capacity and resistance that a peaceful man like me could offer."

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi stated: "One word more. I heard that you, Sir, or the Government would after sentencing me classify me. I must state I intensely dislike the procedure of classification of prisoners into 'A', 'B', 'C' classes. I have no desire, whatsoever, to enjoy special comforts to which other fellow-prisoners might not be entitled. I would like to be classified amongst those whom the Government may consider to be the lowest. I would like, in conclusion, to state that the authorities with whom I come in contact during these few days have treated me with courtesy, and consideration, for which I am thankful to them."

After making the above statement, Mr. Gandhi read through it as recorded by magistrate and stated that it was all right.

#### CHARGE FRAMED

The Magistrate then framed a charge under Section 14 of the Bombay Special Powers Act 1932, against Mr. Gandhi of intentionally disobeying the order of the Government under Section 4 of the same Act, requiring him, among other things, to remove himself before 9-30 a. m. outside the Yerowada village limits.

Asked if he pleaded "guilty", Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative.

Mr. Gandhi also stated that he did not want to call defence witnesses.

At this stage the Police Prosecutor stated that considering Mr. Gandhi's age, he did not press for a deterrent sentence.

#### MAGISTRATE'S JUDGMENT

The Magistrate, delivering judgment, observed that it had been proved that Mr. Gandhi had disobeyed the order of the Government. As such, he convicted him under Section 14 of the Bombay Special Powers Act of 1932, and sentenced him to one year's simple imprisonment. The Magistrate added: "I am passing a light sentence, considering your age and the present state of your health, and also because the prosecution has not pressed for a deterrent sentence."

This concluded the trial, and Mr. Gandhi rose after bowing to the Magistrate, and was taken by the jailor to his cell.

Mr. Gandhi was placed in "A" class.

#### Mr. Mahadev Desai's Trial

Mr. Mahadev Desai was brought before the Magistrate. Two prosecution witnesses namely, the District Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, were examined. These deposed, to the effect, that Mr. Desai was also served simultaneously with Mr. Gandhi with an order under Section 4, requiring him to leave Yerowada village limits before 9-30 a. m. and that he along with Mr. Gandhi failed to comply with the order and was arrested at 9-50 a. m. along with Mr. Gandhi.

The Magistrate in asking Mr. Desai if he desired to cross-examine the witnesses, stated that he assumed that he (Mr. Desai) did not desire to do so, like Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Mahadev Desai : Thanks for the assumption. I do not desire to cross-examine them.

As to his occupation, Mr. Mahadev desired the Magistrate to put down anything he pleased, and stated that his place of residence was the Yerowada Central Prison.

Asked if he pleaded "guilty", Mr. Mahadev stated that he thought that it was his duty to disobey the order, and so he had disobeyed it.

The Magistrate, convicting him under Section 14, sentenced him also to one year's simple imprisonment.

Mr. Mahadev Desai was awarded "B" class.

## Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

On the 16th. AUGUST, at Poona, Mr. Gandhi commenced a fast "unto death" in connection with his demand to be allowed the same facilities for Harijan work as he enjoyed when he was a State prisoner.

#### Statement in Bombay Council

The Home Member informed the Bombay Council on the 17th August that Mr. Gandhi began a new fast last evening by refusing to take his evening meal. He was informed yesterday of the privileges which the Government were prepared to give him in connection with Harijan work. He at first indicated that he would not fast, but later in the evening he informed the Jail Superintendent that he had changed his mind and refused to take his meal.

Mr. J. B. Petit asked if Mr. Gandhi had been given the same privileges as during his last jail life.

The Home Member regretted that he was unable to give further information at the moment, and added that a full statement would be made in due time.

#### Government of India Communiqué

A Government of India Communiqué issued on the 17th August, said:— Mr. Gandhi, on being imprisoned at the beginning of August, requested that he should be permitted to do Harijan work, and in connection with this to see visitors freely and receive and send correspondence as was permitted when he was a State prisoner. The matter has been under correspondence between the Government of Bombay and the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and Mr. Gandhi was informed yesterday that the following facilities will be granted to him for the purpose of strictly anti-Untouchability work:

- (1) To receive newspapers and periodicals, but will not be allowed interviews for publication in the Press, whether with Press correspondents or others;
- (2) To see not more than two visitors a day;
- (3) To be allowed to send instructions or contributions to the Editor of the "Harijan" three times a week, and a limited number of letters to other correspondents; and
- (4) To have at his disposal a convict-typist and books, newspapers, etc., needed for Harijan work.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi is dissatisfied with the Government decision (giving facilities for Harijan work) and has started a fast.

#### GANDHIJI'S CONTENTION

The following press reports were issued at this time:—

Gandhiji's contention was that the Poona Pact fully recognised his right to carry on Harijan work from inside jail, whether he was a State prisoner or an ordinary prisoner; and that the Government having accepted the Poona Pact, could not refuse him the facilities asked for. Gandhiji waited for these fifteen days for the grant of permission, but since it was not given, he told Col. Doyle yesterday that if within twenty-four hours facilities were not given to him to conduct Harijan work, he would go on a fast. The period expired this noon and Gandhiji commenced a fast. In the afternoon Gandhiji gave up the fast on receipt of information about the Government's decision.

Enquiries made in official circles failed to elicit any confirmation regarding the report that Mr. Gandhi went on a fast at noon to-day. Nor were the authorities prepared to deny the report.

It has now been confirmed that the Government have permitted Mr. Gandhi facilities for carrying on anti-untouchability work, but the terms of this permission and the fact whether Mr. Gandhi has accepted them, could not be ascertained.

#### Government of India Communiqué

The following communiqué was issued by the Government of India on the 18th August:

"After his arrest on the 1st August at Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Superintendent of the Ahmedabad Central Prison wherein he made the following request:

"You might know that before my discharge, owing to my fast, from the Yerwada central prison in May last, I was permitted to do Harijan work and in that connection to see freely visitors and equally freely to receive and send letters, to have a typist and to receive newspapers, magazines and other literature. I hope I would be given the same facilities now. I may state a weekly newspaper called the 'Harijan' is issued at Poona, and it is necessary for me to send matter for the paper and otherwise instruct the Editor."

"On the 4th August, after his arrest and rearrest at Poona consequent upon his refusal to obey the order served upon him, Mr. Gandhi repeated this request, remarking that Harijan work could not be interrupted except at the peril of his life, and asked for a reply by Monday the 7th August. He was informed that the matter was under consideration, but that it was impossible for a decision to be reached-

ed by the date specified. Subsequently, on the 8th and 10th August, he addressed reminders to the Government.

### GANDHI'S LETTER TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

"On the 14th August, Mr. Gandhi forwarded the following letter to the Government of Bombay :

'I am yet without an answer to my request for the resumption of Harijan work on the same terms as before my fast. This request was first conveyed on the 1st instant from the Central Prison of Ahmedabad, and has since been three repeated. The strain of the deprivation of this work is becoming unbearable. If, therefore, I cannot have permission by noon next Wednesday, I must deny myself all nourishment from that time save water and salt. That is the only way I can fulfil my vow, and also relieve myself somewhat of the strain mentioned above.'

'I do not want suspension of nourishment in any way to act as a pressure on the Government. Life ceases to interest me, if I may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance. As I have made it clear in my previous correspondence and as the Government of India have admitted, permission to render that service is implied in the Yerowada Pact, to which the British Government is a consenting party, in so far as its consent was necessary. Therefore, I do indeed want permission but only if the Government believe that justice demands it and not because I propose to deprive myself of food if it is not granted. That deprivation is intended purely for my consolation'.

"On the 16th of August, Mr. Gandhi was informed that it had been decided that he would be granted the following special facilities for purposes of work strictly confined to anti-untouchability :

"(1) To receive newspapers and periodicals, but not to be allowed interviews for publication in the Press, whether with Press correspondents or others ;

"(2) To see not more than two visitors a day ;

"(3) to send instructions or contributions to the editor of 'Harijan' three times a week, and a limited number of letters to other correspondents ; and

"(4) To have at his disposal a convict-typist and books, newspapers etc. needed for Harijan work.

### GANDHI'S NOTE TO JAIL SUPERINTENDENT

"On this decision being communicated to him, Mr. Gandhi at first indicated that he would not fast. Later, however, he addressed the following letter to the Jail Superintendent :

'I see that I have hastily and stupidly told you to restore goat's milk to me. It shows how disinclined I am to starve. But on reading the notes of the orders you have left with me, I find they are so far short of the original orders of the Government of India and of my requirements that I must not be precipitated in breaking my fast. If the Government wish to go back upon these orders, I shall be sorry. But I may not work under the new orders which are a manifest departure from the original and which seem to me to be grudgingly given. I observe, you cannot even let me have the letters already in your possession, and to hand the manuscript to the acting Editor for the week's 'Harijan'.'

"It pains me to have to write this letter, but it will give me much greater pain if I break the fast now, and have to enter upon a prolonged controversy with the Government on many matters that need elucidation. I miss the Government's response to the meticulous care with which I am endeavouring to observe jail discipline and as a prisoner to tender co-operation, which as a citizen outside the prison walls I consider it a religious duty to withhold.'

"I have read your notes three times and each reading has increased my grief to discover that the Government cannot appreciate the desperate need there is for me to do Harijan work without let or hindrance. Much therefore as I am disinclined to continue the fast I feel I must go through the agony if I cannot serve the Harijan cause without the tremendous handicap which it seems to me the orders conveyed by you put upon it. Will you therefore please withdraw the milk and fruit already received by me and accept my apology for having hurriedly told you that I would break the fast ?'

"It had been explained to Mr. Gandhi that the orders permitted him to interview the Editor of the 'Harijan', as one of his daily visitors and to hand him his manuscript, and that letters so far as they dealt with Harijan matters would be delivered to Mr. Gandhi.

The Government are not aware, what Mr. Gandhi means by saying that they have admitted that permission to do Harijan work in prison is implied in the Yerowada Paet, though it is true that in the exceptional circumstances prevailing immediately after that Paet, the Government did permit Mr. Gandhi as a State prisoner, to inaugurate the movement to which he appeared to be devoting his whole attention. Protests were made at the time on behalf of the orthodox Hindu community who did not agree with Mr. Gandhi's policy in this matter against his being allowed facilities to conduct a public campaign from jail, and it might well be argued that Mr. Gandhi having now after a period of freedom courted imprisonment again on a purely political issue, should not be allowed any special treatment that is not given to other 'A' class prisoners.

"Nevertheless, the Government have been reluctant to take action which could be regarded as unreasonable interference with the work of social reform, or to take their stand too rigidly on the fact that Mr. Gandhi is by his own deliberate act a prisoner convicted for breach of the law. In spite of the inconvenience to jail discipline and the anomaly of the position, they have allowed Mr. Gandhi facilities for pursuing his anti-untouchability work which will enable him to make an important and effective contribution towards it.

"It was noticeable that when Mr. Gandhi was at liberty, he did not appear to devote the major part of his time or attention to this movement. His main energies were employed on polities and on continuance, in whatever form it might be possible, of the movement of Civil Disobedience. His present claim that he should be allowed from prison to carry on his Harijan work 'without let or hindrance', amounts to a refusal to accept for himself the normal concomitants of imprisonment, except restriction on his actual physical liberty, and in effect is a claim to dictate the terms of his imprisonment.

"The Government are satisfied that the facilities they have allowed are ample to enable Mr. Gandhi to conduct such work in favour of the removal of Untouchability as is, in the circumstances, reasonable. If Mr. Gandhi now feels, however, that life ceases to interest him if he may not do Harijan service without let or hindrance, the Government are prepared, provided Mr. Gandhi is willing to abandon all civil disobedience activities and incitements, to set him at liberty at once so that he can devote himself wholly and without restriction to the cause of social reform. Mr. Gandhi has been informed accordingly".

### Mahatma's Fast—Removal to Hospital

On the 21st August, Mr. Gandhi was removed to the Sasoon Hospital, Poona and was reported to be looking considerably pulled down. He spoke in a very low voice with visible effort. His weight dropped again by about 1 lb, his present weight being 94 lbs. His general condition was, however, reported to be satisfactory.

Mr. Gandhi broke his weekly silence at 12 noon. Mr. C. F. Andrews saw him between 1.30 and 2 p. m. He continued to be pledged to secrecy regarding his talks with Mr. Gandhi. But it was significant that Mr. Andrews had not any talks with Mr. Maxwell before or after the interview.

Mr. Andrews stated that he would be staying here indefinitely, presumably till the present crisis passed off.

Mrs. Gandhi, who was released unconditionally yesterday, was admitted into Mr. Gandhi's presence shortly after her arrival at the hospital. Mr. Mathuradas did not choose to see Mr. Gandhi fearing that the strain of interviews might tell on him.

Mr. Andrews received numerous telegrams from Mr. Gandhi's friends, enquiring about his health. Mr. Naidu wired to him from Hyderabad, anxiously about his health, and expressing her readiness to come down if necessary.

Mr. Gandhi was lodged in a closed haleony which, though it did not provide an open view of the sky, was open on the sides. Police officers were posted outside.

Mrs. Gandhi continued to be by Mr. Gandhi's side till 9 p. m. to-day when she left for 'Parnakuti'. It was learnt that she would be allowed everyday to stay in hospital with Mr. Gandhi till 8 p. m.

No authoritative information could be gathered regarding Mr. Gandhi's state of health. Everyone interviewing Mr. Gandhi, was bound to silence on this point: But all reports agreed that his condition was as well as could be expected. Excepting for a recurrence of vomiting sensation, he was reported to be free from pain or discomfort.

## GANDHJI EXAMINED BY DOCTORS

On the 23rd. August, Gandhiji was examined by the Civil Surgeon, the Resident Medical Officer and another doctor. The examination lasted over twenty minutes. Gandhiji was weighed.

Mrs. Gandhi was the earliest visitor to call on Gandhiji to-day. She was present at the time of the medical examination.

Enquiries showed that Gandhiji had disturbed sleep last night, nausea troubling him frequently. Though considerably tired, he insisted on himself washing his face and brushing his teeth.

Mrs. Gandhi read to the Mahatma the Gita, and he listened to the recital with rapt attention.

The Mahatma's weight to-day was reported to be in the neighbourhood of 91 lbs.

Lt.-Col. Chandy examined Gaadhi again at 4 o'clock. There was no nausea. Gandhiji looked cheerful. Lt.-Col. Chandy asked whether Mahatmaji desired to call any consultant from outside Bembay or Caleutta. Mahatmaji replied, "No, I have faith in you. I don't want any consultant from outside." Lt.-Col. Chandy told Gandhiji that he was getting down Dr. Dinsshaw Mehta, who massaged him in May last, to massage him to-day in the eveaing. Gandhiji thanked Dr. Chandy for it. Gandhiji's voice was clear.

## SIR H. HAIG'S REPLY TO QUESTIONS

At question time in the Assembly on the 22nd. August, Mr. Maswood Ahmed put a short notice question regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast.

Sir Harry Haig, replying, referred to the communique recently issued.

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh asked for the latest position regarding Mr. Gandhi.

Sir Harry Haig replied that last evening a report stated the condition of Mr. Gandhi at noon yesterday was reported to be fair.

Mr. Naralrai : What is meant by the abandonment of civil disobedience ?

Sir Harry Haig : We have not intended that no one should resort to it even a hundred years hence. But we want it to be unequivocally abandoned now.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed : What is the difference between the facilities given before and now ?

Sir Harry Haig : Previously Mr. Gandhi was allowed to behave as if he is a free man.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed : Did he misuse those powers ?

Sir Harry Haig : It is not a question of abuse but of how far the position can be reconciled with Mr. Gandhi being a prisoner.

Mr. S. C. Mitra : Is a State prisoner a prisoner ?

Sir Harry Haig : Yes. But he enjoys certain privileges not enjoyed by ordinary prisoners.

Mr. S. C. Mitra : Then, why was Mr. Gandhi allowed facilities denied to other prisoners ?

Sir Harry Haig : That is a pertinent question. The Government thought having given him certain facilities before, it would not now be reasonable to withdraw them altogether.

Mr. Neogy : Then, if no question of principle is involved, why not give him full facilities ?

Sir Harry Haig : Facilities have to be consistent with jail discipline.

Mr. S. C. Mitra : Why were the same restrictions not imposed before ?

Sir Harry Haig : Perhaps it was unwise not to impose them originally, but the honse must remember that at that time the movement was just started and Mr. Gandhi's contention really was that he must have certain facilities to inaugurate the movement as otherwise it might be still-born.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed : Did the Government expect trouble in allowing facilities ?

Sir Harry Haig : Great trouble in jail discipline.

Mr. Maswood Ahmed : Will the Goverament release him on medical grounds if life is in danger.

Sir Harry Haig : I am not prepared to make a statement as to what the attitude of the Government will be.

Mr. Puri : Are facilities given because of the Harijan movement or for the personality of Mr. Gandhi ?

Sir Harry Haig : The Goverament do not want to appear as impeding the work of soeial reform.

Mr. Puri : Is that the only consideration and not the personality of Mr. Gandhi ?  
 Sir Harry Haig : That is the real reason.

Mr. Puri : If it has no relation to Mr. Gandhi's personality, why not give the facilities to other prisoners ?

Sir Harry Haig : It is not a question of Mr. Gandhi's personality, but the position he occupied with reference to the Harijan movement.

Mr. Puri : Would you grant a similar concession to Mr. M. S. Aney if he intimate that he would start similar work ?

Sir Harry Haig : He would not have the same position.

Mr. Puri : Then both the position of Mr. Gandhi and the nature of the work count.

Sir Harry Haig : That is so.

Mr. Puri : Then why did you not say so at first ? (Laughter).

Sir Harry Haig : That is exactly what I stated.

Mr. Puri : Why did the Government put Mr. Gandhi in the "A" class ? He has no property and has the poorest standard of living.

Sir Harry Haig : Mr. Gandhi appears to have a traditional claim. (Laughter)

### Statement in Bombay Council

On the 21st August, the Home Member, replying to short notice questions, in the Bombay Council stated that Mr. Gandhi's health was as well as might be expected on the sixth day of the fast. He had been removed to the hospital partly because there were better arrangements for nursing and taking proper care of him in the hospital than in jail, and partly for the conveniences of the jail officials.

The Home Member refuted the suggestion that Mr. Gandhi had been removed to hospital for forced feeding. He stated that there was no intention to resort to forced feeding.

To a question if Mr. Gandhi's nearest and dearest would be allowed to visit him, the Home Member stated that Mrs. Gandhi was released in order to enable her to visit him. Two more visitors would be allowed to see him daily.

To another question, the Home Member replied that the Government had indicated to Mr. Mathurdas, that if he desired to bring any private doctors to examine Mr. Gandhi, he might make the necessary arrangements with the Civil Surgeon.

On the 22nd. August :—Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member, stated in the Bombay Council, in reply to a short notice question, that Mr. Gandhi's general condition was fair. Regarding the statement in the press that he was sinking, the Home Member stated that this was not the case. "Sinking" is used, he added, when a person is in the danger zone and beyond medical aid and this was not Mr. Gandhi's case at present. He was necessarily getting weaker every day. But his condition was satisfactory.

Asked why Mrs. Gandhi was asked to leave the hospital yesterday, the Home Member stated that these matters were entirely in the hands of the hospital authorities in whose care Mr. Gandhi was.

If Mr. Gandhi's condition was such that it would be advisable to keep his nearest relatives by his side, the hospital authorities would give that every consideration.

## Mahatma Gandhi Released

On the 23rd. August, Mahatma Gandhi was released unconditionally at 3.45 p. m. He was taken in an ambulance car to Lady Thackery's place, "Parnakuti" at Poona.

Before leaving, Gandhiji called in the Civil Surgeon and said : "I thank you all heartily for all the kindness you have shown me." He then shook hands with him. Gandhiji was seen smiling when he left.

As soon as his release was announced, Mr. Gandhi after saying prayers with Mr. C. F. Andrews, broke his fast with a cup of orange juice.

He was then gently removed to the waiting ambulance and was driven at a slow pace to "Parnakuti".

## Mahatmaji on His Release

In the course of an interview to the Press, on the 25th. August, Mr. Gandhi stated:

"This time my discharge having come upon me absolutely unexpectedly, I confess I have no knowledge, whatsoever, of how I would shape my movements after convalescence is over. So, I must repeat what I have said so often before—but this time with much greater force than before—that I shall be constantly praying for light and guidance. This much, however, I can say that I shall seek peace much more eagerly than imprisonment and a possible repetition of the fast. I shall, therefore, again use this unexpected freedom from imprisonment for the sake of exploring the avenues of peace."

Looking remarkably well as compared with what he was on the day of his discharge, Mr. Gandhi received a group of press men at 10 a. m. to-day in the spacious hall of Lady Thackersey's where he conducted his last 21 days' fast. Mr. Gandhi spoke very clearly and often with feeling. Towards the end of the interview which lasted nearly for an hour, signs of exhaustion were, however, perceptible and at Mrs. Naidu's suggestion the pressmen stopped asking more questions. Mr. Gandhi commenced by expressing his thanks to Col. Chandy, Civil Surgeon, Poona, his staff and nurses for the very great care with which they had looked after him and also Lt.-Col. Martin, Superintendent, Yerwada prison, and his staff for their kind treatment of him during the early stage of the fast. Mr. Gandhi proceeded :— "I would like the public to be assured about my condition. Generally a week's fast is nothing for me and though this time the fast, whilst it lasted, caused terrible physical agony because of my inability to take necessary quantity of water, I feel on the second day after breaking the fast I shall be able to regain my lost strength within a reasonable time. There need be therefore no cause for anxiety."

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi referred to the future, and stated : "One thing however I do want to make clear. This discharge is a matter of no joy for me. Possibly, it is a matter of shame that I took my comrades to prison and came out of it by fasting. The statement made on behalf of the Government in connection with the fast I have not had time to study at all fully. During the fast and a few days previous to it, I was deprived of all news published in the Press in connection with it." Mr. Gandhi explained this further when, replying to a question, he stated that the "Times of India" given to him during this period was mutilated, portions bearing on the fast having been cut out of it.

**GOVERNMENT'S ORDER OF NOV. 1932**

Mr. Gandhi continued : "Within two days after the Poona Pact was made, facilities for doing Harijan work were suddenly stopped to my surprise and I immediately sent in respectful protest, but that protest having evoked no satisfactory response, I had perforce to send a letter saying unless the Government gave me facilities for Harijan work without let or hindrance, life would not be worth living for me and in reply to that on 3rd. November last the following orders were conveyed to me : "Dated 3rd. November 1932 : Government of India recognise in view of considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters of October 18th and 24th that if he is to carry out the programme he has set before himself in regard to removal of untouchability which they had not fully appreciated, it is necessary he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability.

They also recognise if Mr. Gandhi's activities in this matter are to be fully effective, there can be no restriction on publicity.

They do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with the problem of untouchability. They are removing all restrictions on visitors and correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly limited to the removal of untouchability. They note that Mr. Gandhi contemplates the presence of officials at interviews and inspection then and there of correspondence, should the Government at any time consider such procedure as desirable."

Referring to the Government orders Mr. Gandhi stated : "These orders were passed with the full knowledge of my requirements and with the full knowledge of what they meant in September. I say once more when the Government arrested me again after 21 days fast they had to face my request for doing the Harijan work without let or hindrance whether they took me in as State Prisoner or any other. In my opinion classification is wholly irrelevant to the issue. The whole issue was in September, in November and is to-day this, namely, my life and Harijan work in jail or no Harijan work in jail and my death ; and so long as I live that will be the issue that will face me, face the Government and face the public. If I am wrong in thinking, whether outside or inside the prison, I should have the fullest liberty to carry on the programme of anti-untouchability which I have undertaken as a solemn obligation, then my fast should be considered impertinent and should not count either with the Government or with the public. But if I am right then my fast should be treated as sacrificial seal. One thing more, It has been said on behalf of the Government that when owing to 21 days' fast I was discharged, I have more attention to political than to Harijan work. I cannot imagine a grosser misrepresentation of facts which are all capable of being proved to-day. But I give a few outstanding instances. The whole of 21 days, and subsequent days during which I was not able to do anything at all, I could only pray and think and not writing or talking, and I can say during this period I thought nothing else but God and Gods' children, Harijans. Then when I was able to carry on sustained conversation with a group of men, my first act was to address a meeting of Harijan workers in this very hall whilst I was lying in bed. After that when I was able to do any public writing, my first writing was for the 'Harijan'. True, while I was in Poona I did attend the informal conference and held frequent conversations with political co-workers on the subject of civil disobedience. There was no secret about it and I am not ashamed of it. Civil Disobedience is an integral part of my life. But the fact is the bulk of my time was not given to civil disobedience work. As a matter of fact, in view of the advice I tendered to the conference, it was not necessary then. Then, when I went to Ahmedabad, people may think that sacrificing the Ashram must have occupied tremendous amount of my time, but I am again able to say tremendous amount of my time was taken up with Harijan service,

#### Harijan Uplift—Reply to Criticism

On the 25th. August again, Mr. Gandhi, in the course of an interview to Pressmen, observed :

'Within two days after the Poona Pact was made, facilities for doing Harijan work were suddenly stopped to my surprise and I immediately sent in a respectful protest, but that protest having evoked no satisfactory response, I had perforce to send a letter saying that unless the Government gave me facilities for Harijan work without let or hindrance, life would not be worth living for me. In reply to that on 3rd November last the following orders were conveyed to me.

'The Government of India recognise, in view of the considerations stated in Mr. Gandhi's letters of October 18th and 24th, that if he is to carry out the programme he has set before himself in regard to removal of untouchability, which they had not before fully appreciated, it is necessary he should have freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to removal of untouchability.

'They also recognise that if Mr. Gandhi's activities in this matter are to be fully effective, there can be no restriction on publicity.

'They do not wish to interpose obstacles to Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with the problem of untouchability. They are removing all restrictions on visitors and correspondence and publicity in regard to matters which in Mr. Gandhi's own words have no reference to civil disobedience and are strictly limited to the removal of untouchability.

'They note that Mr. Gandhi contemplates the presence of officials at interviews and inspection then and there of correspondence, should the Government at any time consider such a procedure desirable.'

Referring to the Government orders, Mr. Gandhi stated: 'These orders were passed with a full knowledge of my requirements and with a full knowledge what they meant. I say once more, when the Government arrested me again after the twenty-one days' fast, they had to face my request for being allowed to do Harijan work without let or hindrance whether they took me in as State prisoner or any other. In my opinion, classification is wholly irrelevant to the issue. The whole issue was in September, in November and is to-day this, namely, my life and Harijan work in jail or no Harijan work in jail and my death; and so long as I live that will be the issue that will face me, face the Government and face the public. If I am wrong in thinking that whether outside or inside the prison I should have the fullest liberty to carry on the programme of anti-untouchability which I have undertaken as a solemn obligation, then my fast should be considered impertinent and should not count either with the Government or with the public. But if I am right then my fast should be treated as a sacrificial seal.'

'One thing more. It has been said on behalf of the Government that when owing to twenty-one days' fast I was discharged, I gave more attention to political than to Harijan work. I cannot imagine a grosser misrepresentation of facts which are all capable of being proved to-day. But I give a few outstanding instances. The whole of the twenty-one days and subsequent day during which I was not able to do anything at all, I could only pray and think and not writing or taking. I can say during this period I thought of nothing else but God and God's children, Harijans. Then when I was able to carry on sustained conversation with a group of men, my first act was to address a meeting of Harijan workers in this very hall whilst I was lying in bed. After that, when I was able to do any public writing, my first writing was for the 'Harijan.' True, while I was in Poona I did attend the informal conference and held frequent conversations with political co-workers on the subject of civil disobedience. There was no secret about it and I am not ashamed of it. Civil Disobedience is an integral part of my life. But the fact is the bulk of my time was not given to civil disobedience work. As a matter of fact, in view of the advice I tendered to the conference, it was not necessary then. Then when I went to Ahmedabad, people may think that sacrificing the Ashram must have occupied a tremendous amount of my time, but I am again able to say a tremendous amount of my time was taken up with Harijan service.'

#### "A GROSS BREACH OF PROMISE"

"Thousands gathered at prayer time and every time, if I spoke at all to these crowds, I spoke on untouchability; and I collected funds at every one these meetings with more or less generous response, every piece of which went to the Harijan fund. If challenged, I would multiply instances of this character. It, therefore, in my opinion, ill becomes anybody, much more a Government official, to recklessly charge me with having done a thing which I had not done to justify a procedure which, to a simple mind like mine, appears to be a manifest and gross breach of the promise deliberately made to a prisoner in their custody".

When Mr. Gandhi's attention was drawn to the Homo Member's statement in the Assembly that Mr. Gandhi wished to combine simultaneously two incompatible things, deliberate incarceration and complete freedom to carry on social work as an ordinary man, Mr. Gandhi replied: 'I do not consider that there is anything incompatible in it. I would be asking for incompatible things, if I asked for permission to conduct Civil Disobedience from inside the prison walls'.

Mr. Gandhi was then asked if in his opinion his political campaign during the last few months had done the country any good. Mr. Gandhi replied that he was unable to reply to this question as he had no opportunity to gauge the reaction of the movement on the people. "But", he continued, "it was his firm conviction that the movement which was the cleanest weapon possible, in the hands of self-respecting people, to resist injustice, could not but have done good."

#### TASK BEFORE HINDU REFORMERS

Asked whether the concessions given by the Government for Harijan work were not adequate enough, Mr. Gandhi replied in the negative, saying that there still remained a tremendous amount of work to be done in connection with anti-untouch-

ability. The political part of it formed only very little. The task before the reformers was to bring about a change of heart on the part of the Caste-Hindus.

#### UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL

Mr. Gandhi, continuing, said that he could not describe the grief it caused to him when, on a matter of this character where Government orders had been so explicit in November last, the same officials should have been responsible for goading him on to a fast and then to say that he wanted to become a dictator. This was the unkindest cut of all.

Asked if Mr. Rajagopalachari for example, who had been a party to the Poona Pact and who was now in jail, could not seek permission for doing Harijan work like himself, Mr. Gandhi replied in the negative and added: "I will side with the Government in resisting Mr. Rajagopalachari, because Mr. Rajagopalachari was not present at the Round Table Conference. I was there as the sole representative of Mr. Rajagopalachari and other Congressmen and I made a declaration that I shall resist with my life separate electorates for the Depressed Classes and therefore it became a matter of sacred obligation to me to conduct this campaign even inside the jail."

Referring to political questions, Mr. Gandhi was asked what form his effort for peace would take. Mr. Gandhi replied that he did not know what form it would take at the present moment. It was still in the lap of the future. It was all impenetrable darkness for him just now. But if the Government had the will for peace—and he knew Congress had the will—then peace could be had. But on what terms he could not say at present, not having all the strings in his hand to-day.

Asked if he would be approaching the Viceroy again for an interview, Mr. Gandhi said that he could not say definitely, but it was quite on the card.

Mr. Gandhi concluded by saying that he hoped to be restored to health in the course of a week or more and that he was now on milk diet and was free from pain or discomfort.

#### Abstention From Disobedience—Mahatma's Fast

On the 14th September, Gandhiji announced his abstention from civil disobedience till 3rd August next. The following is the text of his statement to the press :

"As a rule, during my long course of public service, the next moment's step has been clear before me, but since my unexpected release from prison, on 23rd August last, darkness has surrounded me. The path of duty has, therefore, not been clear to me. My present state of health is such that it may yet take several weeks for me to regain the lost strength. To seek imprisonment as soon as I was physically fit or to restrain myself for the interrupted year of imprisonment was the question before me.

"After hard praying and thinking, I have come to the conclusion that up to the termination of the period of sentence, that is, up to the 3rd August next, I must not court imprisonment by offering aggressive civil resistance. This, however, in no way affects the advice given in the statement issued by me after the informal conference at Poona. That I have to suspend action for myself is unfortunate, but inevitable."

"My release has placed me in a most embarrassing position, but as a satyagrahi, that is, as a humble seeker of truth, somehow or other it offends my sense of propriety to court imprisonment in the circumstances created by my discharge. Whatever is the motive behind it, I may not quarrel with the release. I must examine the act on its merit. It appears to me to be petty to force the Government to re-arrest me by taking aggressive action during the unexpired term of imprisonment unless extraordinary circumstances, which I cannot foresee, arise compelling me to revise my decision. There is no room for smallness in civil resistance."

"This self-imposed restraint is a bitter cup. When I said at my trial after the arrest that to remain outside and be a helpless witness of the devastating and demoralising effect of the ordinance rule was an unbearable agony, I stated the simple unvarnished fact. That agony is no less to-day than it was on 4th August. But I must bear it. I cannot be a willing party to an undignified eat-and-musse game, if the Government have any such thing in contemplation. Therefore, when

and if I am arrested again and denied Harijan service, I would not hesitate, if I had the inner urge, to undertake a fast to the finish, which should not be broken even if the Government released me, as they did on 23rd August last, when the danger point had been reached.

"I must state the limitations of my self-restraint in clear terms. Whilst I can refrain from aggressive civil resistance, I cannot, so long as I am to see, help guiding those who will seek my advice and preventing the national movement from running into wrong channels. It is the ever growing belief with me that truth cannot be found by violent means. The attainment of national independence is to me the search after truth. The terrorist methods, whether adopted by the oppressor or his victim can, I am convinced, be effectively answered never by violent resistance, but only by civil resistance. I would therefore be guilty of disloyalty to my creed if I attempted to put greater restraint on myself than I have abdicated in this statement. If then Government leave me free, I propose to devote this period to Harijan service and if possible also to such constructive activities as my health may permit.

"It is needless to repeat here that peace is as much part of my being as civil resistance. Indeed, a civil resister offers resistance only when peace becomes impossible. Therefore, so far as I am concerned and so long as I am free, I shall make all endeavour in my power to explore every possible avenue of honourable peace."

### Pt. Jawaharlal's Statement

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also issued the following statement :—

"I have now had the privilege of long and intimate conversations with the Mahatma and placed my view-point before him and listened to his advice. Two questions faced us, the larger national question involved in the struggle for freedom and the personal issue raised by Gandhiji's recent discharge from prison. The latter was a personal question affecting him, though, of course, any decision of his was bound to have national reactions.

"In view of the great public interest taken in our conversations, it has been thought that a convenient way of placing some of the important points before the public would be by exchange of letters between Gandhiji and myself. It is proposed to exchange issue of these letters to the Press in due course.

"I have seldom been influenced by religious or other considerations, though the moral practical aspect of satyagraha has always appealed to me. I have had a request from a respected colleague to convene a meeting of the A. I. C. C. I would gladly take this step as indeed I am bound to do, if there is a requisition demanding such a meeting, but, I feel that under the present circumstances there are considerable difficulties in the way of convening an A. I. C. C.

## GANDHI-JAWAHARLAL CONFERENCE

### Pandit Jawaharlal's Letter

The first of the letters of Pandit Jawaharlal to Mr. Gandhi was released for publication on the 15th. September.

Pandit Jawaharlal's letter, which exceeds a thousand words, stresses the importance of the resolution passed by the Karachi Congress on Fundamental Rights and Economic changes, and clarifies the position in this respect.

Pandit Jawaharlal, at the outset, repeats that they stood for complete independence. As there was a confusion arising out of the vague phraseology and from misleading propaganda, he thought it was as well to remove this by a reiteration of their political demand. Obviously, the word "independence" must include full control of the Army. Foreign relations and economic control, as had been clearly laid down by the Congress.

As regards economic matters, the Karachi Congress, by passing the resolution on fundamental rights and economic changes, had given a lead and pointed out the direction in which they should move.

Pandit Jawaharlal continued :—"I attach great importance to that resolution. But personally, I would like to go further and clarify the position still more. It seemed to me if we are to improve the condition of the masses and to raise them economically and give them freedom it is inevitable that vested interests in India will have to give up their special position, and many of their privileges. It is inconceivable to me how else the masses can rise. Therefore the problem of achieving freedom becomes one of revising the vested interests in favour of the masses. To the extent this is done, to that extent only will freedom come."

"The biggest vested interests in India is that of the British Government, next the Indian Princes, and the others follow. We do not wish to injure any class or group and the divesting should be done as gently as possible, and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the divesting is bound to cause loss to classes or groups which enjoy special privileges at the expense of the masses. It is also obvious that the process of divesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition, as you know, is as bad as it can well be. Indeed, the economic forces themselves are acting with amazing rapidity to-day and breaking up the old order. The big Zamindari and Talukdari system in the United Provinces has largely collapsed, though it may be kept up for some time longer by outside agencies. Even the condition of the Zamindars is very bad, and the peasantry of course are in a far worse position."

Proceeding, Pandit Jawaharlal said : "They had all agreed that the Round Table Conference and its various productions were utterly useless to solve even one of India's many problems. It seemed to him that the Round Table Conference was an effort to consolidate the vested interests of India behind the British Government so as to free the rising powerful national and economic movements in the country. The effort was foredoomed to inevitable failure."

Turning to another aspect, the Pandit stated that the problem of India's freedom could not be separated from vital international problems of the world. The present crisis in the world's affairs was having their repercussions in India. At any moment this might result in complete breakdown or in a violent international conflagration. Everywhere there was conflict and contest between the forces of reaction and vested interests. India could not remain a silent witness to this conflict of the titanic forces of the world. But this at present could be ideological only.

Turning to the immediate national problems, Pandit Jawaharlal referred to the confusion that had been created by Mr. M. S. Aney's action in dissolving Congress Committees. This had been taken to mean in certain quarters that the Congress had been dissolved, but he took it that Mr. Gandhi's and Mr. Aney's directions were in the nature of advice or suggestions to meet a certain position that had arisen, and the Congress had been dissolved as it could not be under the constitution. The Congress continued as before, but it was clear that it could not function normally when its committees had been declared illegal. This had helped to avoid the evil of unreliable workers coming at the head of affairs and exploiting the name of the Congress, when reliable old workers had gone to jail. This action of Mr. M. S. Aney he hoped had not prevented the Congress workers from co-operating in an organised way for carrying out their programme.

Regarding individual and mass civil disobedience the Pandit felt that there was no fundamental difference, as civil disobedience was essentially an individual affair, and Mr. Gandhi had made it clear to him in the course of his conversation that this had not prevented organisations if they felt strong enough, from taking up mass civil disobedience.

The Pandit agreed with Mr. Gandhi that their movement was essentially an open one, and secret methods did not fit in with it. But, agreeing with it, some of them felt to some extent, as for instance in corresponding with each other, that some measure of secrecy might be necessary. But secrecy was hardly the word for it, and privacy suited better. Though he agreed with Mr. Gandhi in discouraging secret methods, he felt that a certain amount of latitude might be permitted in exceptional circumstances.

#### Gandhi's Reply

Mahatma Gandhi in his reply to Pandit Jawaharlal said that he was in complete

agreement with much of what was stated in the Pandit's letter. Mr. Gandhi continued :

"The experience gained after the Karachi Congress has, if possible, strengthened my faith in the main resolution and the economic programme referred to by you. I have no doubt in my mind that our goal can be no less than complete independence. I am also in whole-hearted agreement with you when you say that without a material revision of vested interests, the condition of the masses can never be improved. I believe, too, though I may not go as far as you do, that before India can become one homogenous entity, the Princes will have to part with much of their power, and become popular representatives of the people, over whom they are ruling to-day.

'I can corroborate, from first experience, much of what you say about the Round Table Conference. Nor have I the slightest difficulty in agreeing with you, that in these days of rapid inter-communication and growing consciousness of the oneness of all mankind, we must recognise that our nationalism must not be inconsistent with progressive internationalism. India cannot stand in isolation and unaffected by what is going on in other parts of the world. I can, therefore, go the whole length with you and say that we should range ourselves with the progressive forces of the whole. But I know, that, though there is such agreement between you and me in the enunciation of ideals, there are temperamental differences between us. You have emphasised the necessity of a clear statement of the goal. But having once determined it, I have never attached importance to a repetition thereof. The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there, if we do not know and utilise the means of achieving it. I have, therefore, concerned myself principally with the conservation of means and their progressive use. I know if we can take care of them, the attainment of the goal is assured.

"I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in the exact proportion to the purity of our means. If we can give an ocular demonstration of our uttermost truthfulness and non-violence, I am convinced that our statement of the national goal cannot long offer the interests which your letter would appear to attack. We do not seek to coerce any. We seek to convert them. This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced it is the shortest.

Mr. Gandhi, proceeding, agrees with Pandit Jawaharlal's interpretation of Mr. Aney's decision, and opines that the movement would have collapsed through growing internal weakness but for these instructions. Congressmen were deluding themselves into the belief that there were organisations effectively functioning to which they could look for guidance, when as a matter of fact, under the ordinance rule, the functioning of Congress Committees had become impossible. Individual civil resisters did not need the aid of any organisation. If Mr. Aney's instruction in this matter was understood, with all its implications, ordinances would be nugatory ; as far as the civil resisters were concerned.

Regarding individual and mass civil disobedience, Mr. Gandhi explains that it is not right to think that there was no fundamental difference between them. The chief distinction is that in individual civil disobedience everyone is an independent unit and his fall does not affect others, while, in mass civil disobedience, the fall of one generally affects others adversely. There is no question of failure in individual civil disobedience. About secret methods, Mr. Gandhi reiterates that he is firm as ever that these should be tabooed. These have caused much mischief and if not put down, may cause further ruin. There may be exceptional circumstances that might warrant them, but he would forego that advantage for the sake of the masses whom we want to educate in fearlessness. He would not confuse their minds by leading them to think that under certain circumstances they might resort to secret methods.

Mr. Gandhi concludes : "I notice one gap in your letter. You make no mention of the various constructive activities of the Congress. They have become an integral part of the Congress programme that was framed after mature deliberations in 1920. We cannot possibly do without constructive activities, such as, communal unity, removal of untouchability and universalisation of the spinning wheel and khaddar. I am as strong as ever about these. We must recognise that whilst Congressmen can be counted by hundreds of thousands, civil resisters imprisoned have never numbered more than one lakh at the outside. I feel there is something radically wrong if paralysis overtakes the remaining lakhs. There is nothing to be ashamed of in open confession by those who, for any reason what-

soever, are unable to join civil resisters' ranks. They also would be serving the cause of the country and bringing it nearer the goal, who are engaged in any of the constructive activities I have named. Several other hundred activities, I can add to the list.

Ordinance or no ordinance, if individual Congressmen and Congress-women will learn the art of contributing their share to the work of building up the House of Independence, and realise their own importance, dark as the horizon seems to us, there is absolutely no cause for despair or disappointment, said Mr. Gandhi.

Finally, Mr. Gandhi said: "I would like to say, I have no sense of defeat in me. The hope in me that this country of ours is fast marching towards its goal is burning as bright as it did in 1920. But, as you are aware, after full and prayerful consideration, I decided not to take the offensive during the unexpired period of my sentence of imprisonment. I need not go into the reasons as I have already issued a separate statement about it. This personal suspension, although it may be misunderstood for a while, will show how and when it may become a duty. And if it is a duty, it cannot possibly injure the cause."

### Pandit Jawaharlal on the Talks

The following is the text of the statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the Poona talks:—

"Immediately after my discharge from the prison, my first thought was the serious illness of my mother, and I hastened to her bedside in hospital. But though anxiety filled me and my mind was troubled because of her illness, it was inevitable for me to think hard about the present political condition of the country and the course of our struggle for freedom. For over two years, I had not met Gandhiji, and much had happened during this period. I sought to find out how matters stood from some of my colleagues in the United Provinces, but above all I desired to meet Gandhiji after my long separation from him.

"It was hard for me to leave my mother's bedside, but as soon as I could possibly do so for a few days, I came to Poona. I have now had the privilege of long and intimate conversations with Gandhiji, and have placed my view-point before him and listened to his advice. Two questions faced us, the larger national question involved in the struggle for freedom and the personal issue raised by Gandhiji's recent discharge from prison. The latter was a question which Gandhiji alone could decide. It was primarily a matter affecting him though, of course, any decision of his was bound to have national reactions.

"I had come to Poona to see Gandhiji and clear up my own mind about many matters. But I find that considerable public interest has been taken in the conversations, and there seems to be an expectation that some public statement should be made in regard to them. It has been thought that a convenient way of placing some of the important points before the public would be by an exchange of letters between Gandhiji and myself. It is proposed to exchange and issue these letters to the Press in due course.

"It has been my privilege, in common with vast number of my countrymen and countrywomen, to take part in the struggle for India's freedom during the last memorable thirteen years under the leadership and inspiration of Gandhiji. My own view-points always have been political and economic, and I have seldom been influenced by religious or other like considerations, though the moral and practical aspect of Satyagraha has always appealed to me.

"Gandhiji, as is well-known, is essentially a man of religion, and his outlook is governed by this. Despite this difference in outlook, many of us have found numerous points of agreement with him, and have most willingly and joyously followed his lead in action. India knows, and the world knows, how great a leader in action he is, and how he has infused the breath of life and hope in our suffering and toiling masses. Politically, the objective he had in view appealed to us, and we worked to the best of our ability to achieve it. I feel the methods he has taught us to follow are fundamentally right for us, and that we must continue to pursue

them till we gain that objective, and that, for these methods, his leadership is essential. Freedom can have no real meaning for us, unless it is the freedom of the lowest and the most exploited in the land. Gandhiji has always laid stress on this, and it is from these down-trodden classes that he has drawn his strength. I feel, however, it would be desirable to define our objective more clearly, so that there may be no misapprehensions in India and abroad. In particular, I feel, in these days of the economic breakdown of the Capitalist order, that it is essential for us to lay down a clear economic policy for the national movement.

'I have had a request from a respected colleague to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. I would gladly take this step as indeed I am bound to do, if there is a requisition demanding such a meeting. But I feel that, under the present circumstances, there are considerable difficulties in the way of convening a meeting of the A. I. C. O.'

## UTILISATION OF ASHRAM BUILDINGS

### Gandhi's Letter to Birla

In the course of a letter to Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla, President of the Servants of the Untouchables Society, written from the Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha, under date September 30, Mahatmaji said :—

"As you are aware, the Satyagraha Ashram grounds, with the buildings, in Sabarmati were abandoned on 1st. August last by the Ashram people. I had expected that the Government would, in view of my letter addressed to them, take charge of this abandoned property. But they did not do so. It then became a question with me as to what was my duty in the circumstance. I felt it was wrong altogether to allow the valuable buildings and equally valuable crops and trees, to be neglected and run to waste. I consulted friends and co-workers, and came to the conclusion that the best use to make of the Ashram was to dedicate it once for all to the service of Harijans. I placed my proposal before the trustees of the Ashram, as also fellow-members. They, I am happy to say, whole-heartedly approved of it".

The letter proceeds : "Under the new proposal, the trustees divest themselves entirely of this property. This procedure is permissible under the trust deed, service of Harijans being one of the objects of the trust".

"The question that the trustees and I had to consider" Gandhi continued, "was to whom the property was to be transferred for the specific use I have mentioned. We came unanimously to the conclusion that it should be transferred to the all-India Harijan organisation for All-India use."

Gandhiji suggests that the Servants of the Untouchables Society should appoint a special committee with Mr. Birla and its secretary as ex-officio members and three Ahmedabad citizens, with power to add to this committee, to take over this trust and give effect to its objects. As there are trained teachers and workers who had long been connected with the Ashram and had specialised themselves in Harijan work, Mahatmaji hopes that the special committee he suggests would have no difficulty in managing the trust.

Mahatmaji concluded—"Some Harijan families, as you are aware, are already living there. It has long been the dream of the Ashram members to establish a colony of Harijan families, but beyond having a few of them, we were not able to make further progress. Experiments in tanning were also conducted there. The manufacture of sandals were going on up to the time of the disbandment. The buildings include a spacious hostel easily accommodating 100 boarders. It has a fairly big weaving shed (and also other buildings exceptionally fitted for the uses I have named. The property contains 100 acres. I venture to say therefore that although the site is none too large for the fulfilment of the objects mentioned, it is large enough for the response that may be reasonably expected for some time to come. I

hope the society will have no objection to accepting the offer of the trustees to take over the responsibility implied in its acceptance".

## CONGRESS POLICY—PT. MALAVIYA'S APPEAL

That the All-India Congress Committee should meet at an early date to review the present political situation and consider what programme of action it should recommend to the country, was suggested by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the course of a statement, which the "Hindusthan Times" published early in October. Panditji has definite proposals to make both regarding the economic and the political programme, which he proposes to submit to the A. I. C. C. before placing the same before other political parties. The idea of two parties working within the Congress is deprecated, especially when the White Paper scheme is being thrust upon India, and the importance of complete unity not only inside the Congress, but also among all political parties in the country is necessary.

Pandit Malaviya stated: "I deprecate the talk of two parties being formed within the Congress. There never was a time when unity within the Congress was more necessary in the country's interest than it is to-day. It is the bounden duty of the Congress, it being the oldest and most influential national political organisation in the country, to bring about such unity and thereby establish that greater unity among all political parties which alone can give us strength and power to protect the rights of our people and to secure to them what is their birth right viz., government of the country for the people by the people."

The Pandit reviews the present position and states that the country is passing through a most critical period of its history. Indians' fate is being hammered out in England with indefensible disregard of the opinions of the people of India. Many of our sober-minded people have been driven to the conclusion, that if the present party in England dominates, there is no hope of anything like full responsible Government or Dominion Status.

The present attitude of the Government is largely due, says Pandit Malaviya, to disunity in our ranks. In these circumstances, our duty demands that the best amongst us should meet at an early date to decide upon a national policy and programme best calculated to bring about our earliest political and economic salvation.

Pandit Malaviya continues: "An essential condition of success is that our programme should command the support of all honest and earnest patriots. I have myself got very definite proposals to place before the country, as I have no doubt many other friends have. I am waiting to lay them before the A. I. C. C. in the first instance, as I consider it of the highest importance, that such proposal should have the united support of the Congress before they are placed before other political parties."

Pandit Malaviya observes: I do not agree with those who find fault with Mahatma for having arrived at the decision which he announced the other day, imposing a restraint upon his activities for the unexpired period of his sentence of imprisonment. However unjust the sentence was, I think that, in view of the unconditional release and in the circumstances in which it took place, the decision announced by him was the only one which a man of truth and honour like Mahatma Gandhi could arrive at. But, in my opinion, in view of the decision and of the several announcements made after the Poona Conference and in view of the political conditions now existing in this country, and of all that is taking place in relation to it in England and, also in view of the general depression of trade, industry and widespread unemployment and consequent intense economic suffering which our people are undergoing, it is very necessary that the All-India Congress Committee should meet at an early date to review the whole situation and to consider what programme of work it should recommend to the country to adopt, to bring about a change in the situation.

### GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO BE SOUGHT

The Pandit hopes that a duly signed requisition has been sent or will soon be sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to convene the A. I. C. C. at an early date at a place convenient to Mahatma Gandhi, so that his invaluable advice may be available to the Committee regarding proposals which will be placed before it.

# The Present Political Situation

The following important review of the political situation of the country was issued by the 'Hindu' of Madras as a leading article in its issue of the 19th August 1933 :—

It is more than a fortnight since Mahatma Gandhi re-started civil disobedience and courted imprisonment as a sequel to the Viceroy's refusal of his request for an interview to discuss the situation. Some of his close colleagues have followed his lead and others in larger or smaller number will go on doing likewise. We have already pointed out the unwise and impropriety of the Government's decision to refuse the interview. We also took the occasion to regret the Poona decisions as to civil disobedience and to reiterate what we had previously urged, viz., that in the circumstances and conditions of the country—now fully admitted by Congressmen themselves and recognised by Mahatma Gandhi—civil disobedience as a mass or organised movement should be called off and that the Congress and Congressmen, without abjuring their principles or faith as to civil disobedience could revert to normal political activities, and in particular strive to achieve that concerted political action which was so fruitful in 1928-29. We emphasised that such reorientation was all the more urgently needed to-day in view of the dominance of reactionary counsels in Britain.

## THE POONA DECISIONS

Mr. Aney, as acting Congress President, issued, after the Viceroy's refusal to see Gandhiji, an official statement embodying his decisions after considering the "recommendations of the informal conference" and the "advice tendered by Mahatma Gandhi"—which advice he has since amplified in a statement the substance of which has been published in the Press. He has also written to Mr. Satyamurti clearing certain doubts and declining, except upon a proper requisition from the requisite number of members, to convene an A. I. C. C. meeting to consider the position further. The contents of this letter, as well as a statement by Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram as Secretary of the Congress, are published elsewhere; they together with Mahatmaji's exposition exhibit the civil disobedience campaign and the programme of constructive work in a different light from that in which they have been viewed by many Congressmen. Without the least desire to undervalue the faith and determination of those patriots who have already sought or may hereafter seek imprisonment on the new plan, we think it urgently necessary that those Congressmen who have not gone to jail and who do not propose to participate in the civil disobedience movement, should take stock of the present situation and act in a manner consistent with the best traditions of the Congress and conducive to the achievement of the national political objective—Swaraj. It is wholly in this view that we venture to put before them the definite issues that have arisen from the unfortunate decisions at Poona. We have not had any accurate report of what have been described by Mr. Aney as the "recommendations of the informal conference" or of the "advice tendered by Mahatma Gandhi" and we have no desire to rely upon any one-sided press reports of the same. Taking the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Aney and in coadjutor therewith the statements of others who were actual participants in the Poona Conference, we feel it our duty to point out that the basic principles upon which Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to tender the advice that has been implicitly accepted by his followers, are such as go beyond what the Congress or Congressmen as a body can be irrevocably committed to.

## THE PRIMARY ISSUE

The fundamental position which the Congress took in the past in relation to non-violence and civil disobedience and which it is entitled to revise and vary from

time to time should be understood clearly so that the need for the Congress being perfectly free to carry on its primary political programme without the obsessions of any dogma or creed could be correctly appreciated. Congressmen not participating in the civil disobedience movement have been placed in an extremely anomalous and unsatisfactory position by reaction of the Poona decisions. Technically, no doubt, these decisions are but personal directions of the acting President, or dictator as he is sometimes called, and questions as to the authority of the Working Committee or of the All India Congress Committee being needed to confirm or vary them have no doubt been raised and may be discussed from various standpoints. But we do not think that the discussion of these technical aspects is of much consequence, so long as Mahatma Gandhi has formulated or endorsed the decisions which on that account are bound to command support from many Congressmen. What we think is necessary for Congressmen to visualise is not so much the right of the All-India Congress Committee to discuss and alter these decisions, but the necessity for leading members of the A. I. C. C. facing the issues squarely and determining what the Congress ought to do at the present juncture in view of the changed conditions that are upon us.

#### MR. ANEY'S INSTRUCTIONS

According to the instructions of Mr. Aney, while the campaign of civil disobedience is not unconditionally withdrawn, mass civil disobedience has been continued for the time being, the resultant position being stated to be that the right of individuals who may be ready for every suffering and prepared to act on their own responsibility to continue civil disobedience "is reserved." If this was all that was implied, the position would, to some extent, be analogous to that taken by Mahatma Gandhi when he suspended the starting of mass civil disobedience at Bardoli in 1922. But when Mr. Aney goes further and says that "all who are able and willing to offer individual civil disobedience on their own responsibility though without expectation of help from the Congress organisations, are expected to do so" and when Mahatma Gandhi amplifies this instruction by saying that such people "would be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress," the position becomes extremely confusing and perplexing. The rather vague and misleading terms in which the instructions for the dissolution of Congress organisations were couched have now been explained in a manner which has naturally induced the Government to construe Mahatmaji's statement as favouring the revival of a campaign of general civil disobedience by successive steps. We do not know whether Mahatmaji intended that his action and that of those who might follow him should be interpreted in this sense; if he had, he could hardly have instructed Congressmen not practising civil disobedience to carry on constructive work—including council entry, later on, if found advisable or possible.

#### GANDHIJI'S CREED AND CONGRESS POLICY

It is plain, however, that Mahatma Gandhi has throughout these several expositions ignored the clear distinction which he once very properly made between his own principles and faith in civil disobedience and the principles which the Congress had accepted for achieving its aims. In his statement of 26th July last he has dwelt chiefly upon his own faith in the creed of non-violence and all that flows from it and not on the policy or programme which under very specific limitations and restrictions the Congress accepted and adopted in 1920. Every one will agree with him—and the Congress and the country will ever be grateful to him in this behalf—on the message of non-violence preached by him in the darkest days of India's travail. By adopting it as "the right route to our goal in 1920" the country has gained in political stature, momentum and power; we see the evidence of it in the mass consciousness of the national self-respect that has made itself felt both by our rulers and by the world at large. But neither the country as a whole nor many leading Congressmen will agree with the views which Gandhiji has put forward of the tenet of non-violence and its scope in practical application or with his implied contention that the country as a whole has actually adopted them or that the Congress committed itself to these views for all time. That the spirit of non-violence should spread throughout the world and Satyagraha should

be the basis of the future ordering of the world is what idealists may always hope for. But that India should wait for her freedom until the spirit of non-violence permeats every human being in India in the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi wants it should, so that the rest of the world may follow India's example and do likewise, is a different proposition. It cannot, at any rate, be contended that the Congress has been irrevocably committed to it. Such a contention would amount to a claim to have changed what has all along been an essentially national political organisation for the achievement of political freedom, as it is ordinarily understood into an organisation, for the achievement of a spiritual or religious ideal. It can hardly appeal to those politically minded Congressmen who still feel that mankind will have to travel a long, long way before such a lofty goal could be realised. None was better aware of this than Mahatma Gandhi himself in 1923 when he appealed to the Congress to adopt it as a policy in the then conditions of India.

### THE TWO NOT IDENTICAL

In accepting his lead in 1920, the Congress did nothing more than accept non-violence, very properly, as the basis of the programme of triple boycott and also of its prospective plan of a no-tax and civil disobedience campaign. Successive resolutions of the Congress have not gone further than the resolution from which Mahatma Gandhi now seems to conclude that the Congress's attitude towards non-violence is identical with his own. In his statement of July 26th he observes :

"It may be objected that the heroic suffering of a few individuals, however praiseworthy in itself, is of no practical value and cannot affect British policy. I differ from such a view. In my opinion, the seemingly long or almost interminable process adumbrated by me will in practice be found to be the shortest. For I hold that the true independence, i.e., independence in terms of and on behalf of the masses can be proved in India's case to be unattainable by any other method. The method of non-violence which is an integral part of the Congress constitution demands the course suggested by me....."

"If ever we, as a nation, reach that living faith in non-violence and banish violence from our hearts we would not even need resort to civil disobedience. The latter is required whilst we are trying non-violence as a mere policy or expedient. Even as a policy it is any day far more effective than violence. Under the Dictator's instructions secret organisations naturally disappear. Every civil resister will be his or her own leader. He or she will carry the burden of the Congress on his or her own shoulders. Such civil resisters will be trustees of national honour."

### PANDIT MOTILAL'S TESTIMONY

We think that the Congress did not, either in 1920 or subsequently, take any such irrevocable step with its incalculable consequences. The resolution of the Congress in 1920 observed that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in the future is the establishment of "Swarajya" and it went on to declare that the Congress "is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established." Leaving the Khilafat or other similar wrongs out of account as being no longer live issues, what would constitute the establishment of Swarajya has been declared by the Congress concretely on various occasions—in terms, for instance, of the Nehru constitutions at one time or of independence or "substantial independence," at another, relegating the question of the British connection to a secondary place. But the independence which Mahatmaji visualises in his last statement in terms of non-violence and the other principles which he holds as part of his creed, is not comprehended in the Congress resolution. Indeed, in the course of a famous note appended by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru to the Civil Disobedience Committee's report, he pointed out the exact scope and character of the resolution of the Congress and of the policy followed by it later on. We reproduce extracts therefrom elsewhere to show that, to use Panditji's words, "there has never been any doubt that by accepting the programme of non-violent non-co-operation, the Indian

National Congress did not adopt all the views of Mahatma Gandhi expressed by him in *Hind Swaraj* and from time to time in *Young India* and elsewhere and that Congressmen are only bound by the principles accepted and formulated by the Congress and not by every word or sentiment which might have found utterance from the lips of Mahatmaji." Many of his theories, as he points out, have "yet to find favour not only with Congressmen generally, but the country at large and among them is the doctrine of Ahimsa and all that flows from it. The one common ground on which all non-co-operators meet is that violence in any shape or form is completely ruled out by existing conditions and as wholly outside the pale of practical politics." And the Pandit proceeds to cite the authority of Mahatma Gandhi himself—which will be found in the passages extracted elsewhere—and rightly claims that it was on this and this basis alone that the policy of non-co-operation was recommended by him and accepted by the Congress.

### TASK BEFORE CONGRESS

It seems to us therefore difficult to contend, either on general principles or with reference to the actual events connected with the movement since 1920 that Congress is committed to the continuation of civil disobedience so long as a single civil resister is available, that every civil resister who goes to jail on the basis assumed by Mahatma Gandhi or even on more restricted grounds would "be acting on behalf of and in the name of the Congress" because in this view Purna Swaraj or substantial Swaraj or whatever it may be, has not been and will not be achieved until the entire country becomes non-violent in thought, word and deed. On the other hand, it is clear that the Congress adopted its programme of boycott and civil disobedience entirely as a political weapon for the achievement of what are essentially political ends, namely, the attainment of full self-government, call it independence or full Dominion status under the Statute of Westminster or by any other name you like—attained in such a manner that the country as a whole would deem it to be a satisfactory settlement of its political future. That the Congress as an institution could not and ought not to be put on any other basis must be clear from the fact that the Congress is older than the Calcutta Congress session and that the Congress has even subsequently adopted programmes inconsistent with this pragmatic view of non-co-operation and non-violence.

Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen have agreed that mass civil disobedience should be called off and this, in our view, imposes on all Congressmen who do not propose to participate in civil disobedience a clear duty towards the Congress. Without in any way surrendering their opinion of or faith in the principle of civil disobedience as they understand it, they should have no hesitation in declaring that as a programme of organised mass action, civil disobedience should now be given up and on that footing they should proceed to restore the Congress to its position of primacy among the political instruments that half a century of nation-building has evolved for achieving the goal of the country's political ambitions. The Congress has come to occupy a unique place in the affections of the people because it has symbolised the will to be free, the resolve to work for that freedom by all legitimate and constructive political methods and the alert and resolute opposition to all attempts to encroach on the just rights and liberties of the citizen, from whatever quarter they might originate. Only by restarting the Congress to the position in which it can discharge its primary functions will they be able to strengthen and organise it for the great political and social tasks ahead.

**INDIA IN PARLIAMENT  
AND ABROAD**

**JULY-DECEMBER 1933**

# INDIA OFFICE ESTIMATES DEBATE

House of Commons—17th. July 1933

Speaking on the India Office Estimates in the House of Commons on the 17th, July 1933, Sir Samuel Hoare referred to the significant improvement in the state of Law and Order compared to a year ago and said, thanks to the efforts of the great body of officials British and Indian, from the Viceroy downwards, particularly the splendid police service, civil disobedience had become in recent months a matter of secondary importance. He would, therefore, leave questions connected with Law and Order until the end of his speech and deal first with the other fields of administrative activity.

Sir S. Hoare reviewed the work in various fields and pointed out that when the present schemes were completed, the area under irrigation in India would be twice that of any other country. He referred to the difficulties connected with land revenue and pointed out that the Government of the United Provinces had persuaded the landlords to reduce the rents by no less than 4½ crores and Government had simultaneously reduced land taxation by a further crore.

Sir Samuel Hoare referred to the more encouraging trade reports and said that the recovery of the prices of primary commodities was the principal need of the economic situation. He emphasised the improvement of Indian credit and general financial position.

Referring to law and order he said that improvement was shown by the central and provincial legislatures passing legislation to replace the Ordinances and also by general lack of interest in civil disobedience which was so low that the suspension of the movement at the beginning of Mr. Gandhi's fast made little or no practical difference.

Sir S. Hoare referred to the reduction in the number of prisoners and said it was significant that even after this great reduction general support to law and order was daily stronger and stronger.

Sir Samuel Hoare, proceeding, stated that the position of the Government was firm and clear, but there were divided counsels and many uncertainties on the Congress side. He said that, according to reports from the Indian Press, there was a strong feeling among the Congress rank and file against the continuance of the unlawful and unconstitutional agitation. But Mr. Gandhi set himself against these counsels of reason and moderation. Mr. Gandhi, at the beginning of his fast, still maintained his threatening attitude. Sir S. Hoare assumed that Mr. Gandhi was ill and out of touch with public opinion. Now, however, it appeared that in the teeth of the opposition of many of his most trusting supporters he had declared in favour of the resumption of civil disobedience as a means of extorting terms from the Government.

Referring to the present position of Civil Disobedience, Sir S. Hoare said: "We have said we are not prepared to negotiate and we shall maintain that position. Mr. Gandhi again wishes to put himself in the position of a negotiator with the Government of India who carried in reserve the unconstitutional weapon of Civil Disobedience. I repeat there can be no question of making a bargain with the Congress as a condition for their accepting the ordinary obligations of law-abiding citizens."

Sir S. Hoare proceeded to read the Viceroy's message to Mr. Gandhi. Pausing at the first sentence, stating that "if circumstances were different the Viceroy would gladly see Mr. Gandhi", Sir S. Hoare said that there was no question whatever of unconditionally refusing an interview. The Viceroy's telegram had the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government.

Sir Samuel Hoare proceeded to deal with Law and Order in Bengal and did not refer to Mr. Gandhi's reply.

Having dwelt at some length on the successful campaign against terrorism in Bengal, Sir Samuel Hoare said he thought they had now got level with terrible threat of terrorism and constant and unremitting pressure that they intended to

apply to it now and in future, whatever be the constitutional changes they believed they would succeed in freeing Bengal from one of the most terrible and most shameful plagues that devastated any part of the Empire.

The Government considered the achievements of the military and civil authorities so remarkable that, as a mark of recognition, the King had approved of the immediate conferment of Commanderships of the Indian Empire on Mr. Arthur Sheldon Hands, District Magistrate of Chittagong and Captain Thomas Ivor Stevenson of 218 Gurkhas, Military Intelligencer Officer, Chittagong.

Sir S. Hoare said all officials had been passing through the most difficult time, but they had shown themselves true to our traditions and history. It was tempting to follow the way of dictators and smash through all opposition and abandon any attempt at co-operation. But this not the line the Government of India had taken. Simultaneously with the rigid enforcement of law and order they consistently followed the path of co-operation with friends in India. The record he recounted was a well-deserved testimonial to the sincerity and integrity of purpose with which these men faced difficult problems. It was also a tribute to the success that had hitherto crowned their efforts.

#### "CONGRESS NOT CRUSHED"

Mr. Lansbury, moving a reduction in the vote, said Sir S. Hoare had taken credit, in effect, for crushing the Congress. Mr. Lansbury had been in communication with Indians who were in London in connection with the Select Committee and there was not one who took Sir S. Hoare's view. The Congress movement had not been crushed, as Sir S. Hoare and the Government would speedily learn.

Mr. Lansbury proceeded to criticise the refusal to see Mr. Gandhi and strongly pleaded for a reconsideration, expressing the opinion that an agreement was possible.

#### SAPRU-JAYAKAR LETTER

Mr. Lansbury proceeded to read a letter which Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar sent him to-day in view of the fact that he was to speak in the House, putting their considered view on the subject of Mr. Gandhi's request with a view to exploring the avenues of peace. They said: "We do not read in it a threat of any kind. We understand, however, that the request has been refused and we would be very glad if you will draw attention to the terms of the telegram and press for further consideration so that Mr. Gandhi may have the chance of putting his views before the Viceroy. We should not allow the answer to the question put by Mr. Gandhi to be prejudiced by tendentious statements which have appeared in the Press during the last two days. It would be most unfortunate if he is denied an opportunity of seeing the Viceroy." Mr. Lansbury said, here were two men who had never taken the extremist side and who were here, at great danger to their political reputation in India, and they were unanimously of opinion that Sir S. Hoare's attitude was wrong.

#### "RECONSIDER POSITION"

Mr. Lansbury asked Sir S. Hoare to reconsider the position and appealed for Mr. Gandhi to be treated as we had earlier treated Gen. Botha and Gen. Smuts.

He said public opinion in Britain would support the Government in it.

Proceeding Mr. Lansbury referred to Meerut when Sir S. Hoare pointed out that an appeal was pending and he was surprised that Mr. Lansbury was dealing with it.

Mr. Lansbury replied that he was unable to see why the men should be kept in prison a moment longer and concluded by moving a reduction in the Vote in order that the Secretary of State might instruct the Viceroy to open talks with Mr. Gandhi and also advise His Majesty to release the Meerut prisoners.

#### "LET MR. GANDHI MAKE HIS OWN DENIAL"

When Mr. Bernays remarked that it was difficult to support the Opposition demand that the Viceroy should see Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Lansbury asked if anything had been received from the Government of India to show that Mr. Gandhi wanted an interview for any purpose but to explore the possibility of peace.

Sir S. Hoare said that it was open to Mr. Gandhi to deny statements attributed to him in the Press. It seemed clear that Mr. Gandhi at the Poona Conference supported civil disobedience. If we were incorrectly informed let Mr. Gandhi make his own denial.

Mr. Lansbury thought he should make it to Lord Willingdon.

Later in the debate, Mr. Butler said that the House was asked not to base its views of what happened at Poona Press reports, but if Mr. Gandhi considered them inaccurate he need only issue a denial and proper attention would be given to it.

Mr. Lansbury replying greatly regretted that the Government adhered to the decision with regard to Mr. Gandhi. It was not for Mr. Gandhi to contradict everything in the newspapers. They asked that he should be judged on the contents of his telegram to the Viceroy.

Mr. Maxton referred to Meerut and said that the Government might have squashed the principle voice calling for national independence, but nobody believed that they had destroyed the desire for it in the hearts of Indians.

Mr. Churchill expressed the opinion that credit was due to Sir S. Hoare and the Viceroy for the reconstruction work in social order they had achieved without bloodshed simply by the firm administration of law and said that Sir. S. Hoare had adopted measures which Mr. Churchill and his friends had suggested to Mr. Wedgwood-Benn two years ago.

The conclusion which Mr. Churchill drew from it was that, just as they were right upon the methods of dealing with disorder, so the wise and prudent limits they assigned to constitutional progress at present would be the best guide for Sir S. Hoare in constitutional affairs.

After a further debate, Mr. Butler, replying, described the recent advance in India in the direction of civil aviation, telegraph and telephone development and, referring to the social and economic questions, maintained that the British administration strived to work unceasingly for the masses providing such benefits as the Lloyd Barrage and similar works.

Mr. Butler said that India had been saved by the Government's wise guidance and administration from many shocks and pains which had inflicted other countries.

Referring to Labour legislation in which the Government had not been idle, Mr. Butler announced that the Government was actually considering the preparation of a new Factories Bill on the general lines of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour.

Referring to the Meerut case, he said that it was not fair to mix the activities of prisoners with the objects of legitimate Trade Unionism in India. He referred to factors causing the delay but did not enter fully into the case as an appeal was to be heard.

Mr. Lansbury rose at the conclusion of Mr. Butler's speech and said he wanted to say definitely he did not charge anyone with dishonourable conduct in India. He had the highest respect for many of those who were carrying out the very hard and difficult task in that country, although he profoundly disagreed with the policy they were administering. He said that Mr. Butler had made no attempt to do with Labourites' fundamental objection with regard to Meerut.

Mr. Lansbury's motion to reduce the estimates was defeated by 186 votes to 32.

The debate was adjourned *sine die*.

# THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDIA

The third International Conference on India was held at Geneva on the 29th September 1933. Dr. Edmond Privat presided and representatives from organisations affiliated to the International Committee on India, and men and women attending in their personal capacity, were present from the following countries :—America, China, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Holland, India and Switzerland.

The conference was divided into three sessions—a business meeting in the morning, an afternoon meeting for Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and the public meeting at night.

The Chairman welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf of the committee, and said how glad the conference was to have the presence of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mrs. Humid Ali and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the former having come from India at Mr. Gandhi's request to attend this gathering.

Mons. Privat then gave a report of the work of the committee during the past year and explained its origin. In 1932, after the arrests of Mr. Gandhi and thousands of Indian men and women, there was a conviction on the part of a few people that the facts of the situation should be known to the West, and the significance of the non-violent movement, on account of false news and misrepresentation. During the year information received from India had been circulated to affiliated groups and members, who in turn had made use of this material in their own country. Public meetings had been held and representations made to the British Government, the League of Nations Assembly and the Disarmament Conference. Reports of the work done in the above countries were then given. These were significant, for they revealed the interest and anxiety that exists in other parts of the world on the Indian situation. These groups laid claim to no large membership but through articles in the press, special bulletins, newsletters, meetings, etc., public opinion is influenced.

The draft resolutions (attached) were then discussed, and with an additional resolution on the subject of the Andaman Islands were passed unanimously. On the eve of the meeting of the Assembly and the Disarmament Conference, some of these have a special significance.

## NON-VIOLENCE HAS NOT FAILED

This meeting was open to the public and the whole time was given to hearing what Mr. Desai and Mr. Bose had to say on the present situation in India. Mr. Desai was present at the Poona Conference and attended the talks Mr. Gandhi had with the Conference leaders.

Dealing with the results of the Poona Conference, Mr. Desai gave a different picture from the one universally held. He claimed that the statement of the failure of the non-violent civil resistance movement was untrue. The present Congress situation, from an outsider's point of view, might look dark. But all struggles for freedom should be looked at from an immediate and a historic perspective, the present inactivity of the Congress should not be interpreted as defeat—all great movements sometimes had 'to wait'. But when a movement is based on true principles, vitality recovers. Taken from the perspective of history, Mr. Desai claimed that the movement had succeeded and not failed. For through it the greatest step had been taken—a subject race had been raised from its inertia.

The speaker deplored the way in which the Congress and Mr. Gandhi were discredited and misapprehended. But efforts to discredit Mr. Gandhi were really hopeless on account of his power in the country.

Dealing with the question of non-violence, Mr. Desai stated clearly that the Congress was pledged to struggle for freedom through non-violence.

Mr. Desai said that the question of obtaining freedom through non-violence—though immediately it concerned India—also concerned the world at large. For this method provides a substitute for the present method of force for settling international disputes for which the world is groping.

### YOUTH WOULD FOLLOW GANDHI

Mr. Bose said to understand the present inactivity of Congress, the methods used for its suppression should be understood. Even those who were released from prison were practically prisoners. It was impossible to get into touch with the people as the press was gagged, public meetings banned, and national literature suppressed. Mr. Bose, like Mr. Desai, pointed out clearly that the present inactivity could not be interpreted as failure. The roots of this struggle for freedom were as deep as human life itself and it could not be suppressed.

Dealing with the attitude of youth, Mr. Bose said that as long as Mr. Gandhi could give a lead, youth would follow. But he wanted to make it quite clear that the youth of India wanted entire national sovereignty, and that peace would only be possible when this was brought about. Mr. Bose claimed that the only party that was in vital touch with the people was a Congress party. As long as elementary human rights were denied and economic exploitation continued, the present unrest would not end. He stressed the need for something to be done for the political prisoners, and particularly with regard to the Andaman Islands. On the subject of Hindu-Muslim unity, Mr. Bose pointed out that the interests of the two were objectively the same, and their common suffering in the present crisis had helped to bring them together.

### HOME OF INTERNATIONALISM

Mr. Bose said that Switzerland was regarded as the home of internationalism, and this spirit had been embodied in the League of Nations. The Indian people were inspired with the same spirit of Internationalism, but they felt that to make the League a reality, the suppressed nations of the world must be free. India was not merely a national, but a world problem. British rule in India was the key-stone of British imperialism and British Imperialism in its turn was the cornerstone of world imperialism. Therefore by working for Indian freedom, they were also working for the freedom of the world from Imperialism. Sympathy had been extended to other countries in their struggle for freedom. Mr. Bose appealed for same sympathy to be extended to India in her struggle.

Both Mr. Desai and Mr. Bose answered questions and cleared many points on which there had been conflicting reports. They both paid testimony to the tremendous work that had been done for untouchables since 1921 and the lead given recently by Mr. Gandhi. The speakers expressed gratitude for the interest and sympathy of the International Committee.

In the evening a well-attended meeting was held at the Salle Centrale. Representatives of many nationalities were present and listened with keen interest and attention to the speakers. Mr. Desai and Mr. Bose spoke on the same lines as they had covered in the afternoon meeting and pointed out the need for international consideration of the situation.

Mrs. Hamid Ali spoke of the strength of the women's movement in India—its concern for social reform—for securing the franchise on a basis that would give full opportunities for service to the country. She explained the determination of the organised women to resist any effort made to bring communalism into their ranks.

### MAHATMA AND BRITISH PRESS

The other speakers were Mons. Ch. Baudouin, and Miss Agatha Harrison. In his concluding remarks, the chairman drew attention to the way the British press had dealt with Mr. Gandhi's comment on the Midnapore murder. Mons. Privat said that the British press had a high standing in the world but this reputation had received a set-back in the minds of many people on account of the way they had handled this, making it appear that Mr. Gandhi condoned violence and murder. Such defamation, the speaker said, was unwarranted when the life-long devotion of Mr. Gandhi to this cause was so well-known. He hoped that some opportunity would be taken to correct this impression.

### Resolutions Adopted

1. This conference recognises India's right to complete independence and her right to decide the form of her government and of her future relations with great Britain and other nations.

### APPRECIATIONS OF MAHATMA'S EFFORTS

2. This conference sends the expression of its admiration to Mahatma Gandhi and all the Indians who fight for the liberation of their country and for the abolition of untouchability without deviating from their condemnation of all recourse to violence. This conference extends its hearty appreciation to the British and other friends working for the freedom of India.

### BOMBING

3. This conference urges the British authorities to give up the cruel and unjust air bombing, which strikes innocent victims and is a cause of delay in the adoption of an international disarmament convention.

### MILITARY EXPENDITURE

4. This conference draws the attention of the Disarmament Conference on the heavy burden imposed upon India in order to maintain on her soil an army of occupation at the service of a foreign power and on the abnormal situation thus created between two members of the League of Nations.

### INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

5. This conference considers it wrong that disputes arising between India and other members of the British Commonwealth should not fall within the jurisdiction of the League of Nations and considers it unfair to the other members of the League that one member thereof (Great Britain) should nominate the delegates of another (India).

### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

6. This conference heartily supports the programme of the All-India National Congress regarding the settlement of Indo-British financial obligations by an impartial international commission, the chairman of which must be a neutral member of the Hague Court not belonging to India or to the rest of the British Commonwealth. This conference condemns the imperial preference forced upon India much to her detriment inasmuch as this measure extends special monopolistic privilege to one foreign power and puts the other nations to unjustifiable disadvantage.

### TREATMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

7. This conference condemns all discriminatory measures adopted against the Indian people on racial grounds in various countries, especially within the British empire. It specially condemns the idea of the Government of the Union of South Africa, which is contemplating the scheme of sending out South African born Indians to British Guiana for the purpose of colonisation. This principle is detrimental to the real interests of Indians *vis-a-vis* the rest of the members of the British Commonwealth and particularly as regards South Africa.

### ORDINANCE RULE

8. This conference deplores that Ordinance rule should be embodied in law.

9. This conference asks the Inter-national Committee for India to do all it can to redress inaccurate news and prevent the West from hearing one side on Indian affairs.

### ANDAMAN PRISONERS

10. This conference condemns the policy of ill-treatment of political prisoners in Indian prisons and concentration camps, particularly in the Andaman Islands where two political prisoners have recently died as a result of hunger strike and demands human treatment for political prisoners in India and the abandonment of the Andaman Island as a prison for political prisoners.

# THE INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

The fourth session of the Indian States People's Conference was held at Bombay on the 22nd. July 1933 under the Presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said : 'The position now is that the people in the States wish to be as completely free as their fellow-countrymen in the Indian provinces. The utmost they would concede to the Princes is the position of constitutional monarchs.'

Continuing, Mr. Jamnadas said that the Federation, envisaged in the White Paper, was precisely what a Federation ought not to be and he regretted that the Princes had made no secret of the fact that they would not mind entering it if they were assured that their present control over their subjects would be allowed to continue. He suggested that in the provinces and in the Indian States there should be full local autonomy with elected legislatures and with Ministers fully responsible to them. The Federal Government, he pointed out, should be a fully responsible Government and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not be a figure-head, while the real power was divided between the Reserve Bank and the Governor-General.

## The Presidential Address

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in the course of his presidential address, observed that it would be better if people in the different States soon got popular assemblies constituted to discuss their own affairs and exercise the rights of self-government in co-operation with the rulers of the States. The conference was still outlawed and was being held in British territory.

The speaker regretted that the movement had not roused the large mass of State subjects to give support to it. Muslim subjects of Indian States took no interest or part in the movement. The recent incidents in Kashmir and Alwar could not be explained except by the assumption that Muslim State subjects were interested more than in their political rights and privileges.

Mr. Kelkar continued :—We are meeting in this conference at what I may call a fateful hour both for British India and Indian States. The Joint Parliamentary Committee is nearing the conclusion of its labours. It is too soon to make an intelligent anticipation of its conclusions. We are in the dark as to whether Federation is in the making or in the melting pot. Mr. Kelkar continued : The real attitude of the Princes is shrouded in mystery. We have been hearing of their readiness to bless the Federation and even to join it for sometime past, but not a day passes without our hearing a new statement of that position or a revised statement of that position or a revised statement or explanation.

"There could be no two opinions", Mr. Kelkar proceeded, "about the value and importance of the ideal of Federation. The paramountcy of the British Government over the States is a hard settled fact. Every circumstance points to the desirability of evolving some thing like a Federation in which a number of interests may grow and become interwoven, so that it would be impossible for any unit to claim separation. The only way to make the best of the present political situation in India is to attempt a Federation."

"What I have said," Mr. Kelkar proceeded, "is only about the ideal of Federation. I recognise that to-day Federation is like the far off Mount Everest. The Joint Select Committee discussions are only preparations for an attack of the mountain peak. Like a telescope, the White Paper has brought the idea of Federation nearer to the mind."

Mr. Kelkar referred to a noticeable change in the personnel of the Ministers of the Indian States side by side with the development of the Federation idea. Indian Ministers were being silently replaced by Europeans. According to the speaker, the phenomenon had a twofold aspect. These appointments cut across the plausible claim that the Indianisation part of the Swarajya idea at least was secured in Indian India. The claim was no longer valid. Secondly, when the Federated legislatures began to function, an array of serried ranks of Europeans would be seen

therein to deliberate and vote in the name of the Indian Princes. There was again in the bargain an obvious weightage that would be secured to Government in an indirect manner in the legislative chambers. European representatives of Indian Princes were manifestly more likely to carry out the wishes of the British Government than those Princes whom in theory they would be representing.

### TWO ASPECTS OF STATE'S PROBLEM

Proceeding, Mr. Kelkar laid stress on two aspects of the State's subject's problem, viz., the character of the State's representatives in the Federal legislatures and the fundamental rights of Federal subjects. A declaration of fundamental rights was necessary. Such a thing as the status of a Federal subject must be recognised and embodied in a declaration of rights. He regretted that when Federation was being talked of, States subjects were not admitted. Government had turned down with contempt, States subject's repeated requests and representations of State's people for audience and hearing. States subjects should be heard before the forum of the world. The problem of Federation deserved to be discussed in all its aspects, because once the Constitution Act was passed, it would be years and years before it could be amended. In order that internal pressure of the Princes may not injuriously burst the bubble of Federation, equal external pressure of public opinion must be put upon it. "Even when you know that your cry will be a cry in the wilderness, it is imperatively necessary that you cry at least at the right moment. Who knows that there may not be wood-fairies, if not human beings, that may hear your cry and befriend you?"

Reverting again to the White Paper scheme, the President said that Federation meant and involved complete reconstruction of the steel-frame of the political State in India. The present Government of India Act would be repealed in toto and substituted by another. In Federation, States would come in as autonomous units, for which the Legislature of India or England could not legislate directly. The range of authority of the federal Legislature in relation to the States would not coincide with that in relation to British India, but would vary, for this authority was to be determined by separate agreements with different rulers of States. Just as imperial authority would reserve all imperial matters to itself, similarly Indian States would reserve most of their authority to themselves and transfer only a part to the Federal legislature and Executive. Only a certain number of subjects would be treated as federal.

### Resolution Passed

The conference condemned "division of Paramountcy". It opined that the Paramount Power owed an obligation to the States' people to protect them against their autocratic rulers, and urged that fundamental citizenship rights should be conferred upon them and all States' subjects should be allowed right of appeal to the Federal court.

A resolution demanded that "no Prince be suspended or removed from his gadi for alleged misrule, except when there is a clearly expressed demand of his subjects". The resolution, however, added that in case such a demand was made, the Paramount Power should, on no account, defer action against him.

The Conference urged that the rules should introduce Responsible Government.

A resolution disapproved of the policy of retrocession of Cantons to States so long as Federation did not become fully operative.

When the news of the death of Mr. Sen Gupta reached it, the Conference passed a resolution expressing its deep sense of sorrow and loss to the country.

A resolution, which was moved from the chair, strongly condemned the Federation scheme of White Paper "since it denied representation to the States people on the Federal Legislature on an elective basis".

A resolution protested against "deliberate exclusion" of eighty million of States peoples from the R. T. C. and Select Committee deliberation and stated that a constitution forged behind the backs of the States' people was unacceptable.

The conference passed a comprehensive "grievance resolution" enumerating the alleged grievances of the people of twenty-three States, expressing sympathy with States subjects and advising the conference executive to make the enquiries necessary and to take all proper steps to remedy them.

# THE C. I. STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

The Central India States' People's Conference was held at Khandwa on the 7th. October 1933 under the presidency of Mr. Govindlal Shir Lal Motilal. In the course of his presidential address to the Conference, the President observed :—

Personal rule which is a common feature of all the States, is most intolerable, it must give place to the rule of law. "What power the king hath, he hath it by law," says Hooker in regard to the King of England. At present the orders of the Princes are absolute and there is no appeal against them to a judicial tribunal. The Prince may arrest any person and keep him in jail as long as he likes if he is so inclined. What is known as liberty of persons and property does not simply exist in a State. The same is the case with the liberty of the Press. If a journal is found to be somewhat free in its criticism of the Durbars' action, its position in the State becomes difficult, for one may be sure that all kinds of troubles await it. The Editor may be arrested and put in prison without trial, or a charge of sedition may be brought against him and the judiciary which is not independent, may convict him. There are also other ways of making the life of an independent-minded journalist miserable, so that he may either abandon his profession or cease criticising the action of the authorities. Very often a paper published in British India is proscribed from an Indian State for publishing criticisms of the State or even some aspects of administration. The "Bombay Chronicle", for example, was recently banned from a State for publishing contributions from a correspondent in that State.

Such is the position of the liberty of the Press in the Indian States, though all the world over, the Press is recognised as a most potent factor of progress and exercises a healthy and salutary check on arbitrary power. Modern civilisation without the Press cannot be conceived and any harm done to its prestige will seriously react on the welfare of the people.

Nor can the people hope to ventilate their grievances from the platform. There is no freedom of speech and there is no freedom of association. The Princes meet together and take common discussions, as for example, in the Chamber of Princes, but the same freedom of association is denied to the people. I am firmly convinced that the introduction of the Rule of Law is the most urgent reform needed in the Indian States, for without it there is little prospect of any constitutional progress being achieved there in the direction of a representative form of Government.

The Government of India at the instance of the Princes, have recently introduced a Bill in the Assembly popularly known as the Princes' Protection Bill which adds new offences to the Indian Penal Code. Till now, the provisions of the Indian Penal Code relating to the offence of sedition were confined to activities against His Majesty or His Majesty's Government. Now the Bill proposes that activities which may be construed as an attempt to create disaffection against the Princes or their government are to be made a criminal offence punishable under Section 124-A. Besides, the Press law is also proposed to be made applicable to comments on the administration of Indian States. The effect of this Bill, if passed into law, will be that the Press will be subjected to the same disabilities as are now applicable to comments against British authorities. The term "disaffection" is so wide that it leaves little room for free criticism and comment. The sword of Damocles which hangs over the Press had already clipped it of its legitimate liberty and the proposed law will only strangle it further. There is already wide and deep disaffection against the States and any expression of it which is due to be suppressed will only drive it under-ground and leave the people without such remedies as they possess at present. The people cannot ventilate their grievances within the States; therefore they turn to British India for the publicity of their grievances. The reasons given by the Government of India for the introduction of this Bill show that a sort of unholy alliance has come into existence between the Government of India and the Princes. The Bill is avowedly a reward to the Princes for suppressing national activities in the States. Federations in other countries had always been preceded or accompanied by declarations of fundamental rights securing liberties to the people. Contrary to this process, the prospect of federation in India is made a ground for depriving both the people of British India and the Indian States of their legitimate rights and liberties which they hitherto enjoyed.

The people of the States are as much interested as the people of British India in the common problems and issues of India as a whole. It is the people of the States who have the largest stake in the affairs of the country at large compared to all other interests in the States put together. Whatever contributions are made to the Central Exchequer by the States are contributions made by the people of the States. It is the people's affairs which are and will be administered by the Central Government whether it takes the form of a Federation or not. These vital facts have been ignored by the Paramount Power and the Princes. The scheme of federation sketched in the White Paper is but a counterfeit substitute for a genuine Federal constitution. The principal objects for which different units form a Federal union are (1) to organise a common defence of all the units within the Union, (2) the adoption of a common policy in regard to relations with countries outside the Federation, (3) a common economic policy in all important respects and (4) uniformity of commercial, civil and criminal laws in certain spheres. In the scheme outlined in the White Paper, Defence is a reserved and not a Federal subject. The Federation will have no control over defence expenditure, policy or administration. Similarly, foreign relations are reserved to the exclusive control of the Viceroy. Coming to the consideration of the economic policy, it is true that it is proposed to transfer it to the control of the Federal Ministry, but the reservations and restrictions and limitations on their powers are so numerous and comprehensive that little real responsibility will in this sphere be left to the Ministry. The setting up of the proposed Reserve Bank, in which the people of the States are concerned as much as the people of British India, together with the powers reserved to the Governor-General, will diminish the control of the Ministry over important aspects of economic policy.

An indispensable condition of every Federation is, that it is the representatives elected by the people of the units, and not the nominees of the heads of the Government of the units that compose the popular chamber. So far as the States are concerned, the observance of this condition is not guaranteed. The people of British India will be represented in the Federal Assembly by representatives directly elected by them, but the so-called representatives of the States in both the Houses will, under the proposed constitution, be those appointed by the Rulers of the States. The Rulers may appoint officials in the service of the States or nominate non-official members. The probabilities are that they will appoint officials in the service of the States drawing salaries from them. This provision applies not only to the Upper Chamber but also to the Popular Chamber. In normal Federal constitution, the constitution itself provides for the return of elected representatives by the people of the units. The glaring defect of the scheme in this respect was perceived and it was sought to be explained on the ground of its being sui generis. This explanation does not satisfy the people of the States.

We have been told that the conditions of India are responsible for this departure from the normal type of Federation. It may be that the States are at present governed by autocratic Princes, but these rulers are themselves subject to the authority of the Paramount Power whose advice must be respected and followed by the Princes. The Paramount Power has a clear and definite responsibility to discharge in regard to the participation of the people of the States in the Federal Government, and this leads us to the conclusion that there is nothing in the conditions of the Indian States to warrant the exclusion of a provision in the Federal Constitution for enabling the people to send their elected representatives to the Federal Legislature, to voice their feelings and views and to influence and shape the policy of the Federation, and to participate in the responsibilities of the Ministry. The people do deserve and demand such representation, and on every ground of political justice and reason they are entitled to it. The Princes have no interest apart from the interest of the people of the States. Nominees of the Princes would not be able to speak the mind of the people of the States, nor to represent their views, much less to look after their interests. These nominated members will not be responsible to the people of the States and these latter will not have any control over them.

A constitution that does not provide for the representation of the people of the States by election to the Federal Assembly does not deserve to be called a Federal constitution at all. Even the German Confederation had provided representation to the people of the confederate States by elected Deputies in the Reichstag. Let it not be forgotten that the exercise of the function of Paramountcy is capable of removing all the obstacles standing in the way of genuine Federal constitution. It

has been definitely stated that Paramountcy is to be set in motion for the benefit of India, for the benefit of the people of the States and for the benefit of the States. Looked at from the point of British India or from the point of view of the people of the States or of the States or all these points combined, I am unable to conceive of a better ease in which the exercise of the functions of Paramountcy will be fully justified. From the point of British India, it will only be a make-believe Federation, if one-third of the strength of the legislature will have nothing in common in politics with the representatives of British India. The politics and programme of the States' appointees will be unknown, for they will not represent the views of any political party in the country. The only certainty about them is that they will always stand up against the representatives of the people of British India and support the Bureaucratie policy and will form a dead-weight against progress in British India, resulting in a constant friction between the two sections. To visualise the proposed Federal constitution with nominated members is to realise the absolute impotency even of the responsibility of the central executive in the transferred subjects. It is not improbable that the Home Member and the Finance Member will be appointed from among these nominated members. If this happens, even the limited responsibility would be a farce. A good deal more can be said with regard to the paralysing effect of the presence of such nominated members on British India, but it is not necessary there to enter into a lengthy discussion of it.

As regards the effect of this arrangement on the people of the States, that it will create great dissatisfaction and discontent among them, cannot be doubted. They will have a double grievance. In their name but against their wishes and interests these appointed members will speak and act in the legislature. At the same time, the people will themselves be excluded from their due share in the working of the Federal Government and will have no opportunities to determine the policies of the national government. From the point of the Princes, this arrangement will place them in the most unenviable position.

You are aware that the States have been allotted one-third of the seats in the Federal Assembly and forty per cent of the seats in the Senate under the White Paper scheme. The question of distribution of these seats among the various States has given rise to differences among them. The rulers of the States, having claimed and received representation in both Houses in excess of what is due on a population basis, they find it difficult to come to an equitable solution. Each State claims weightage for itself on some ground or other. The vicious principle of weightage has landed them in this situation. I venture to think that the view of the people of the States would be that the proper course to follow would have been not to have pressed for weightage which trenches upon the just rights of the people of British India without doing any good to the people of the States. Apart from that, it would seem right that such representation as the States are to have, should be distributed on a population basis among the States.

There is another matter of considerable importance on which I may make a few remarks. The laboured theory of direct relations between the States and the Crown which was vigorously put forward and accepted by the Butler Committee, has also found acceptance in certain quarters. The people of the States do not accept the correctness of the theory. They consider it unsound and untenable, and unsupported by historical events. The relations of the States must in the nature of things be with the Government of India, whether it is responsible to the British Parliament or to the Indian Parliament. On the transfer of responsibility from the British Parliament, the Indian Crown will assume the functions of the British Crown. The States are an integral part of India and must remain so for ever. Whatever the view-point of the Princes may be, the people of the States want that the relations of their States should be with the Indian Crown, which will be represented by the Federal Government composed of the States as well as the provinces.

The fate of the Federation is still hanging in the balance. Three Round Table Conferences have been held and certain conclusions were arrived at. In these conferences, the States have been absolutely ignored both by the Paramount Power and the Princes. Without the people, the States would be of little value and of no importance. Yet the people of the States were not called into consultation. The whole basis of the Round Table Conference was wrong. Elected representatives of the people for the purpose of drafting the constitution should have been called to the Conference both from British India and the States.

We do not mean to cast any reflection on any of the delegates of the conference when we say that elected representatives should have been invited to undertake the task. Even such conclusions as were arrived at with them are now under fresh examination by the Joint Select Committee as if the same were not based on agreements which must be carried out without further discussion. The outcome of the examination by the Joint Select Committee is uncertain. The so-called Federation is contingent on so many conditions. It may or may not mature. The right of the people in the Indian States to representation in the Central Legislature cannot hang on the coming of Federation. Whether the Federation comes or not, the Federal subjects are already within the control of the Central Government and it is but right that the people of the States should get their due share of representation in the central legislatures. The policy and legislation of Central Legislature affect the people of the States in the same degree as they affect the people of British India, with regard to defence, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, exchange and currency. In this respect, the Government of India have not realised their responsibilities to the people of the States. The people of the States now urge that immediate attention be given to their demand in this respect and in every scheme of constitution for the future the people of the Indian States must receive their due share of representation.

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## The Kathiawad States' People's Conference

Presiding over the Kathiawad States' Convention held at Amreli on the 5th November 1933, Professor G. R. Abhyankar severely criticised the forthcoming Federal constitution as envisaged in the White Paper, devoting major portion of his sixty-page address to a detailed consideration of the Paramountcy question. After referring to the fact that the States' people's representatives had been excluded from the Round Table Conference, the Consultative Committee, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, he wondered how a constitution forged behind the backs of eighty millions of Indian States people, who owed allegiance to His Majesty along with their allegiance to their respective Rulers, could be binding upon them.

Mr. Abhyankar next traced the history of the question of the division of Paramountcy, and declared that the British Government started this as they wanted to maintain their hold over the Legislature even after the disappearance of the official block. Unless Paramountcy was divided, it is not possible to keep the Political Department irresponsible and irresponsive as it was to-day, and in order to secure that end, the resiling of Paramountcy in the Viceroy, who was supposed to be different from the Governor-General, had been suggested. The Princes, on the other hand, were afraid of the spread of democracy and therefore wanted to entrench themselves behind an alien bureaucracy, the Political Department controlled by the Viceroy. Thus, there was a bilateral understanding between the Princes and the Political Department, under which each would look after the interests of the other. With the perpetuation of dyarchy in the Centre by the division of Paramountcy and with the help of the nominees of the Indian Princes, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and other loyalists, the Federal Government in British India would be worked without the least difficulty.

Dealing with the gains of the Princes under the proposed Federal Constitution, Mr. Abhyankar said that the Princes would be entirely saved from any interference in their internal affairs and they had been assured that their present system of government would remain intact. He, however, pointed out that the division of Paramountcy would not prevent the Viceroy from interfering in cases of misrule and therefore they would gain nothing by such a division. By desiring separation from British India and insisting on the division of Paramountcy, continued Mr. Abhyankar, the Princes had betrayed a lamentable distrust of their own countrymen. He made a strong plea for the inclusion of fundamental rights in the Constitution Act. Discussing the proposed safeguards for Princes in detail, Mr. Abhyankar criticised them severely. He appealed to the States' people to organise their forces well, and not depend upon others to help them. He strongly criticised the Princes Protection Bill.

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# TRADE & INDUSTRY IN INDIA

## Review of India's Trade in 1932-33

The review of the Trade of India in 1932-33 records a further deepening of depression during the period, though the season was generally favourable and crops fairly good. The period was also marked by a calamitous decline in commodity prices, improvement in imports and decline in exports.

The out-turn of rice, though it fell short of last year's harvest by 7 per cent, was quite good, being almost equal to the average of the preceding five years. A very good yield was obtained for the sugarcane crop during the period under review and the total production exceeded the previous year's record yield by 17 per cent. The out-turns of cotton and sesamum increased by 12 and 14 per cent respectively and those of groundnut and castor seed by 25 and 1 per cent respectively as compared with the preceding year. Under restricted cultivation the production of jute in 1932 amounted only to 5.8 million bales, which, though slightly greater than the previous year's yield, was still about half the average production during the preceding five years. The wheat crop of 1931-32 was 3 per cent less than that of the preceding season but was slightly above the average of the preceding five years. The production of rape, mustard and linseed (winter oil-seeds) crop for 1931-32 also showed increases of 4 and 10 per cent respectively as compared with the preceding season.

The year 1932, says the review, must be considered as satisfactory so far as industrial disputes were concerned. The numbers of strikes and of workers involved were the lowest recorded for any year since 1920 and such strikes as did occur mostly affected the railways and jute mills.

The calamitous decline in commodity prices, which started towards the last quarter of 1929 continued unbroken. The countries with depreciated currencies—with the sole exception of Japan—and those that retained the gold standard both suffered from declining prices. The index number for Calcutta wholesale prices fell by 43 per cent from September 1929 to March 1933. The fall was larger in agricultural prices as compared with industrial prices.

The largest decrease in the agricultural income occurred in the case of Bengal and amounted to over 54 per cent in 1931-32 as compared with 1928-29. Burma showed a decline almost as great as Bengal due to disastrous fall in rice price, while the United Provinces suffered least. Taking the eight major provinces together, the fall in the agricultural income amounted to a little over 47 per cent.

### IMPORTS

The total value of the imports of merchandise into British India during 1932-33 amounted to Rs. 133 crores. Compared with the preceding year, there was an improvement of Rs. 7 crores or 5 per cent in the case of imports, while there was a decline of Rs. 25 crores or 16 per cent under exports. On the import side there was an improvement noticeable in India's demand for foreign textiles. The increase recorded under this head amounted to one of Rs. 12 crores on a total of Rs. 35 crores recorded in 1931-32. Expressed in percentages, this meant an advance of 34 percent over the figures for 1931-32 and of 13 per cent over those of 1930-31. The advance under the textile group was primarily the result of the larger imports of cotton piecegoods, the total receipts of which amounted to 1,225 million yards valued at Rs. 2,126 lakhs as compared with 776 million yards valued at Rs. 1,467 lakhs in 1931-32. There were concurrent advances under some of the other important items included in the textile group—notably an increase of Rs. 159 lakhs under silk, raw and manufactured, of Rs. 134 lakhs under wool and woollens and of Rs. 72 lakhs under artificial silk. Under machinery and mill work there was a decline of Rs. 38 lakhs, although sugar and textile machinery recorded increases. The value of hardware imported advanced of Rs. 261 lakhs to Rs. 299 lakhs, but the year witnessed a further diminution in the imports of motor vehicles from Rs. 289 lakhs to Rs. 243 lakhs. The value of the imports of rubber manufactures also declined from Rs. 221 lakhs to Rs. 198 lakhs. Consignments of provisions also contracted from Rs.

341 lakhs to Rs. 293 lakhs. Compared with 1931-32, there was an improvement of Rs. 621 lakhs in the imports of private merchandise during 1932-33.

#### EXPORT TRADE

On the export side, the outstanding feature was a further slump in the raw cotton trade due to comparatively high prices of the Indian staples. Despatches of raw cotton fell from Rs. 23 crores to Rs. 20 crores. Cotton manufacturers recorded a decline Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores and amounted to Rs. 3 crores. Experts of twists and yarn receded from 22 million lbs. to 15 million lbs. in quantity and from Rs. 128 lakhs to Rs. 79 lakhs in value. Owing to severe competition from Japan in practically all the usual markets abroad shipments of Indian cotton piecegoods dropped from 104.6 million yards worth Rs. 324 lakhs to 66.4 million yards worth Rs. 209 lakhs. The downward movement in the export trade of jute continued during the year and the decline in the value of raw and manufactured jute exported amounted to one of about Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores. Shipments of raw jute declined from Rs. 1,119 lakhs to 379 lakhs. Under foodgrains the value of the shipments declined from Rs. 2,037 lakhs to Rs. 1,698 lakhs and the quantity from 2,614,000 tons to 2,056,000 tons. Export of oil-seeds amounted to 733,000 tonnes valued at Rs. 1,131 lakhs, which meant a decline of 26 per cent in quantity and of 22 per cent in value in comparison with the exports of the preceding year. Despatches of metals and ores declined from 829,000 tons worth Rs. 547 lakhs to 695,000 tons worth 468 Rs. lakhs. There was a decline in the shipments of hides and skins from 49,300 tons valued at Rs. 892 lakhs to 41,600 tons valued at Rs. 743 lakhs. The total value of re-exports amounted to Rs. 322 lakhs which represented a decline of Rs. 144 lakhs in comparison with the value recorded in 1931-32 and of Rs. 192 lakhs on the basis of that for 1930-31.

#### BALANCE OF TRADE

The visible balance of trade in merchandise for the year 1932-33 was in favour of India to the extent of Rs. 68 crores as compared with Rs. 90 crores in 1931-32, Rs. 38 crores in 1930-31 and the record figure of Rs. 109 crores in 1925-26. The transactions in treasure on private account resulted in a net export of treasure amounting to Rs. 65 crores as against Rs. 55 $\frac{1}{2}$  crores in the preceding year. Gold showed a net export of Rs. 65 $\frac{1}{2}$  crores and silver a net import of Rs. 73 lakhs. Net exports of currency notes amounted to Rs. 13 lakhs.

The year opened with a sluggish movement in the export trade in gold and the Government tenders for the purchase of sterling was small. The opening ratio for the year was 18 and 1-32d which gradually rose to 18 and 3-32d, on the 22nd March, the average rate for the year was 18 and 1-16d.

#### GOLD EXODUS

The year witnessed a further development of the export trade in gold, the net exports during the year having amounted to Rs. 6,552 lakhs as compared with Rs. 5,793 lakhs in the preceding year. "The outward flow of gold on such a heavy scale," concludes the report, "has been a novel feature of India's external trade, the exports having begun to assume importance only from October 1931."

### Indian Trade Commissioner's Report for 1932-33

During the course of the year we were able to meet the requirements of departments of the Central and Provincial Governments in India, and of Indian States, requiring our assistance in various directions, commercial and industrial, said the report on the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner during the year 1932-33, which was released for publication from Simla on the 16th August 1933. Giving instances of this, the report points out that the deputy commissioner of Dern Ismail Khan was furnished with trade reports on samples of mukund floss collected locally. The Director of Industries, Punjab was supplied with information regarding 'Dricold' (C. O. 2). The Director of Industries, Madras was put in touch with a firm of manufacturing silversmiths, who showed an interest on the possibilities of trade in carved cocoanut

shells. The Director of Industries, Travancore, sent us samples of palmyra fibre. With the co-operative of the Imperial Institute a full report on the commercial possibilities of this fibre, together with the names of firms interested in it, was communicated to the director.

Proceeding, the report observes ; In a year so distraught as that under review it might be thought that no agency could do much to forward a trade recovery. This in one sense is true enough ; in another sense the work of an official trade commissioner becomes the more important in proportion to the deterioration of healthy trade conditions. It is at least as incumbent on him to watch for and report anything which may disturb existing trade—and in times like the present such disturbances are unfortunately many—as to endeavour to find markets for new trades and new markets for established trades. The High Commissioner is confident that in both directions his trade department has rendered good service and that the Trade Commissioner's quarterly reports and occasional special reports are of no small value to those concerned with the export trade of India.

### RESEARCH INTO LAC PRODUCTS

The report contends 'the outstanding feature of the year was the sanctioning by the Indian Lac Cess Committee of a scheme of applied research in the United Kingdom into Shellac and lac products in relation to modern consuming industries. The investigation of the Lac sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Essential Oils and Resins of the Imperial Institute and of the Special Lac Inquiry made it evident sometime ago that modern industrial conditions in regard to the supply of raw and semi-raw materials such as lac and shellac, had radically changed, principally as a result of the competition of synthetic resins on highly organised, scientific lines, including technical service and guaranteed performance.'

### INDIAN MINERALS

Dealing with Indian Minerals, it is held that there were no signs of improvement of trade and stagnation affected the mineral markets. Prices of base metals were no higher than in the previous year. Production has been still further entailed by voluntary or compulsory international agreements. The metals thus directly affected are tin, lead and zinc, and indirectly, silver, a bye-product of the base metal industries. There is also an international agreement on oil. Moves towards a Copper Agreement have so far failed. The United States of America have imposed a tariff of four cents per lb. on non-American metal, but the Government of the United Kingdom has not found itself in a position to impose the duty of two pence per lb. on non-empire copper which was fore-shadowed at Ottawa. Of the enquiries received from India, for markets in the country and abroad, mica as usual headed the list. The others were magnesium chloride, ochres of different kinds, semi-precious stones, barytes, iron ore, beryl and amphibole asbestos. This last enquiry is a continually recurring one, and it must be emphasised that this type of asbestos has at present no commercial value.

### TRADE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

Alluding to the work in the office of the Indian Trade Commissioner, Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, who is the author of the report, points out that it falls under three main heads ; commercial intelligence, commercial publicity and commercial committees. The term of commercial intelligence covers not only trade enquiries from Indian exporters seeking to extend their connections with the United Kingdom, Southern Europe and America excluding Northern Europe which is dealt with by the Indian Trade Commission (Hamburg) and from importers in those areas desiring to import Indian goods, but also correspondence with and services rendered to official, semi-official or non-official bodies in India. These services include research work undertaken on behalf of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in India and the testing of local markets for the prices obtainable for Indian goods. Special reports are written from time to time by the office on special features of India's export trade, and these reports are published in the Indian Trade journal if they are not of a confidential nature. Where such reports are written at the request of a private firm, they are not published until sufficient time has elapsed to enable the enquiring firm to take full advantage of the information supplied to it.

## INTERNATIONAL PLANNING

Under the heading 'International Planning' the document rightly points out that with regard to rice, that practically all the competition comes from foreign rices; that the prevailing depression has hit this trade to the extent of a decline of forty-two per cent., in total imports, but that in spite of this decline India has improved her position by exactly twenty per cent., from about one-third to over two-thirds of the total United Kingdom demand. In peas, India's share is still comparatively small, but it nearly doubled while total imports declined by one-fifth. Beans are imported chiefly from Madagascar and Japan, while Empire supplies are limited to those from Rangoon. Unfortunately, the decline of the Yen assisted Japanese exports, and consequently imports Burma declined. But the present season's crop is satisfactory, and importers are doing their best to meet requirements from Burma and thus to take advantage of the ten per cent. reference. In Linseed, India's chief competitor is the Argentine. During the three months under review, imports from the Argentine declined by thirty per cent. in 1933 as compared with 1932 while imports from India quadrupled.

Total imports of pig-iron have increased slightly, while imports from India have more than doubled. Hardwoods and goat skins reflect accurately the prevailing depression, and in both lines India has with some difficulty maintained her relative position. The slump in ship-building accounts for the decline in the importation of Indian hardwoods (chiefly teak) in spite of the preference. The demand for undressed leather has also declined, and all that can be said to that imports from India have fallen less than imports from non-Empire sources.

## VARIETY OF SAMPLES SOLD

Concluding, the report says that the samples sold during the year covered 16 different articles, viz., Patna, and Burma rice, lentils, butter beans, tea, chutney, curry powder, canned mangoes, guavas, lichis and patals, guava jelly, typaree jam, poppadums, Bombay ducks, and cigars and cheroots. About 40,000 customers were served as against 50,000 in the preceding year, and the sales realised £700 as against £800 last year.

The best sales were effected at the shops at Cardiff and Sheffield which fetched £176 and £141 respectively. Amongst the exhibitions the best selling centre was the British Industries Fair, where £63 was realised, after which came the Scottish Grocer's Exhibition at Glasgow, Ideal Homes and Food Exhibition at Edinburgh, and the advertising display at Edinburgh where £55, £51 and £45 respectively were realised.

# INDUSTRIALISING INDIA

## Sir M. Visvesvarayya's Address

Under the auspices of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce Sir M. Visvesvarayya delivered an address on the 10th July at Bangalore on "Industrialising India." In the course of his address, he said:

The tendency of all civilised nations to-day is for each to make itself as economically self-sufficient as circumstances permit. No country which aspires to be reasonably self-sufficient can do without agriculture. But no nation in modern times has grown rich through agriculture alone. The recent practice in progressive countries has been to provide more work for their labour force in industries and subsidiary occupations and to limit the numbers employed in agriculture, it being recognised that employment of more than a limited number of persons in agriculture tends to reduce the average income of the individual and the aggregate income of the nation as a whole. This healthy practice has not yet obtained recognition in India.

The income per head of population derived from industries and agriculture, in India as well as in five of the most progressive countries of the world, compares approximately as follows:

Country	Income per capita	
	Innustries	Agriculture
	Rs.	Rs.
United States of America	963	175
Canada	545	344
Great Britain	465	62
Sweden	384	129
Japan	185	85
India	12	48

In none of the countries referred to above is the per capita income from industries less than that from agriculture, while in one case, namely, that of Great Britain, it is more than seven times. The corresponding proportion in India is only about one-fourth. These facts and figures will leave no doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced observer that while Western nations and Japan have been concentrating on industries and trade, India has been growing more and more overwhelmingly rural. While the income from industries in those countries is their chief source of wealth, the same in India per head of population appears too insignificant by comparison.

#### NEED FOR AN INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

To obtain a clear idea of the true position of industries in this country an industrial survey is a necessary preliminary and the first step towards it is to collect statistics of existing industries. A reliable survey should be made of all the industries pursued, the qualities and values of products manufactured, raw materials utilised, number of persons employed, wages paid, motive power used and other particulars usually collected in advanced countries, and the results placed at the disposal of the public.

Except in the case of organised industries, regular statistics of existing industrial establishments of all classes are not at present available. The organised industries take into account only establishments employing 20 persons or more each and the total number of employed in them in British India in any year has been less than 1,700,000 persons. There is a large number of minor or cottage industries employing less than 20 persons of which no account is taken in the figures recorded by Government. The total number of persons supported by industries of all kinds, according to the Census of 1921, was 33,167,018 or 10.49 per cent of the entire population. The corresponding figure for 1931 was 9.95 per cent. The number actually working in such industries, mostly minor, is stated to amount to 15,361,933 in 1931 or about 4.4 per cent. These figures show that the country is receding in industrial activity. In India, work and labour are not organized as in other industrially advanced countries. Regular hours are not observed. In many parts of India, minor industries continue to operate along traditional lines without guidance or help from science or technical skill, and as a result they drop out one by one as they become unremunerative in competition with modern mechanized industries.

There has been no attempt at a systematic survey of the natural resources, such as has been carried out under the policy of "Conservation of Resources" by the Governments of the United States of America and Canada. The natural resources there have been very carefully surveyed and mapped. The surveys embrace resources under agriculture, irrigation, water power, forests, fisheries, mining areas, and they will serve as a model to us when similar systematic surveys are undertaken in India. Correct information is needed as regards the supply of raw materials, coal, water power, labour and other facilities available in each province and State for helping existing industries or starting new ones.

A third class of investigations required is an analysis of imports to show the class of articles for which there is home market, and the exports mainly to determine what materials, which might provide occupations to indigenous labour and increase its purchasing power, are being sent out of the country in a raw or semi-finished state.

Many of the articles in common use, for the manufacture of which raw materials are available in the country, or which were being manufactured here at one time or another, are being obtained from abroad, showing that the country has been following policies which have made her dependent on foreign countries for some of her

barest necessities. In recent years there has been some improvement in the manufacture, particularly of cotton piecegoods and yarn and there is a general determination on the part of the people to promote Swadeshi enterprise.

Surveys under the three heads mentioned should be carried out for each province and State as well as for the country as a whole. The results, when recorded, will give valuable guidance of policies and nation, and will serve as a bench-mark or starting point from which to measure future progress.

Industries and manufactures of every description may, for convenience or organization, be considered, according to their size or the capital invested, under three classes, viz., (i) Large scale, (ii) Medium scale, and (iii) Minor. The primary needs of the people are food, clothing, housing and transport. In a country not industrialized like ours, special prominence should be given to industries which supply these four primary needs of the community.

Large scale industries will be those enterprises which require a capital outlay of Rs. 30 lakhs or more each; medium scale industries, those requiring a capital of between Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 30 lakhs and minor or cottage industries will be small concerns the investment on which will not exceed Rs. 1 lakh. This division on the basis of the capital invested is perhaps unscientific and arbitrary, but it is adopted because the outlay required and the procedure to be adopted will depend upon the magnitude of the industry. An industry like textiles may come in any of the three classes and be practised in a province or city in all the three forms.

### LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIES

Large scale industries are important because, generally speaking, they include basic and key industries, require the use of developed machinery and technique, help mass production of staple commodities and represent the highest form of industrial enterprise. The following dozen industries are typical of this class:—Mining : Coal, metallic ores and petroleum ; iron and steel : iron foundries and fabricated steel ; engineering industries—manufacture of engines, pumps and machinery generally ; railway plant, including rolling stock, arms, ammunition and military stores ; automobiles and aircraft machinery ; agricultural tools and machines ; hydro-electric and electrical appliances and machinery ; cotton and woollen textiles ; jute industry ; chemical industries—heavy chemicals and ship and boat building.

Industries of this class in their present stage of development in India require the earnest attention and close support from Government and leading financiers and business men of the country.

When the Provincial Governments become autonomous, the representatives of all the provinces should meet and, in their common interest, evolve an all-India plan to bring into existence the representative large scale industries mentioned above. Each province should take upon itself the responsibility to start and maintain even though at the risk of loss at first to two or three of the large-scale industries according to the resources of the province and the aptitude of its people. If the responsibility is shared in this way, no single province will feel it a heavy burden ; while the country, as a whole, will be able speedily to bring into existence all the enterprises of national importance needed.

Large sums of money are spent abroad every year for the purchase of railway plant and rolling stock and arms, ammunition and military stores. In some years, the money paid for them is as high as Rs. 30 to 40 crores. If the money spent in a single year on these purchases is invested in equipping Government workshops with the requisite plant and machinery, and the necessary expert staff is engaged for a short period, the country can be made self-sufficient in respect of these supplies in a few years. The same object can be gained also if large private local firms are subsidised and contracts for purchasing machinery and plant are placed with them for a reasonably long term of years.

### MEDIUM SCALE INDUSTRIES

Medium scale industries are usually organised and carried on by companies working on the joint-stock principle, although, many of them may also be privately owned. Their first need is that the Provincial Government should, through the departments concerned or otherwise, give proofs of its eagerness to see new industries started and cooperate to that end with the leading merchants and others interested in building up business or in floating companies. The Department of Industries should readily place at the disposal of industrially-minded men records of past investigations of the resources of the province.

Businessmen among the local public should be invited to suggest schemes in which they are interested. Chambers of Commerce and industrial associations, should be asked to furnish suggestions. When the character of an industry requires it, the Provincial Government should engage local or foreign experts to tour through the province and investigate individual schemes. The experts should consult local businessmen and financiers and submit to Government preliminary schemes for new enterprises which, in their opinion, will prove remunerative. Such a preliminary investigation, if undertaken in the diverse ways indicated, will rouse public interest and ensure co-operation, and half-a-dozen to a dozen industrial projects will emerge in each province for detailed investigation and some of them for execution, in less than a year.

The following are a dozen typical examples of medium scale industries :

Engineering industries for manufacture of engines, pumps and machinery ; fabricated steel ; cotton and woollen mills of moderate size, artificial silk ; chemicals and dyes ; sugar ; paper ; match manufacture ; chemical fertilisers ; soaps and candles ; ceramic industries including cement, glass, stone-ware, pipes, etc ; leather products, hides and skins—tanned and dressed and cinema film manufacture.

Many of these industries are already in operation in various parts of the country. Only their number is small, production meagre, and organisation defective. Under suitable protectionist policies and with the Government and leading businessmen working in close cooperation, this class of industries can be made to multiply very fast.

#### MINOR AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Minor and Cottage Industries were extensively practised in India before the British occupation when the country had of necessity to be more or less self-sufficient. But with the progress of communications and the opening up of the country to foreign trade, many of the older industries, such as iron, steel and salt, disappeared through sheer inability to compete with imported products. Minor industries of the older type which have survived are chiefly those associated with agriculture. There is very considerable scope for the extension of minor industries within the country, if a steady policy to encourage local industrial enterprise is pursued. Such minor industries only should be encouraged, in the first instance as supply staple products for which there is a demand within the country. Municipalities, local boards, village panchayats and local associations should encourage the establishment of industries in their midst by granting all reasonable concessions and facilities.

The following is a list of typical handicrafts and minor and cottage industries which can be practised with profit by as large a proportion of the population as possible :—

Metal works :—smithing, agricultural tools and machinery ; Manufacture of metal vessels :—copper, brass, aluminium, etc. ; hand-spinning and weaving, cotton ginning, silk reeling ; carpets and blanket making ; flower milling ; rice milling ; oil mills ; food products, drinks and aerated waters ; cigarettes and bidis ; brick and tile works ; furniture—chairs, tables, benches ; boxes, combs, etc. ; pottery ; mat-making basket and rope-making ; shoe-making ; bee-keeping ; toys ; vegetables dyes, paints, inks, etc. ; pencil manufacture ; buttons ; soaps ; glass works—bangles ; enamelled ware ; printing ; book-binding and house-building.

Industries have for some years now been a Provincial subject, although the Central Government retains the power inter alia of granting tariff protection, regulating banking facilities, adjusting railway freight, and directing commercial and financial policies, all of which vitally affect their progress. The provinces have had little power and practically no funds to devote to this subject.

A sound organisation of fabric should be set up in the country to create a healthy atmosphere for the growth of industries. It should provide for the following half-a-dozen major requirements :

- (i) A general organisation composed of representatives of Government and business men, who, by mutual co-operation, shall maintain an atmosphere favourable to the rapid growth of industries ;
- (ii) Local organisations or Councils in cities, districts and rural areas to encourage local activities in this respect ;
- (iii) Tariff protection ;
- (iv) Banking facilities ;

(v) Information on industrial information;  
 (vi) Information in regard to the Companies Act and the Managing Agency System.

Other contributory facilities needed are:

Exhibitions and Commercial Museums; experimental and Demonstration Stations; industrial research; education, technical, commercial, etc.; Trade Commissioners and commercial intelligence; and transport and freight facilities.

#### GENERAL ORGANISATION

A suitable general organisation should consist of an active Ministry of Industries in the Central Government and a National Economic Council which would meet and deliberate at least once a quarter at the seat of that Government. The latter should contain representative economists, industrialists and financiers, drawn from the chambers of commerce and business associations throughout the country and representing every sphere of the country's economic life. The Economic Council will have an office at Delhi and there will be frequent consultations between the Ministry of Industries and the executive of the Economic Council for the time being. The Council should be able to put forward proposals and measures for promoting industries throughout the country.

A Provincial Economic Council should be established similarly in each province to work in close association with the Minister in charge of Industries. With each of these Provincial Councils should be associated committees of experts to investigate questions and submit results and schemes to Government for practical action.

Both the National Economic Council and the Provincial Councils should enunciate policies for the guidance of unofficial bodies in the country and for influencing the policy and action of Government from time to time. An All-India Industrial Conference should be held at the headquarters of one or the other of the provinces once a year.

#### LOCAL ECONOMIC COUNCILS

For purposes of this organisation, each city and each district should be constituted into a unit area and provide itself with a local Economic Council, and an executive staff maintained from funds raised within the area. In each unit area, there should be a representative of the Government Department of Industries, working whole or part time in close co-operation with this unofficial Council of Industries.

Industries are the concern of the people. Under the organisation proposed, there will be two parallel agencies constituting the industrial structure of the country—one, to represent the Government and the other, the public and local economic interests—both working together in close co-operation in each area so that, in the event of slackness or neglect at any time, one of them at least may be effective and the industrial interests of the area may at all times be adequately safeguarded. I attach great importance to these local economic Councils because they can be established and worked by the people themselves. And it is here that numbers of our educated unemployed can find an opening for their activities and for eventually engaging themselves in occupations not only profitable to themselves but also of vital importance to the country's industrial future; and this, even if no help is forthcoming from Government authorities.

Next to organisation, the most important help which industries in India require is tariff protection, that is, a preferential claim to dispose of the products of local industries in the home market, with the two-fold object of saving the money that would go out of the country, were foreign manufactures purchased, and of giving employment to local labour. The tariff protection at present afforded in this country is inadequate. So long as foreign competition is keen and protection is only discriminatory, and subvention and subsidies are practically unknown, new industries have small chance of making headway. Higher tariffs and more substantial protection are essential to inspire confidence and induce people to risk money in industries.

#### BANKING FACILITIES

Complaints were heard before the recent Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee that existing banks did not afford sufficient financial facilities to local business men. On account of lack of sound policies and organisation in this country, the co-operation between commercial men, industrialists and bankers is feeble and

the economic activities have no relation to the magnitude of the interests involved. Unless industrial banks are brought into existence and form the backbone of our industries the problem of obtaining finance and working capital will remain just as acute as it is to-day, because no banks of the present type can afford to tie up the capital on long loans which industries would really like to have. If Indian industries are to thrive, the banking organisation should be brought up to the level maintained in self-governing countries like Germany and Japan and in the Dominion in Canada.

#### SOME CONTRIBUTORY FACILITIES

I have described half-a-dozen major requirements for the organisation and development of industries. There are, however, at least as many supplementary facilities to be provided for, which should not be ignored in this connection.

**Exhibitions and Museums.**—Industrial exhibitions are happily becoming a common feature in various parts of India. The responsibility for financing periodical industrial exhibitions should be shared by municipalities and district boards in every part of the country.

**Experimental and Demonstration Stations.**—Industrial experimental stations should be established by the Government Department of Industries in large cities, and other industrial centres, to give practical instruction in at least half-a-dozen minor cottage industries in order to bring employment to, and produce the commodities needed in, the immediate neighbourhood. These stations may give instruction and guidance in a variety of industries and occupations, according to local needs and the resources at their disposal.

**Industrial Research.**—Investigation of business conditions and scientific research should be continually pursued in relation to every important industry in order to improve the quality of the products, reduce costs of manufacture and maintain its competitive strength. Such improvements are necessary in themselves and certainly indispensable in the face of foreign competition.

If Industries of the same class would work together, they might all subscribe towards a common fund to carry on research. The universities should be able to supply the necessary scientific equipment and trained intelligence for the purpose. Research problems pertaining to industries might in this way be distributed as in Germany, among the various institutes of science and university colleges of engineering and chemical technology.

**Education :—Technical, Commercial, etc.**—Universities should be able to provide the necessary equipment and graduate personnel for industrial research. The universities should also give special prominence to degrees in technology, commerce and agriculture.

There should be a large number of special business institutes and schools in the country at which graduates and middle-class businessmen might receive the finishing touches of training needed to manage a factory, farm or shop. Industrial and technical institutes and universities should arrange for regular evening classes by acknowledged experts in all industrial towns to enable practical men to improve their knowledge and qualify for more responsible position in their own business.

Other educational facilities needed are the deputation of students to foreign countries; changing the character of education in all grades of institutions so as to provide an industrial bias; and extensive mass education, special attention being given to the education of adults.

Lastly, the majority of the rural population should, as in the United States of America, receive training in mechanics, to make them efficient producers in industries and give them a "machine sense." This will bring the education of the masses to practical standards.

**Foreign Grade Agencies and Commercial Intelligence.**—In the year 1930, the Government of India proposed to appoint six Indian Trade Commissioners in Europe, America, Africa and the Near East with the object of developing India's export trade in foreign markets. The centres selected for these Commissioners were Hamburg, Milan, New York, Durban, Mombasa and Alexandria. It is not known how many of the offices have been opened; and even if all of the six offices have been, the number is wholly inadequate.

There is a Commercial Intelligence Section in the Commerce Department of the Government of India, but it is shaped on a very modest scale and very little is heard of the department's activities outside Calcutta.

Railway Freight Rates.—Freight rates on railways have to be examined and re-adjusted from time to time according to the needs of industry and commerce. The existing arrangements, in spite of the appointment of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, have not given satisfaction to Indian industrialists. An impression prevails that there are concession rates for imported goods but the rates and fares from and to industrial centres within the country impose a burden on industry. The interests of industry demand that the rates for coal, cotton and other materials to industrial centres and for finished products from those centres to internal markets should be the lowest possible. The adjustment would be easy, if Government were advised in such matters by an All-India Economic Council.

The suggestions I have made are in accordance with world practices to-day. Sir Arthur Salter of the Secretariat of the League of Nations was consulted by the Government of India in June 1931 on these questions. He also recommended the early establishment of Central and Provincial Economic Advisory Councils almost on the lines set forth by me. It is not known what orders the Government of India have passed on Sir Arthur's report or whether they have any alternative proposals in view. "Indian industries," he remarked, "while already important enough, are at present small in comparison with her agriculture, and small also in relation to the future extension which they are no doubt destined to achieve." This is another way of saying what I have already expressed in plainer language, that India is not utilizing her abundant resources and unequalled opportunities for industrial development.

#### SIMLA INDUSTRIES CONFERENCE

We have read in the papers the announcement that an Industries Conference will be held at Simla on the 13th instant and that it will be attended by the Directors of Industries and Ministers in charge of the Industries portfolio in the various provinces. Judging from the published agenda, it will be a gathering exclusively of official representatives : businessmen or other non-officials will take no part in its deliberations. With past experience before us, it will be safe to predict that a few isolated questions may be discussed at random, but there will be no precision, no point. As a result, some work, no doubt, will be done in the coming year, some more reports written, perhaps a few more appointments made ; and when the Conference meets next year, if it meets at all, there will be the same indefiniteness as there is at present and no one will be appreciably the wiser for the year's work.

If the coming Conference wishes to depart from precedent and to strike out boldly a new line of action demanded by the exigencies of the moment, I would specify a few things that should and might be done.

First and foremost, steps should be taken to gather reliable statistics, such as, number of Indian concerns, of Indian capital invested, gross income, value of products and other similar data including those of minor industries. These will afford a starting-point for the coming year's work, and a similar stock-taking next year indicate the progress made in the intervening year. Secondly, some steps should be taken to introduce an industrial organization on the lines explained by me at some length in this address or in the alternative, the one, recommended by Sir Arthur Salter. Thirdly, the Conference might plan an increase of production from industries so as to make the income therefrom equal to the total income from agriculture, say, within ten year's time. A fourth suitable measure would be to grant subsidies to and subscribe towards the capital of companies dealing with new products. If Government did this, they will be giving a very real assurance of their sympathy and support. A fifth desirable measure would be to induce Provincial Governments to pool their resources and facilitate the establishment of at least one factory for each of the large scale industries not yet started in the country, such as automobiles, railway plant and machinery, mill machinery, electrical appliances and machinery and large size turbines, engines and pumps. A sixth measure is to advise the people by propaganda to reduce the imports of finished goods as far as possible, an exception being made in the case of machinery and plant required for industrial construction. Yet another measure would be to introduce a change of policy in the Central Government so that they may act as a co-ordinating authority and place at the head of the whole industrial organization for the coming year, an officer of recognized ability and enthusiasm.

Dependence on foreign manufactures for staple products, such as clothing, steel, sugar and salt which, the people of this country were at one time not only manufacturing for themselves but also exporting to foreign lands, would in any part of the world be regarded as a sign of grave national decay. If purchases of clothing and such other necessaries have to be paid for from the meagre earning from agriculture as is done here, no country can escape impoverishment. The result of past neglect of industries has been deplorable. There are too many people dependent on agriculture and too few on industries. The balance between agriculture and industries is dislocated. The income per head of the population is the lowest among countries which have an ordered Government. The average per capita income from industries is insignificant, being as low as about one-fortieth of that in Great Britain or one-eighthieth of what it is in the United States of America. The foreign debt of India is growing and the peasantry is heavily immersed in debt. In a year like the present the ryot has no purchasing power; all occupations are starved. Our only hope of advance in the immediate future, therefore, lies in the rapid industrialisation of the country. I do not believe that the authorities in Simla would be unwilling to help industries if they could. But the more important questions raised are outside their powers of action or decision. The problems involved are political and there is an inherent conflict of interests. There has been little progress in the past because in shaping policies and measures the existence of this conflict has been ignored. The problem must be met by concessions and compromise on both sides. The Government of the country should make up its mind to do for the people in this matter what other national Governments are doing for theirs. Real economic progress is not possible with a non-modern organisation such as we have and with the ideas of the Manchester School referred to by Sir Basil Blackett still dominating the policies of the Secretary of State and the Central Government.

Industrialization has to be organized, planned and worked for. If left to the chances of natural growth under the existing unnatural limitations, it is impossible to expect any real progress. Not only can there be no progress, but there is a very real danger of a further set-back, a further drift towards ruralization, with consequences which one dreads to contemplate. It is for those in authority, to consider whether by timely and effective measures such a drift should not be checked and checked at once. Let us hope that, in drafting the proposed safeguards, the statesmen and delegates engaged in framing the new Constitution for India, in London, will take note of the grave disabilities upon which I have endeavoured to lay stress and which threaten still further to lower the income and standards of living our people.

## Swadeshi Movement in India

### Progress in 1932-33

The following Report was issued by Mr. Mukut Behari Lal, general secretary, All-India Swadeshi Sangha, Benares :—

On Jan. 22, 1932, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji issued an appeal to his countrymen, urging them to practise national economy and to promote Swadeshi. On March 12, 1932, he started the All-India Swadeshi Sangha at Benares and appealed to the people to establish Swadeshi associations all over the country. About the same time Mr. B. Shiva Rao took up the work in Madras and vigorously promoted the establishment of "Buy Indian Leagues" in the Madras Presidency. During the year over a hundred and seventy Swadeshi associations and Buy Indian Leagues were organised in different parts of the country. Provincial Swadeshi Sanghas were formed in Madras, Maharashtra, Bengal, Karnataka, Bombay, Sind, Delhi, Marhatta C. P. and in the United Provinces. The movement also penetrated the Indian States. Madhya Bharat Swadeshi Sangha and Saurashtra Swadeshi Sangha carried on vigorous Swadeshi propaganda in Central India and Kathiawar respectively. In cooperation with the Buy Indian League, Madras, Swadeshi movement was also being carried on the States in South India, notably in Mysore. The movement received support from all classes of the people. It was carried on by means of securing Swadeshi pledges, house to house visits of

individuals and groups of men and women, the publication and distribution of handbills, pamphlets, posters, directory and Swadeshi bhajans, and the organisation of public meetings, processions, exhibitions, museums, bazars and stores. A few periodicals on Swadeshi were also published. In the history of the Swadeshi movement the year is likely to remain memorable for the number of Swadeshi exhibitions, held in various parts of the country. Twenty-five all-India Swadeshi exhibitions and a large number of local Swadeshi bazars and exhibitions were held. Moving exhibitions of Swadeshi goods were also organised along with processions. In spite of economic depression most of the exhibitions were great successes. In this connection we owe special thanks to our vice-president Sir P. O. Roy, who not only organised the provincial Swadeshi Sangha in Bengal, but also inspired and encouraged people throughout the country in the cause of Swadeshi by responding to the requests to open Swadeshi exhibitions and to preside over other Swadeshi functions in many places. In response to the appeal made by our president, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, the 20th May was specially observed as a Swadeshi Day throughout the country. On that day countless Swadeshi pledges were taken, handbills were distributed, meetings and processions were organised and in many places Swadeshi exhibitions, bazars and stores were opened. The Swadeshi Day, thus, gave a great impetus to the movement. In response to the appeal of the all-India Swadeshi Sangha, more than sixty municipal and district boards communicated to us their resolutions to buy as far as possible Swadeshi goods for their requirements. Some of them were pursuing this policy for many years, but the majority passed the resolutions referred to above in response to the request of the central office. It is gratifying to know that a number of other public associations took keen interest in the Swadeshi movement. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League, the Sikh Independence League, Amritsar, the all-India ladies' Conference at Lucknow and many other public associations and conferences passed resolutions in favour of the Swadeshi movement and exhorted their members to promote the manufacture, use and sale of Swadeshi goods. A number of Swadeshi exhibitions were held by some of these associations. The All-India Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association, Allahabad, issued detailed instructions to their scoutmasters to promote the cause of Swadeshi.

The spirit of Swadeshi which prevailed in the country for the last three years considerably helped the Indian industries during the period of acute economic depression. The Swadeshi spirit and movement not only saved Indian industries from ruin but also promoted the industrial development of the country. It is important to note that during this period of economic depression while the production of cotton cloth in other countries considerably decreased, India produced a greater quantity of cloth than in previous years. A number of Swadeshi stores were opened and many industries were organised.

Thus during the last year the Swadeshi movement made considerable progress and promoted the use, manufacture and sale of Swadeshi or indigenous goods. Still there is need for greater efforts in the coming year. The new industries will need constant support and encouragement for a number of years. Our industrial development has not yet been sufficient even to meet our growing needs, not to speak of capturing the market already lost by us. The growth of imports of foreign manufactured goods has not yet been arrested. During the last year while exports of merchandise constantly decreased, our import of manufactured goods increased considerably. The import of piecegoods increased from 14 crores, 72 lacs (cotton goods 13.71) to 21 crores and 98 lacs of rupees (cotton good 20.06 crores). The import of cloth increased by 4.14 crores from England and by 2.38 crores from Japan. The import of cotton yarn and twist also increased by over 90 lacs of rupees, more than 80 lacs of this increase was from Japan. The growth of the import of cotton cloth during this period of economic crisis has begun to be keenly felt by the Indian industry. It is hoped that all classes of the people, fully realising the benefits and the need of the Swadeshi movement, will carry on this movement with redoubled vigour. For the success of the movement it is necessary that a well-coordinated network of the Swadeshi Sanghas and Buy Indian Leagues be formed throughout the country including Indian states. Public spirited persons are therefore requested to organise Swadeshi Sanghas in places where one does not exist. Local and provincial Swadeshi associations are also requested to get themselves affiliated soon with the provincial and the all-India Swadeshi Sanghas respectively.

# THE SUGAR CONFERENCE

Opening Day—Simla—10th. July 1933

The following is the official list of subjects discussed at the Sugar Conference which commenced at Simla on the 10th July 1933 :

(1) To consider whether, having regard to the present demand for sugar in India and its possible expansion in the future, the present rate of development of the sugar industry is satisfactory, excessive or inadequate;

(2) To consider whether either the sugarcane growers or the sugar manufacturers are unduly benefitted at the expense of the consumer and whether the benefits of protection granted to the industry, are being fairly distributed between the different interests;

(3) To consider whether in the interests of the sound development of sugarcane cultivation and of the sugar manufacturing industry, it is desirable and practicable to regulate the relations between sugarcane growers and sugar manufacturers whether by zoning, licensing of factories, fixation of cane prices or other means;

(4) To consider whether legislation is necessary for the better regulation of the Indian sugar industry, and, if so, to what extent such legislation should be central and to what extent provincial.

## REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE PROVINCES

The following attended the Conference :—

Government of India: Sir Fazl-i-Hussain (President), Sir Joseph Bhore, Sir Frank Noyce, Mr. A. H. Lloyd, Mr. T. A. Stewart, Mr. Ramechandra, Mr. Burt and Mr. R. G. Srivastava.

Madras: The Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan, the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Kumaraswami Reddiar, Mr. S. V. Ramamurti and Mr. V. Ramakrishna (official); Rao Bahadur Narasimha Raju, Mr. W. C. Wright (non-official).

Bombay: The Hon. Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, Mr. P. B. Advani, and Mr. V. V. Gadgil (official).

Bengal: The Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui, Dr. Heetor (official).

United Provinces: The Hon. J. P. Srivastava, Mr. S. P. Shah and Mr. Allan (official); Mr. J. M. Lownie and Mr. Ajodhia Das (non-official).

Punjab: The Hon. Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, the Hon. Dr. Gokulehanda Narang, Mr. R. Stewart and Rai Bahadur Lala Ramlal (official); Sardar Bishan Singh (non-official).

Bihar and Orissa: The Hon. Khan Bahadur Sayyid Mohammad Hussain, Mr. H. C. Prior, Mr. S. Lall and Mr. D. R. Sethi (official); Colonel C. G. Lees; and Mr. D. P. Khaitan (non-official).

Hyderabad: The Secretary, Department of Commerce and Industries, the Director of Agriculture and the Director of Industries and Commerce.

Mysore: Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Leslie O. Coleman, and Mr. A. V. Ramanatham.

Mr. S. R. Zaman, I. O. S. Officiating Additional Deputy Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, acted as the Secretary of the Conference.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, presiding over the Conference, which met in the committee-room of the Assembly buildings, reviewed the agricultural condition, and stressed the importance of developing the sugar industry with a view to facing world competition. The economic condition in many parts of the country was far from satisfactory and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain paid a tribute to the cultivator who had shown remarkable patience, perseverance, courage and faith under very adverse circumstances, when the return to him was far from satisfactory. He also paid a tribute to the land-owning classes for similar courage, when the income in some cases was reaching the vanishing point.

The Local Governments had shown great wisdom, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain observed, in all cases, by the distribution of takkavi and by sympathetically tackling the problems of the agriculturists. For three years this situation had gone on, placing a great strain on the resources of the country. But the Local Governments, the land-owners and the cultivator had faced the calamity in a spirit of mutual goodwill. The silver lining was the sugarcane industry which, during the last few years, had developed, particularly assisted by protective duties. The condition precedent to an efficient industry was identity of interests between the producers and industrialists.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain alluded to the very useful work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and also of the Sugar Committee and said that the present was the most momentous for the development of the sugar industry. It was necessary to know the work that was being done in provinces and all what others were doing and to examine the proposals for future. Local Governments had sent unequivocally strong replies favouring a review by holding a conference. The Sugar Technologist had shown considerable zeal in entering into the spirit of the great enterprise, which was of setting up an efficient industry capable of facing the world competition and drawn up notes which would be helpful to the Conference. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain specially mentioned the forecast made for 1934-34, whereby it was hoped that India would produce as much sugar as she consumed at present. There were 124 factories expected to be at work in 1933-34.

#### DISCUSSIONS—QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The Conference next discussed the question whether, having regard to the present demand for sugar in India and its possible expansion in the future, the present rate of development of the sugar industry was satisfactory, excessive or inadequate.

Mr. D. P. Khaitan (representative of the Sugar manufacturers in Bihar and Orissa) thought that the development of the sugar industry had been more satisfactory than expected. From the viewpoint of the whole of India, he realised the need for seeing that excessive production in one province did not clash with the needs and ambitions of other provinces. He expected that the taste of consumers might change in the near future, and that the people might prefer white sugar for gur. Therefore, though the rate of development had been very quick to meet the present demand from internal sources, from the view point of the future demand for white sugar, the speaker held that there was still ample room for further development of the sugar industry.

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari (Mysore) generally agreed with Mr. Khaitan. He observed that at present there were ten thousand acres ready for cane cultivation in Mysore under the Cauvery project, and within a few years, cultivation would increase to thirty to forty thousand acres. In that case, they would require ten up-to-date factories at the rate of three thousand acres for each. He opined that while the development of sugar factories had been fairly adequate, it was not quite adequate, considering the requirements of the people. With the growth of the industry, efforts should be made to increase consumption.

Mr. Prior (Bihar and Orissa) observed that the supply of cane would be very large in 1934-35. Therefore, it was a primary necessity to increase the exports.

Mr. Nizamuddin Hyder (Hyderabad State) feared that any further extension of the industry in the United Provinces and Bihar might result in other provinces having no markets for their sugar. Speaking for Hyderabad, he referred to the Tungabhadra and other projects, whereby there would be large area under cane cultivation. Big factories were therefore needed. He concluded with an appeal to the United Provinces and Bihar : "Let us also have a chance."

#### BIHAR MINISTER'S RESOLUTION

Syed Muhammad Hussain (Bihar Minister) without a speech, moved the following resolution :

"Whereas the recent development of the sugar industry in India has been rapid although it cannot be said to have been excessive, and whereas owing to the general fall in the prices of agricultural produce, there has been a natural tendency towards an increase in the area under sugarcane, this conference is of opinion :

(1) that when modern factories now under construction are working at full speed, it is likely that these and the existing factories will produce sufficient white sugar to meet the existing demand for white sugar;

(2) that in view of the consideration that whilst the potential supply of raw material is very large, the demand for sugar in India is limited, further extension should be carefully watched in the interests of the establishment of a sound industry; and

(3) that if the production of sugarcane expands beyond the actual requirements, it would be extremely difficult and indeed almost impossible for any reasonable level of price for sugar to be maintained."

*Mr. Srivatsava*, Minister, U. P., observed that U. P. was not so pessimistic for she was not convinced that the limit to production or consumption has been reached.

*Dr. Narang*, Minister, Punjab, agreed that the development was satisfactory, but not excessive. Consumption of white sugar was very low. It was painful to contemplate that while sugarcane production was six tons per acre in Java, it was only 1.17 in India. The percentage of extraction in Indian mills must increase from nine to twelve and the yield of sugarcane to thirty.

*Dr. Narang* complained of excessive freights, and hoped that no inter-provincial rivalry would be brought into the matter.

*Mr. P. T. Rajan*, Minister, Madras, could not accept the resolution of the Bihar Minister. If Madras had not taken to sugarcane cultivation on a large scale, it was because paddy yielded fairly good results; but at present paddy prices were low and the situation had changed. New factories were about to be established. Even if Bihar and the United Provinces could claim to supply India's present need for white sugar, there could be increased cultivation of cane crop and production of sugar in other areas. Export might be stimulated under the Ottawa preferences.

*Sir Jogendra Singh*, Minister, Punjab, stressed the point of view of the Punjab agriculturists, stating that the time had not come for restriction of cultivation as there were only two factories in the province.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* putting the resolution of the Bihar Minister to vote, explained its clauses. He observed that each province should know the designs of the other in regard to the sugar industry.

All the parts of the resolution were carried by a majority of votes, in each case Bihar and the United Provinces block greatly contributing to the majority. Some delegates remained neutral.

After the resolution was passed, *Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* observed that there had been unnecessary apprehensions about Bihar and the United Provinces. It was for the Ministers in the provinces to formulate policies. The Government of India were no more than mere convenors of the conference. He appealed to all provinces not to enter upon a sort of cut-throat competition, but to regard the problem from an all-India point of view in order to set up an efficient industry capable of meeting world competition.

#### DISCUSSION ON PROTECTION

The second item relating to benefits of protection was then taken up.

*Mr. Narasingha Raju* observed that no factories should get more than ten per cent. *Mr. Raju* wanted to ascertain the real intention of the Government of India in convening the conference. If they considered that they required some guidance from them, then, there was no necessity for adopting a resolution.

*Sir Fazl-i-Hussain* explained that it was but ordinary practice in a conference of this character that when a matter was discussed at length, the result was recorded in the form of a resolution. There was no other motive behind such a course. However, he would like to take the opinion of the House.

The conference, by twelve against eleven, decided that no resolution be passed.

*Sir Jogender Singh*, at this stage, pointed out that U. P. and Bihar and Orissa were over-represented, as against other provinces.

Discussion on the second item was then resumed.

*Dewan Bahadur S. Kunarasiami Reddy*, Minister, Madras, observed that manufacturers were getting a great deal more than what the Thrift Board expected they would get.

*Mr. Wright* (representative of sugar manufacturers, Madras) supported this view on the basis of the facts supplied.

Mr. Hector, Director of Agriculture, Bengal, observed that Bengal had no such experience.

Sir Jogender Singh observed that no data was available to opine whether the distribution of profits between the manufacturer and the producer was fair or not, but his impression was that it was not.

This view was contested by Dr. Narang, the other Minister from the Punjab, who held that the present distribution was quite fair. Referring to the factory in the Punjab, he said that it had not yielded a single pie to the share-holders. The main difficulty was that there was no guarantee of adequate supply of cane. It was no use fixing the price of cane. Matters should be followed to adjust themselves; otherwise there would be "sugar infanticide." His opinion was that the cultivator was getting cent per cent profits, taking all his expenses into account. Wherever there was a factory, there the cultivator had made profits. The consumer had no cause to grumble, because he did obtain benefit from international competition.

Mr. Bishan Singh (Punjab cane-growers' representative) complained that the whole of the benefit went to the manufacturer at the expense of the grower.

The Hyderabad representative had nothing to say, as there was no factory in the State.

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari (Mysore) observed that their factory was not in full working order.

Mr. Prior, Revenue Secretary, Bihar, thought that if five-and-a-half annas per maund were actually paid to the cultivator, distribution would be fair, but this amount did not actually reach the hands of the cultivator, as the contractors came in between and took away their own share. He supported legislation to ensure that the price that the factory intended to pay was actually paid to the cultivator.

Mr. Khaitan generally endorsed Dr. Narang's views, and contended that but for the establishment of factories, agriculturists would not be earning so much. As a matter of fact in Bengal, some jute growers had taken to sugar-cane growing, because it yielded more than jute under protection. He objected to fixing the price for cane, for they would have also to fix the price of sugar, and the poor consumer would be left in the lurch. The benefits from protection were being fairly distributed.

Mr. Srivastava (Minister, United Provinces) informed the Conference that twenty factories would be set up next season in addition to the thirty-five already working. The condition of the grower was worse off in the northern districts of U. P. than in the southern districts.

Mr. Das quoted the views of Sir George Rainy and Sir Malcom Hailey for action to protect the interests of the grower and observed that agriculturists did not get a fair share.

Mr. Padampat (Sugar manufacturers' interests, United Provinces) referred to the resolution of the Indian Federation of Chambers.

Mr. Kamblia, Minister, Bombay, observed that next year they would have five factories in addition to the one at present, but thought that in the peculiar conditions of his province, factories should have their own estates. No resolution was passed in accordance with the decision on the point raised by Mr. Narasingha Raju.

## Second Day—Simla—the 11th. July 1933

The main question whether the relations between the grower of sugar cane and the manufacturer of sugar should be regulated by legislation or not, presented itself before the Conference to-day, and divergent views were expressed by the Minister from the provinces and representatives from the Indian States.

Mr. Srivastava (U. P. Minister) presented the draft of the Bill indicating the lines on which the problem could be tackled. His province was for the zoning system, which would be advantageous alike to the cultivators and the manufacturers.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, Member for Industries, Mysore, observed that the provisional conclusions of his Government were that steps should be taken to regulate the growth of industry on the basis of a fair relationship between the grower, who generally could not assert himself, and who might get his share, after harvesting, as against the manufacturer who could decide to stock his produce and sell whenever and wherever he liked. The system of licensing factories together with zoning of areas

for the supply of cane, was therefore necessary and practicable. The Mysore Government had also prepared a draft Bill to invite public opinion.

The Hyderabad representative endorsed the Mysore representative's observations.

Dr. Narang, speaking personally, said that he did not share the U. P. Minister's views, and thought it better to leave matters as they were for some time.

Sir Jogendra Singh, on behalf of growers, wanted the legislation suggested.

Mr. Hector (Bengal Official) agreed with Dr. Narang and opposed legislation.

Mr. Adwani (Director of Industries, Bombay) observed that the Bombay Government had not considered the question of legislation and preferred some steps whereby factory-owners could be guaranteed an adequate cane-supply by being compelled to own estates for growing cane.

#### BIHAR GOVERNMENT'S SPOKESMAN

Mr. Prior, Revenue Secretary, Bihar Government, voicing the views of his Government considered that legislation for fixing a minimum price was not only unnecessary at the present time, but that it would be impracticable to enforce such a decision. It was impossible to regulate the price paid by the contractor to the cultivator. Further, fixing of price was difficult, for canes brought from distant places, after a day or two, would not fetch the same price as the canes sent near about the factory. There was also another difficulty as mills were not assured of a continuous supply. The only method whereby they could be assured of a regular supply was by fair dealing by the mills with the ryot and thus securing his confidence. Zoning would not be useful. If a monopoly over a certain area was created for a certain factory, the ryot in that area would be allowed to be established there in order to ensure fair competition. He was satisfied that a fair price was obtained by the cane-grower in Bihar and there was no doubt that the same conditions might continue.

Col. Less, representing the cane-growers' interests of Bihar, generally agreed with Mr. Prior, and said that the zoning system was neither practicable nor necessary. However, he advocated the licensing of sugar factories.

Mr. Lowine (U. P. sugar manufacturer) said that as regards Bihar he could not agree with Mr. Prior. From his experience, he thought that the cane-grower would find zoning of much benefit, as it would stimulate extensive and improved growing of cane in the neighbourhood of factories.

#### MADRAS MINISTER'S SUGGESTION

Deican Bahadur Kumaraswami Reddi (Madras Minister) said that the main purpose of the Conference was to find out ways and means to combat the evil of over-production, as also to remove the internal and inter provincial jealousies. The best remedy, therefore, was to find a responsible outlet for indigenous production. According to the Ottawa Agreement, India was entitled to the same preference of four shillings per hundred weight as other Dominions. He would suggest an amendment of the Act of 1923 so as to divert the extra margin of profits obtained by the manufacturer to be given as bounties to exporters. Legislation with regard to this matter could not possibly be undertaken by the Local Governments themselves. If legislation of this type was passed by the Central Government he was sure their objective of convening the conference would have been achieved.

Mr. Khaitan spoke against licensing contractors for the present and also against licensing factories or the zoning of the areas. At the same time, he pleaded for consideration of the question of molasses. He opined that the best way to ensure good relations between the manufacturer and the cane grower was to allow the establishment of co-operative societies.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain suggested the appointment of a committee to examine Mr. Srivastava's proposal, and submit a report. That report would not be binding on the conference, which could however profit by any views for or against the proposal.

The Conference agreed to the suggestion, but Dr. Narang protested against the manner in which the members were chosen.

#### PROVISIONS OF MYSORE BILL

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, Member of the Mysore Executive Council in charge of Industries and Commerce, circulated to the Conference a draft Bill, entitled

the Sugar Factories Regulation, to provide for the fostering and development of the sugar industry in Mysore.

The Bill *inter alia* states that the Government shall grant licences for the manufacture of sugar to persons on such conditions and for such periods as it may deem fit. The Government may prescribe, among other things, the place where a factory is to be located, the area within which the operations of the factory should extend and the price at which the factory shall purchase sugarcane. They reserve the power to frame rules for fixing the price or prices at which sugarcane is to be purchased by the factory.

Those carrying on the business of manufacturing sugar in contravention of this regulation are punishable with a fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000. A fine of Rs. 200 would be imposed if a person refused to furnish any information when asked by the Government or fraudulently used any license issued under the Regulation. A similar punishment is proposed for any association or firm, every partner, member, manager or secretary and other officer thereof, knowingly a party to the default.

The Government may also take possession of any factory wherein the manufacture of sugar has been carried on without a license and confiscate the machinery used for that purpose.

The Regulation shall come into force in such areas and from such a date as notified by the Gazette.

The Government, by notification, can suspend or revoke a license. Their decision is to be final, whether or not a licence may be granted.

The Government for the purpose of the Regulation may declare what articles or substances containing any saccharine matter shall be deemed to be sugar.

#### U. P. MINISTER'S DRAFT BILL

No factory, under the U. P. Draft Bill, shall buy sugarcane grown outside the area of operations assigned to it without the previous sanction of the Government.

The Bill further provides that no factory shall buy sugarcane from any person other than (a) landholder or a tenant upon whose land sugarcane was grown, or (b) a contractor licensed under the provision of Section 6 of the Act.

The Local Government may, from time to time, by a notification published in the official Gazette, fix the minimum price at which factories or contractors or any particular factory or factories or any particular contractor or contractors shall buy sugar-cane or any particular class or classes of sugarcane.

The Local Government may, by a notification in the local official Gazette, appoint such persons as it thinks fit to be inspectors of factories, within such local limits as it may assign to them respectively.

The Act states that the District Magistrate shall be an inspector under this Act.

In his memorandum on behalf of the U. P. Government, Mr. Srivastava maintains that the object of the Act is to secure all-round development and to get the full benefit of the tariff.

The rough draft of the Bill submitted by the Hon. Mr. Srivastava at the Conference, provides that in future no factory be established and no operations be carried on in any factory, present or future, except under a licence from the Local Government who would be assisted at the time of the issue of licenses by a committee consisting of two representatives of cane-growers, two of factory-owners and one nominee of the Local Government.

The Local Government from time to time, may notify the minimum price at which factories or contractors shall buy cane.

In support of this draft Bill, Mr. Srivastava presented a memorandum pointing out the need for action as a policy of drift would be no longer fair to the growers or factories, and might lead to an agrarian revolt. Zoning combined with the fixation of price, would eliminate old economic ideas of endless competition and war and introduce an element of peace and stability in the industrial organisation. A further development would be that the contractor would be replaced by co-operative societies in the zone areas and therefore incorrect payments or wrong weighments would also disappear.

#### Third Day—Simla—12th July 1933.

The debate in the Conference to-day centred on the question of zoning, which a majority of the committee had observed was unnecessary.

Dr. Narang, supporting this view, said that, if introduced, the zoning system would almost ruin the agriculturists. Competition between the factories was the only definite safeguard which the agriculturist possessed for a fair rate for his cane.

Mr. Khaitan suggested that an *ad hoc* representative committee be appointed, with a view to suggesting, with the help of Sugar Technologist, measures to stabilise the industry and ensure a fair price for the cultivator.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain reminded the Conference that already committees existed in the Provinces and that the Imperial Council with the help of the Governing Body was rendering assistance in the matter.

Mr. Khaitan handed over a resolution, signed by several members, which wanted that steps should be taken for the disposal of molasses in sugar factories by manufacturing therefrom power alcohol, and mixing it with petrol in some definite proportion. This led to a discussion on molasses.

Mr. Kambli suggested that a cess of four annas per cwt. of sugar should be utilised for research, propaganda, etc.

Mr. Lownie observed that the cost of extraction of alcohol at the place of manufacture would be about six annas per gallon.

Mr. Wright (Madrns) supported the idea of alcohol extraction, and thought that petrol interests would not suffer thereby.

Mr. Khaitan further supporting the idea suggested central legislation providing for a definite proportion of power alcohol extracted from molasses to be mixed in the petrol used in India and thereby helping in checking in the import of Soviet petrol.

This concluded the Conference, items three and four having been disposed of by general observations on the Committee's report. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain thanked the members of the Conference and observed that his colleagues in the Government of India had greatly profited by their views. Mr. P. T. Rajan and Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari thanked Sir Fazl-i-Hussain for convening the conference. Although no definite conclusions had been reached they stated that they had understood the viewpoint of all interests on the problem.

The general impression left was that the Conference had not approved of central legislation and it was a matter for doubt how the United Provinces would in face of the views expressed by Bihar and other provinces venture on legislation or take other steps to fix prices for cane.

#### Mr. Satyamurti on Conference Fiasco

"It seems to be the fashion for conferences to meet and dissolve after discussion and without coming to any conclusions. The latest example of this is the Sugar Conference at Simla. Several proposals were made but none of them were accepted. Then why was this Conference summoned at all? Who is to foot the bill of travelling allowance and other expenses of the delegates to this Conference from distant parts of India. The questions before the conference were of course difficult of solution. Otherwise, there was no need for any Conference at all. Incidentally, the discussions in this conference show the immense possibilities for provincial jealousy standing in the way of intelligent and planned development of the agricultural and industrial possibilities of India. The suggestion for zoning will no doubt affect certain provinces adversely but in the absence of some such arrangement one can see great avoidable loss to the industry and agriculture involved in sugar making."

"But another question which should have been solved at this conference and would have been, were India governing herself, was the question of the utilisation of molasses for purposes of manufacturing alcohol to be used along with petrol. This is a sensible proposition which will make the industry more self-reliant and will reduce the consumption of imported petrol all round. But for some curious reason or other the President did not allow this matter to come to a head. Obviously, the matter cannot be allowed to rest there. The future of the sugar industry in this country is largely bound up with the satisfactory solution of the problem of the proper and economic utilisation of the waste products of the manufacture. The sooner this problem is tackled the better".

# THE INDUSTRIES CONFERENCE

Opening Day—Simla—13th. July 1933

The Industries Conference commenced its session at Simla on the 13th. July 1933. Sir Frank Noyce, Member for Industries and Labour, who presided over the Conference, said :

"Before proceeding to details, I should just like to echo His Excellency's welcome, and say I count it a great privilege to meet you and have the opportunity of a discussion with you. Too much of the average official's life is spent in correspondence; and speaking as one who spent more time than most men in the attempt to get information and guidance from personal contacts, I know these usually result in prompter and fuller understanding than is possible on paper.

"I wish first to put before you proposals for our procedure. There are thirteen items of varying importance. I feel it would be more expeditious if we could discuss the majority of these in two separate panels. Most provinces and States have two representatives and it would be open to them to send one to each panel.

"The scheme I wish to put before you is described in the papers placed before you this forenoon. We should devote to-day to a single subject, namely, item 1. The full Conference would also meet to-morrow morning, to discuss items 2 and 3 and on Saturday morning to discuss items 8 and 9.

The panels would meet this afternoon. The first panel would be entrusted with items, 4, 6, 10 and 11; and the second panel with items five, six, twelve and thirteen. This would mean that neither the full conference nor any of the panels would be obliged to discuss more than two items at a sitting and I hope you will agree that to insist on more would be unreasonable. If the panels and the conference get on more rapidly than we expect, the conclusions of the panels could be reviewed on Friday or Saturday forenoon, but otherwise I propose that we should reserve Saturday afternoon for a brief review of the work of the panels.

"Before taking the first item, I would like to express one hope that if it is proposed to spend money, those putting forward such proposals will indicate at the start what they propose to spend themselves. I propose in every case to treat all memoranda as read. You will, I think, agree that collectively they have given us most of the salient facts.

"I should add that no press representatives are present, and although we are retaining a brief record of the proceedings, we do not publish any detailed discussion; and shall certainly not publish any individual views without the express sanction of those expressing them. I hope, therefore, you will feel no restraint in this matter. We have prepared no resolutions whatever and I do not propose that we should not adopt any, but I shall try, at the end of each item, to sum up the sense of the conference and set down the general conclusions, if any are reached, for your approval."

## QUESTION OF FINANCIAL AID

The Conference devoted the forenoon to a discussion of the question of financial aid to industries. Particulars were given by nearly all the provinces and States represented, of the grants and loans given to industrialists in recent years and of the extent to which these loans had proved successful.

The question of the policy which should be pursued in the future was also discussed, and certain aspects of it were referred to a sub-committee to meet under the chairmanship of Mr. Srivastava.

## MEETING OF PANELS

In the afternoon, the Conference met in two separate panels. The first panel sitting under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Noyce discussed co-ordination and development of statistics bearing on industries and the results achieved by the grant of technical scholarships abroad and the lines on which such scholarships should be given in the future. The second panel, sitting under the chairmanship of Khan Bahadur Sayid Muhammad, discussed the preparation of Industrial directories and the question of issuing an all-India industrial journal. It is intended that the conclusions reached by the panels should subsequently be reviewed by the full conference.

**Second day—Simla—14th July 1933.**

The Conference spent the forenoon on discussion of the development of cottage industries. Possible methods of assisting the handloom industry and of protecting it were first discussed. Thereafter, there was a dissession on the marketing of products of various village industries.

In the afternoon, the conference met in two separate panels. The first panel discussed the possibilities of providing cheap electrical power for industries and the question of competition between Government factories and jails on the one side and private enterprise on the other. The second panel discussed the assistance that could be given to Indian Industries by Trade Commissioners abroad.

**Third Day—Simla—the 15th. July 1933**

The Conference sat both in the forenoon and in the afternoon and concluded its deliberations at 4-30 in the evening.

In the forenoon, the first subject discussed was encouragement of Industrial exhibitions and fairs. Thereafter, a discussion took place on middle-class unemployment.

Several of the Ministers present responsible for both education and industries were able to contribute to the discussion from the point of view of both the subjects.

The afternoon was occupied almost entirely with the question of co-ordination of industrial research. The need for some central body which could act as an intelligence bureau and co-ordinate research activities in respect of industries generally was voiced. At present the Industries Department have had a serious difficulty in keeping in touch with the developments in other provinces.

It was agreed that the Conference proved of great value in enabling those responsible for policy and administration in respect of industries to exchange their experience and the hope was expressed that now that the conference had been revived after a lapse of eleven years, the sessions would be held periodically in the future.

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# A. I. National Trades Union Federation

The All India National Trades Union Federation opened its first session in the Servants of India Society Hall, Bombay, on the 24th December 1933, Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose presiding.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, stressed that their aims were to ameliorate the hard lot of labouring classes and achieve the eventual establishment of a Socialist State in India. Proceeding, he pointed out one of the duties of the Federation would be to have a campaign of enlightenment among the workers, so as to warn them against the traps which a section of the Communists were laying for them in the name of Trade Unionism. Concluding, he urged that immediate steps should be taken by the Federation to get the necessary amendments to the White Paper proposals moved by Labour members of Parliament when the report of the Joint Select Committee came up before the House in the form of a Bill.

## Presidential Address

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, in the course of his presidential address, said :

In this country the struggle between Labour and Capital is complicated by the presence of another factor, an alien rule. The fight for political freedom has hitherto been largely conducted by the upper and the lower middle classes—the bourgeoisie as they are called. The question has been definitely mooted that since the interests of the workers are not identical and are very often in conflict with those of the middle classes, we have to fight with them as with the alien bureaucracy and the capitalists. The vision of a class-war is in the offing and has alarmed many of those who have been conducting the battle for political freedom. My friends, I feel that we have been making a tactical blunder. We as a people suffer from one infirmity that has cost us dear in the past and will cost us more in the future, if our leadership is not inspired by wisdom, but dominated by abstract theories. We talk much and do little. And we all know that we do not mean to do all that we say. We wish we had done more and talked less. I am glad to note that in a recent speech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed views that may go some way towards allaying anxiety and alarm created by his earlier utterances. He has said : "Obviously the establishment of Socialism, or any form of social or political organisation, can only be realised through securing control of the State. Therefore, the immediate programme must be the one of gaining this control of the State apparatus by the masses, and not by any small group. Only when power has been gained, the economic or other programme can be given effect to. Till then an ideology can be developed." I do believe however that not only an ideology but something more tangible can be developed by the independent action of the workers if they are wisely led.

This brings me to the consideration of our attitude towards the Indian National Congress and other political organisations. Shall we co-operate or non-co-operate with them ? Shall we fight with them for their being as we imagine bourgeoisie organisations ? My friends, I am decidedly of opinion that we should not be guided by any abstract theory in this or in any other matter. We shall co-operate, non-co-operate, or fight with them, if and when necessary, for the furtherance of our object. The first thing necessary without which our co-operation, non-co-operation or open war will mean nothing, is that we, the workers, must organise ourselves. We need not organise ourselves on the basis of a class-war, much less on the basis of a co-operation with the Capitalist class. We have to organise ourselves on the basis of what we stand for—the establishment of a Socialist State. There is no royal road to that end ; we have to carry on a long and arduous struggle changing our tactics from time to time, and our programme also according to the exigency of the situation.

## THE WHITLEY COMMISSION

I have heard taunts levelled against the Whitley Commission and against those of our friends in particular who had as members of the commission co-operated

with it. I wish the critics had carefully read the report of the Commission. For myself, I believe that if the Government gives effect to the recommendations of the Commission, the workers would be much more fit for a struggle for the establishment of a Socialist State than they are now. Hero is a paradox. How could a Commission presided over by an Englishman and of the twelve members of which as many as four were Englishmen and one an English woman could be party to a scheme calculated as I contend to give strength to the elbow of the workers to fit them to bring about the destruction of that very system for which at least half of the numbers of the Commission presumably stood. Those who would not touch the report of the Commission with a pair of tongs, forget the inexorable laws of nature. The advent of socialism, even in the advanced countries of Europe, would be impossible but for many of the benevolent actions and measures, some willing and many unwilling, of capitalism. The report produced by the Commission, is no more a gift than the fruit is the conscious gift of the tree. The time forces and the operation of natural laws are too strong even for capitalism and the conscious effort of man has assisted their operation.

This is not the time or the place to give a review of what the Commission has reported. It is enough to say that of the legislation suggested by the Commission bearing on such subjects as the health welfare and housing of the industrial worker, workmen's compensation, industrial disputes, recruitment of labour for the plantations of Assam and elsewhere and indebtedness of the worker, the Government has thought fit to circulate for opinion only two bills, mainly, the Trade Disputes Bill and the Payment of Wages Bill, the latter of which was introduced by a non-official member of the Assembly as late as 1925. And even as regards the former the Government of India has asked the Local Governments to communicate their views regarding the desirability of converting the Trade Disputes Act into a permanent measure and the amendments that should be made to the Act. The Government of India has not yet been able to frame a Trade Disputes Bill despite the suggestions offered by the Whitley Commission. As to the numerous subjects on which the Commission has asked the Government to take executive action or introduce Bills the Government has invited the views of the unions, so far as I am aware, on four subjects only, namely, periods of wage payment; arrest and imprisonments for debts; exemption of salaries and wages for attachment; and besetting of an industrial establishment for the purpose of collecting debts. Two years have passed since the Commission reported and Government has not been able to touch even the fringe of the task which was laid upon it by the Commission. In the meanwhile things are getting from bad to worse.

#### THE WHITE PAPER

This brings me to the consideration of the White Paper from the point of view of the workers. You have read the Memorandum submitted to the Joint Select Committee by our Federation. I do not propose to tread on grounds already trodden many times. The White Paper, as I have said elsewhere, is part of a bigger plan or policy to perpetuate British Imperialism in general and Indo-British Capitalism in particular. The whole scheme is devised to produce a double roller, that of capitalism and communalism to crush Socialism and Nationalism. The workers' party, if any such can be formed in the legislature, has very little chance of carrying through the measure suggested in the report of the Whitley Commission, not to speak of more radical measures. What the effect of the virtual closing of the channels of constitutional action will ultimately be, I do not feel competent to predict.

We have to remember that we cannot ask for gifts from Imperialism or Capitalism. For myself, as I have said a moment before, I do not consider that the so-called concessions of capitalism or Imperialism are concessions at all. The time-forces and our own efforts have yielded and will yield power and liberty to us. No people get more than they deserve. If the White Paper has yielded us workers so little,—it is much less what has been allowed to the bourgeoisie—we need not pretend to be surprised. This should make us search our hearts. Leaders of the working class movement have been few and the right type of workers fewer. What sacrifice we of the Labour Movement have made, compared to that of the followers of the Indian National Congress? I know the difficulties in the organisation of Labour. The lack of education and the dire poverty of the workers are enough difficulties, apart from the hostility of the employers and the want of leaders and workers. The followers of the Indian National Congress are the wealthy men. They can far more easily raise lacs of rupees for organisation and propa-

ganda, than we can of a few hundreds. Making allowance for all this we have to confess that we should have been able to do more. I have given most anxious thought for days and nights and for years on the matter. I am convinced that we got to make a wider appeal for Union workers and make our platform wider than have what it is. I shall speak more of it anon.

Even the Whitley Commission has taken the labour unions to task for their lack of self-reliance. They say :—

"There is already a lack of self-reliance and a tendency to wait too much upon the employers' attitude. No amount of encouragement from employers or of assistance from the State, can infuse life in the unions which have nothing vital in themselves; true vigour can only come from within. In those countries where the movement is strong, it owes that strength mainly to its own efforts and perhaps more to the opposition it has confronted than to the support it has received from employers."

Had the Whitley Commission been a body of Socialists, they could not speak with greater frankness and truth. It gives me great pain to say it, but you all know that this is the bare truth, that our Unions have practically degenerated into petition-making bodies, and the activities of most of our so-called living Unions are confined to writing petitions for individual members dealing with their special and individual grievances. Not a few of the workers have come to regard their Unions as nothing more than commission agents. 'Have my wages increased and I shall pay you something in the way of subscription.' If you cannot get this or that concession from the employer, I shall not pay the subscription.' 'Since you have failed to secure this or that possible or impossible favour from the employer, here I walk out.' I would rather that such members had never walked in. But what does this show? It shows that we have been unable to infuse the real Trade Union spirit into our men. I do not ascribe this to the cussedness or any inherent defect in their character. Their ignorance is the measure of our failure to do our duty by them. This again is due to the lack of leaders and a sufficient number of Trade Union workers or as I should like to say workers imbued with the genuine spirit of Socialism.

From what I have said you must have gathered that I am not for co-operation, non-co-operation or class war in the abstract. The working class movement in this country has yet to make much headway. It has to be largely self-reliant as I have said, but it cannot refrain from making the utmost use of such institutions as the legislature, the municipality and other local bodies in our own country and the International Labour Conferences and similar other bodies. Our representatives in the legislatures (existing or to be created by the White Paper) may not be able to do much, but they may use their platform to advertise our demands and express our feelings and sentiments. If we are to occupy a definite place in the scheme of things and consolidate our power and influence, we must not only enter the legislatures in as large a number as possible, but also the municipalities and other local bodies not excluding such bodies as public libraries, social service institutions, etc. Only that we do it as a party or a group; and we must send the right type of men who will never forget that they are socialists first and foremost and have definite ideals in view. These remarks apply to our representation in the Geneva International Conference and similar other bodies.

This brings me to the consideration of the problem which I have just mooted. Where to get the Union workers of the right type? In my opinion, the workers must be found from the vast body of the educated unemployed. My communist comrades may sneer at me and ridicule the idea of getting the assistance of the bourgeoisie to fight for the proletariat. My daily duty brings me in touch with the type of the unemployed of whom I am speaking. Their poverty and misery have brought them down to the level of the proletariat. Within my limited experience, I have come across the finest materials among them quite fit to be soldiers and in time to be leaders of the proletarian movement. What many of them lack is not the temperamental equipment but the power of initiative. The field for Labour organisation is immense. It can support a considerable number of the unemployed if the latter can call into play the resourcefulness to organise unions and have the common honesty to render account of the funds collected by them.

It is the duty of the present leaders of the working class movement to find out and train workers for the movement. I quite agree with the observations of the Whitley Commission on the need of paid officials for the Unions, and the prospects of these officials in the way of emoluments.

I need not enter into details as to how the Union workers are to be trained. The Whitley Commission has offered valuable suggestions and you, who have been long in the Labour movement, can offer more. To the young men who are crowding the bar libraries and the ante-rooms of offices of employers in vain search for livelihood. I make the appeal from this platform—"here is a vast field that offers you honour and emolument. If you have the grit, the enterprise and the spirit of work in you, come as many of you as you can. Here is no crowd to disappoint or baffle you."

### COMMUNAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The Labour movement had long been free from the virus of communalism. But we could not possibly expect immunity for all time in view of its pervading influence in the political field. We of the working class movement must do our utmost to shake the movement of this poison and to prevent its further inroad. There are many ways of doing it, but one I wish to suggest to you. No person connected with the Labour movement should be a member of or countenance in any way the communal organisations, Hindu, Mahomedan or any other. The cancer of communalism is a by-product of the scramble of the educated few for loaves and fishes. As the masses stand to gain or lose nothing by the just or unjust distribution of patronage, but are vitally concerned with questions that affect all, I do not think that communalism can have a long lease of life. Yet, we are to be watchful.

My friends and fellow-workers, I am afraid I have taxed your patience to the uttermost by inflicting a long speech on you. I am thankful for your patience and forbearance. The occasion is unique for me. I am not likely again to have the opportunity of speaking out my mind from the eminence, however undeserved it may be, to which you have raised me. I have always been content to be in the rank and file. I would most gladly go back to the crowd among whom it has been my privilege and pleasure to work for years. I have experienced in my own life the sorrows of the working man and of the unemployed. A poet of my province has said :—

"He only knows the torment of snake-bite who has been bitten by a snake."

My study and my thought to which point has been given again and again by my personal sufferings and experiences as a worker have made me a convinced Socialist and my knowledge of the affairs of the world has taught me that mere enthusiasm for an ideal, the value of which cannot be denied cannot take us far, if at the same time we fail to make use of the opportunities, however small that may come in our way. The ideal and the practical must be harmoniously blended if we are to get the maximum result.

### Resolutions Passed

The first resolution passed expressed gratification at the re-establishment of unity in the Trade Union movement in India.

The second resolution expressed the Federation's readiness to co-operate with the Labour movement in other countries in resisting the threatened world war.

The third resolution expressed the grave concern of the Federation at the political developments in certain countries since Great War, which led to the overthrow of democracies, and the installation of dictatorships. It also affirmed the Federation's faith in unadulterated democracy under which only the working classes could secure political power with a view to improving their economic condition. The same resolution condemned the Nazi regime in Germany, and also protested against the continuance of Ordinance Acts in India, demanding their immediate repeal.

The fourth resolution appealed to the Government of India to release all the Meerut prisoners in view of their already having undergone imprisonment for four years. The same resolution also urged the Government of India to pay compensation to such accused in the Meerut Conspiracy case as had been acquitted.

The fifth resolution urged the establishment of an All-India Textile Workers' Federation, in view of the extraordinary situation that has arisen.

Another resolution expressed the Federation's opposition to any kind of ration-alisation, and also condemned the employer's policy of wage reductions and retrenchment.

One of the resolutions urged the Government of India to take prompt steps to give effect to such recommendations of the Whitley Commission as had not hitherto been given effect to before the new Constitution came into force.

The last resolution expressed dissatisfaction at the White Paper proposals, and instructed the Working Committee of the Federation to frame amendments to the White Paper proposals as soon as the Joint Parliamentary Committee report and the Government of India Bill are published. It also urged the Working Committee to consider the desirability and possibility of sending a deputation of the Federation to England in order to secure the support of the Labour Party to such amendments.

## The A. I. Trade Union Congress

The 30th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Cawnpore the 23rd December 1933. Prominent among those present from different parts of the country were 19 delegates from Bengal including Dr. Charu Banerjee, Mr. Jahar Ganguli, Mr. Ramachandra Awasthi, Mr. Sudhin Paramanik, Mr. S.B. Sen, Shivenath Banerjee, Mr. Kiranchandra Das and Mrs. Nalini Prabha Ghose and Dr. Vishwanath Mukherjee from Gorakhpur, Messrs Jhabwala, Nimbkar and Miss Maniben Kara from Bombay, Dr. Ashaf from Aligarh. Mr. Lakshminarain from Jhansi. Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam and Mr. Jiten Mukherjee from Allahabad and Mr. Ruikar from Nagpur, besides Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The executive committee began at 2 in the afternoon with Mr. Khandelkar in the chair. A sub-committee was formed to grant affiliations to new unions as well as to consider the voting capacities of different unions. The proceedings were adjourned for an hour during which time seven new unions out of the 13 applicants were declared as affiliated. A resolution was then discussed about a general cotton textile strike all over the country. The open session was then held in the Trade Union Congress pandal. Pandit Surya Prasad Awasthi, chairman of the reception committee, read his address welcoming the delegates and then Mr. G. L. Kandalkar read his presidential speech. In the end Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a very interesting speech.

*Mr. G. L. Kandalkar* in the course of his presidential address observed :—

We are meeting at the most critical period in the history of the Trade Union Movement of this country. The deep contradictions in the system of production under which we live and work are manifesting themselves in the form of an economic crisis, the like of which humanity has not seen up to now. The economic structure of society is shaken to its very foundation and is writhing in convulsions. The forces of production have outgrown the limits of social organisation, and are struggling to break through their bounds in a new economic order. This struggle is reflected in the increasing discontent and growing consciousness of the toiling masses. The ruling class is maintaining itself in power with a ruthless ferocity and defending the economic order by dubious attacks on the standard of the living of the masses.

Nearly 100,000 mill-owners are stalking the streets in the textile centres of India, over 40,000 jute workers are languishing in hunger and are literally faced with starvation. There is no hope on the horizon of any improvement in the crisis and the industrial position of the country. The census figures of the last ten years show an increase in the strength of the workers, but ten years have not advanced their standard of living. Their wages in many industries have reached the pre-war level. They have no prospects in the future of raising their standard of living.

While the living standard has steadily deteriorated all along during the last three years, what is the subjective growth of the working class movement? The increasing discontent is finding an outlet in numerous strikes. The railway workers in the M. S. M. Workshop put up a vigorous fight to resist retrenchment. The textile workers of Bombay were engaged in more than two dozen strikes to resist wage-cut and rationalisation during the year. The textile centres of Dhulia, Amalner, Sholapur and Ahmedabad have fought valiantly in defence of their rights. All these struggles are an indication of the discontent with which the working class is seething to-day. The discontent and the growing consciousness is finding expression in spontaneous strikes which fizzle out after long-sustained effort. The

main cause of these failures is the lack of organisational strength and concerted action.

For want of adequate leadership to co-ordinate and direct its activity on the basis of a scientific programme, the working class movement has foundered in the face of the crisis. Organisational preparedness and concerted action under centralised leadership would have lifted the class struggle to a higher phase. At the end of the crisis the Trade Union Movement would have grown out of its childhood and would have come of age. But, on the other hand, the working class has lost its opportunity. The time for action passed when the seething discontent failed to find organised expression in the form of a general strike. The failure of the working class to rise to the occasion to take the opportunity which the crisis presented has resulted in its liquidation. The working class movement cannot remain at a standstill. It must move on in spite of the crisis. If it does not progress it is bound to break down and slip backwards, as it has done during the last years.

The A. I. T. U. C. has made efforts to grow out of the confusion and bewilderment. It is making efforts to reorganise itself on the basis of revolutionary class struggle. It formulated its fundamental principles and paramount tasks when it adopted the platform of unity of the Girni Kamgar Union. On the basis of this platform it expects to re-vitalise and invigorate the struggle of the workers.

In the Platform of Unity, the Trade Union Congress has declared that a Trade Union is a class organisation. As the interests of the workers are irreconcilable with those of Capitalists, they have to be defended by all effective means. Therefore the Trade Union is essentially an organ of class struggle.

The platform has drawn up the following immediate demands for mobilising the workers in struggle :—

(1) Eight hours working day, including an hour's rest in all trades and industries :

(2) minimum wages guaranteeing all the workers an irreducible standard ;

(3) weekly payment of wages ;

(4) Equal wages for labour, without social or sex discrimination ;

(5) one month's leave a year with full pay ;

(6) unemployment, sickness, old age and maternity insurance at the expense of the employers ;

(7) Better housing and labour conditions for all the workers ;

(8) establishment of independent worker's committees in factories, sheds, mills, pitheads, harbours, dock-yards, plantations and all other places, where collective work is performed, to see that the conditions of labour comply with the standard fixed ;

(9) abolition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age ;

(10) abolition of the employment of women and children underground in mines ;

(11) abolition of the employment of women for one month preceding and a month after child-birth ;

(12) abolition of all other systems of recruiting labour except through Trade Unions and abolition of the system of indentured labour as in the plantations ;

(13) abolition of the fines imposed by the employers, be they private individuals or the Government ; and

(14) abolition of the system of Provident Fund controlled by the employers.

The A. I. T. U. C. has defined in unequivocal terms its attitude on the questions of foreign affiliation and the national struggle. The A. I. T. U. C. considers that no good can come to the Indian labour movement by foreign affiliation at present. It is therefore not worth while to split the movement on this remote question.

On the national movement the platform declares : "That the Indian movement shall support and actively participate in the struggle for national freedom, from the point of view of the working class. They do not believe that any compromise between the foreign and Indian bourgeoisie (responsible Government or Dominion Status) can ever change the condition of the workers substantially. The Basic political demand of the Indian working class is the termination of Imperialist domination, overthrow of capitalism and socialisation of the merits of production."

There is still to-day a large mass of organised workers which has kept out of the A. I. T. U. C. I refer to the Mazdoor Mahajan of Ahmedabad. All efforts of the A. I. T. U. C. have failed to induce it to co-operate with the working class movement of India. The textile workers of Ahmedabad cannot remain isolated to-day from the rest of their comrades. In the face of the capitalist offensive of wage cut,

## THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

[ CAWNPUR—

there is greater necessity for them to come into the A. I. T. U. C. and co-operate with the other workers who are fighting for the defence of their wages as they are doing in Ahmedabad.

We have defined the principles of Trade Unionism and we have once more extended our invitation to all Unions to come into the A. I. T. U. C. Now let me draw your attention to the main task that lies before us. We have to devise ways and means to revive the Trade Union Movement. The struggle of the workers has been distracted by internal dissensions. We must now concentrate on the creation of maximum organisation on the principle of 'Our Union in each industry.' Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this fundamental principle to Trade Union. A number of Unions in the same industry splits up to energy and solidarity of the workers, and very often leads to dissensions amongst them to the detriment of the cause. It is therefore necessary to have a single union for an industry or trade. The trade Union Congress or its affiliated unions cannot be bound down officially to any shade of political opinion. Its members shall have the freedom individually and collectively to hold any political view or belong to any party, so long as they accept the basic principles of Trade Unionist. No genuine Trade Unionist therefore should be excluded either from the individual Unions or the A. I. T. U. C. because of his political views, provided he accepts the principles of the Trade Union platform. Every effort should be made to amalgamate the different unions in the same industry on the basis of these principles. The next task that faces us is the building up of the structure of our organisation. We have made efforts in the past to organise Provincial Conferences and set up Provincial Committees. We have succeeded in setting up such Committees in Bombay, Calcutta, U. P. and Madras.

Still several provinces remain without provincial committees. Our determination this year should be to set up such provincial committees throughout the country.

We have to view with great concern the obstacles that are facing us in developing our struggle. The first is the increasing use of force in breaking up meetings of the workers by the ultra-leftist sectarian group in Bombay. Bombay for the past few months has been the scene of the disturbances. Lathis and stones have been used to create confusion in the meetings of the workers and as a result it is impossible to build up any resistance to the offensive of wage-cut and retrenchment. The confusion created in the meetings of the workers has been invariably taken advantage of by the police to disperse them. It is very unfortunate that this is preventing the growth of the movement. The Indian Trade Union movement on account of the agricultural backwardness of our proletariat was started by intellectuals and to-day needs their help and guidance. But the workers have to distinguish between genuine workers and those who are masquerading as trade unionists. The intellectual who identifies himself without class is one of us, but the one who comes to use our movement for his own purpose is an enemy who has to be carefully isolated and eliminated from the Trade Union Movement.

The third obstacle in the growth of the Trade Union movement is the repression by the Government. Repression has played havoc in our movement during the last few years. No sooner the workers have made attempts to unite and reorganise than the heavy hand of repression has swooped down on them and snatched away their leadership.

Besides the elastic sections of the I. P. C. the Government has to-day armed itself with fresh powers to crush the Trade Union Movement. They have consolidated the ordinances into legislative enactments and to-day they threaten to apply them to the Trade Union Movement.

The working class must now wake up to this fact. Its very existence demands a ceaseless struggle. Its life is threatened by wage-cut and unemployment, its efforts to organise are crushed, its leaders arrested and imprisoned, its meetings prevented by the orders of Magistrates. The first step to resist oppression of the working class is to make every worker conscious of the fact that there is a system which is oppressing him and make him realise the need of a radical change. The first condition for the development of resistance to repression is the political consciousness of the workers.

Political consciousness has to develop in the day-to-day struggle of the workers, when they come in conflict with the machinery of the State. The Trade Union movement welcomes all efforts for the political organisations of the workers. Local parties of workers like the Working Class Party of Bombay should grow out of the struggle of the workers in order to educate them and lead them in their political struggle for elementary rights. Workers throughout the country feel the

necessity of giving expression to their political demands and aspirations, and attempts to organise labour parties are an indication of it. The A. I. T. U. C. will provide a platform for workers' parties and support their struggle from the working class point of view.

Besides the struggle for elementary political rights, the working class has its own objective programme. Its historical mission is the overthrow of capitalism and the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. This mission can be successfully performed by the working class only if it develops its own organisational strength and utilises all progressive historical forces which will help it with a supply of energy and mass support. Up to now, the Proletariat has not participated as an independent factor in the national struggle. Its struggle for economic demands has been a ferment to the national movement, but to claim leadership of the struggle it will have to appear as a dominant factor in the national struggle under the leadership of its own party.

#### Pt. Nehru's Address

*Pandit Sarvaharlal Nehru*, speaking at the All-India Trade Union Congress, said that he was addressing the Congress after about four years. These four years had seen great changes in India both in the National and the Trade Union movement. A great struggle of freedom had been carried on and was still being carried on. The Trade Union movement has been split up into various parts and he was not yet clear as to what each part stood for. During his period in prison he had been unable to follow the various developments in the labour world. He had tried to find out some facts recently but was still not in a position to know the exact situation. While he deplored the lack of unity he felt that to some extent it was inevitable as the struggle proceeded on. On one side there should be reformists and constitutionalists, and on the other revolutionary elements that wanted a radical change in the social and political structure. Much the same thing was happening in the National movement.

The present position of Labour in India was deplorable. There was tremendous unemployment and the wages were cut down and the living standard was reduced. Labour only met these attacks by presenting a united front. World conditions were such that mere crumbs would fall from the imperialists' and capitalists' table to the labour masses. As these conditions had deteriorated there was less and less to dispute. Therefore, the only way out for labour was to fight for a radical change which would give power. The labour method of fight was organisation and strike. Many petty strikes were taking place all over the country because of the attempts to lower wages. These individual strikes were bound to fail. If they wanted them to succeed there should be co-ordination and organisation resulting when time came in a general strike to prevent the progressive cutting down of the wages. As a matter of fact the labour problem and the national problem were both coming nearer to each other and had to face the ultimate issue—that is to say, the removal of British imperialism from India. No other solution would satisfy either or bring relief to the masses. He hoped, therefore, that there would be an increasing amount of co-operation between the two great movements. The National movement could not of course drop its national character and become a purely labour movement. Nor could the labour movement become just a part of the national movement because it represented technically the class conscious workers who were the most revolutionary elements in the population. But there was no reason why the two could not co-operate wherever possible.

Some people said that after years of struggle our condition was worse than it was before. That was always so when a fight took place about fundamental matters. To-day imperialism and capitalism all over the world were fighting in the last ditch a battle to preserve themselves and it was up to labour to organise and strengthen themselves and put their whole weight in the struggle. If they did so and at the same time co-operated with the National movement and influenced it, he had no doubt that victory would come to them and not only would thereby bring political freedom in India but social freedom also.

#### Second Day—Cawnpore—25th December 1933

The feelings of the audience in the second open session of the All-India Trade Union Congress ran very high when some of the speakers condemned Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. As the audience consisted of a very

large number of Congressmen they protested against it to the president. These protests went unheeded and the audience rose to their feet amidst shouts of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* and *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ki jai*. The president then agreed to allow Prof. Shibanlal, a leading Congressman, to have his say and stopped the Trade Union Congress speakers from indulging in abuse. So the leading Congressmen on the dais brought the feelings under control.

The session opened at 5 p. m. when three important resolutions were passed. The first called upon the cotton textile workers throughout India to launch a general strike for the defence of their wages and other conditions of life with a view to resist the offensive launched by capitalists against them and called upon all existing unions to meet before the end of January at Bombay to determine measures of action. The presidents of the provincial committees were also asked to create new textile unions where they did not exist.

The second resolution condemned the White Paper and defined the basic principles of a free Indian State. The third called upon the workers and peasants of the country to carry on an intensive agitation all over the country against all forms of imperio-capitalist exploitation on the basis of the immediate demands which were defined at length. Eight other resolutions moved from the chair were also adopted.

The most important resolution after four hours' discussion was that it was necessary in the political interests of the workers and peasants of India to form a political party of the workers and peasants on the platform of the fundamental resolution of the Trade Union Congress in order to give them a correct lead in the political struggle of the country towards its goal of freedom. A sub-committee of Messrs. Sen, Jhabwala, Khedgikar, Ruikar, Ghanekar, Pramanic, Rajani Mukerji, Harihar Nath Shastri and Dr. Mukerji was appointed to draft the constitution of such a party to be submitted to the executive committee of the Congress at its next meeting.

The Congress, also, resolved to start its weekly or fortnightly journal and a committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect.

*Mr. Hari Haranath Sastri* was elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress for 1934.

Messrs. Abdul Majid, Viswanath Mukerji, Charu Banerji, S. H. Jhabwala, S. B. Sen, Ruikar and Sabhapati were elected vice-president, Mr. Shivanath Banerji, general secretary, Messrs. Jaggam, Pushkarnath Bhatt, John Phatak, Sundarajam, secretaries, Messrs. Karnic, Rajani Mukerji, Rajaram Shastri and Mitra, organizing secretaries, and Mr. Jahar Ganguli, treasurer, for the ensuing year of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Even at the afternoon session of the executive which was held in the delegates' camp to avoid a disturbance, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the National Congress were severely criticised. The National Congress was called a bourgeois institution and not national serving only the capitalists' interests, specially benefiting the millowners at the expense of the masses, creating a brown bureaucracy in place of the white and struggling for greater freedom for the bourgeoisie.

#### GENERAL SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

Contradicting the Associated Press report regarding the incident which took place in the second day's session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Messrs. Karnic and Shivanath Banerji, outgoing and incoming general secretaries of the Congress, said in the course of a statement to the press that the report was most mischievous and misleading. They said what actually took place was that Mr. Jhabwala made certain remarks about Mahatma Gandhi in his speech which were taken exception to by Congressmen present in the pandal as visitors. This led to a bit of argument between Congressmen and a few delegates. There were shouts of *Gandhi ki jai* and Labour slogans. Quiet was restored in about 10 minutes and Mr. Jhabwala resumed the speech. Later a Congressman was allowed to speak though he was not a delegate. The whole episode ended without any disturbance of the peace. The report of the 'Pioneer' that pandemonium prevailed for two hours and fists, lathis and bamboo sticks were freely used and many received injuries was absolutely baseless.

# THE U. P. LABOUR CONFERENCE

The first Conference of the U. P. Labour Party came off on the 2nd. July 1933 at Cawnpore. Messages of strong sympathy and full support were received from several gentlemen in labour. Fraternal delegates attended from Bengal, Punjab and Bombay.

In the open session which was held in the parade ground, *Maulana Hasrat Mohani*, welcoming the delegates, emphasised his political standpoint in life which was to support the mass movements and their demands. The Maulana criticised the policy of the nationalists in trying to monopolize power and influence in the interests of a minority of capitalists and landlords. The Maulana was equally unequivocal in his criticism of the communal organisations, especially their recent attempts at sabotaging labour movement by organising labour on communal lines. He congratulated the enthusiasm and sincerity of those young workers who had silently worked towards the organisation of the U. P. Labour Conference and the formation of the U. P. Labour Party. He promised every help and support to the movement.

Dr. *Mohammad Ashraf* was proposed to the chair by Mr. *Ram Saran Johri* of Muttra and seconded by Mr. *Mohindra Nath* of Moradabad.

In the course of his presidential address Dr. *Mohammad Ashraf* said :—

Contemporaneously with the Congress movement the Labour movement in India has been developing at a tremendous speed along with the intensified drive against the working class. Since 1929 according to Government reports there has been upwards of 500 trade disputes in India. The workers reacted to the post-war crisis by a wave of spontaneous strikes all over India. Though the workers showed great solidarity, conscious leadership and proper organization were lacking. These alone can enable them to achieve their two-fold historic task—the task of national liberation and the task of their class emancipation. The need of the day, however, led to the formation of trade unions which became increasingly class-conscious and militant. The growing political orientation of the labour movement towards Socialism between 1921 and 1929 met with two major offensives from the camp of reaction. The labour movement, however, has survived these offensives and is daily gaining in strength and solidarity.

The need of the hour is to organize (1) the labour forces, (2) the agrarian forces and (3) the forces of the impoverished members of the middle class under one leadership with concrete formulation of the objective and the method.

## THE WHITE PAPER

A critical analysis of the White Paper and of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee now in progress conclusively show the reactionary nature of the proposals for the future constitution of India. The real power at the centre is *nil*, while the provision for bicameral legislatures in some provinces is calculated to perpetuate the class domination of the landlords. The inclusion in the Federal Assembly of a large number of nominees of the rulers of Indian States will perpetually ensure the servility of the Assembly to the demands of White Hall and therefore to the British bourgeoisie. The numerous 'safeguards' are designed to retain power in the hands of the British capitalists in alliance with the feudal elements in India. From the standpoint of the toiling masses of India the White Paper is worse than an evil. The Labour party cannot remain indifferent to the coming constitutional provisions. Under the new constitution, therefore, the party will have to vigilantly guard the interest of the workers and peasants.

## COMMUNAL AWARD

The Communal Award of the British Government, the claims of the communal leaders and the Harijan movement have objectively the same effect of artificially dividing the exploited masses among the warring factions. This represents the combined drive only from three different angles—against the class solidarity of the workers and peasants.

It is, therefore, the immediate task of the Labour party to fight vigorously this virus of communalism as the subtlest form of attack against the class interests of the workers and peasants.

The basic policy of the Labour party must therefore be to infuse political consciousness into the masses.

### Second Day's Proceedings

The delegates to the U. P. Labour Conference along with representatives from fraternal organisations in other provinces spent the whole morning in discussing the details of the proposed draft of constitution for the U. P. Labour Party. They agreed unanimously as to the objects and other details of the party programme.

In the afternoon, the executive committee of the conference (elected from amongst the delegates and composed of 20 members) met to discuss the plan of organisation. Dr. Mohammad Ashraf was elected as president of the executive committee. Messrs B. N. Sanyal and R. S. Tiwari as vice-presidents, Mr. Mohindra Nath as general secretary, Hafiz Mohammad Siddiq, a leading merchant of Cawnpore, as treasurer. It was decided to establish the provincial office in Moradabad for the present.

### Open Session

The second open session of the U. P. Labour Conference met at the parade grounds in the evening. The president announced the messages received, including a message from two peasants of Bijnor and one from a worker of Moradabad. Mr. N. Dutta Mazumdar, bar-at-law, the representative of the Bengal Labour Party, then spoke emphasizing the legitimate methods. Mr. Mazumdar emphasized that the Labour Party wanted peace and insisted on the right of organizing the peasants and workers to prepare them to take full advantage of the next constitutional era. A manifesto outlining the basic policy of the Bengal Labour Party was presented by Mr. Mazumdar and circulated in the conference.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani explained the speech of Mr. Mazumdar in Urdu and completely endorsed his views on behalf of the U. P. Labour Party.

### Resolutions

The business proceedings of the Conference began with three resolutions moved from the chair and passed by the audience, the first appreciating the services of the late Pandit Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi of Cawnpore in the cause of labour; the second recording the sympathy of the conference with the distressed peasantry and workers in flooded area and condemning the indifference of the local Government towards permanent remedial measures. The last resolution demanded the release of all political prisoners irrespective of the nature of their convictions, in view of the inauguration of the new constitution and the quashing of Meerut sentences and protested against the deputation of political prisoners to Andamans.

Some very important resolutions framed by the subjects committee of the Conference and explaining the attitude of the Conference towards various contemporary political questions were placed before the open session and passed by the assembly unanimously.

# THE CENSUS OF INDIA 1931

The census of India taken in February 1931 is treated as a whole in the report of the Census Commissioner (Dr. J. H. Hutton) published in September 1933.

The volume, extracts from which are given below, consists of five parts ; (1) Dr. Hutton's report (together with that of the actuary, Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan) ; (2) the statistical tables for India ; (3) a collection of papers of ethnological interest ; (4) the social and linguistic maps for India—the Provinces bound separately ; and (5) an administrative report, the two latter volumes being intended primarily for departmental use.

The table below shows the area covered by the census :—

Year	Sq. miles	Increase
1881	1,382,624	
1891	1,560,160	177,536
1901	1,766,597	206,437
1911	1,802,657	36,069
1921	1,805,332	2,673
1931	1,808,679	3,347

The area covered by the census is approximately identical with that covered by the census of 1921 and differs little from the area of previous occasions from 1881 onwards. 2,308 sq. miles containing some 34,000 inhabitants have been added in Burma and in the north-east of Assam, while on the other hand, six sq. miles have been lost to Nepal. The statistics, therefore, cover the whole empire of India with Burma and the adjacent islands and islets (exclusive of Ceylon and the Maldives) as well as Aden and Perim Island, but not the Kuria Muria Islands and Sokotra, which is part of the Aden Protectorate, administered from Aden on behalf of the Colonial Office, and not part of British India. The statistics and the tables do not cover those parts of the peninsula which are not parts of the British Empire, that is to say, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan and the French and Portuguese possessions.

Area in sq. miles. Population 1931. Percentage of Increase since 1921.

Afghanistan	250,000	7,000,000	...
Bhutan	20,000	230,000	...
Nepal	54,000	5,600,000	...
French India	196	286,410	+ 6.24
Portuguese India	1,461	579,969	+ 5.79

## BABEL OF TONGUES

The number of languages as classified by Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India and exclusive of dialects, is 225 by the returns of 1931. Creeds may be less numerous, but castes, customs and sects must be no less diverse and the same applies to social political and economic conditions. The peoples covered by the report present every aspect from that of the latest phase of Western civilization to that of the most primitive tribe which, like the Andamanese or like the Kadar or Urabs of southern India, still exist by hunting and collecting forest produce without ever apparently having reached the stage of agriculture at all.

The total area by the census amounts to 1,800,000 sq. miles and the population inhabiting it to 353,000,000 giving a density for the whole area of 195 persons per sq. mile. This density, however, is a very variable factor appearing at the lowest as 6.5 persons per sq. mile in the mean density of Baluchistan, Chagai District which has only one person to the square mile, and at its highest at about 2,000 persons per sq. mile in the most thickly populated parts of the south west coast, the general density of Cochin State, including both the thickly populated coast lands and the almost uninhabited highlands, being 814.2 persons per sq. mile and reaching in one village the amazing maximum found in any purely rural population of over 6,000 persons to the sq. mile.

There is, however, in Bengal an even higher general level of density, since the Dacca Division has a mean density of 935 persons for a population of 13,864,104 and reaches a rural density of 3,228 per sq. mile for Lohajang thana and a mean density of 2,413 for Munshiganj Sub-Division which has an area of 294 sq. miles. Of the total population 256,859,787 represents the population of British India proper, the area of which is 862,679 sq. miles, and 81,310,845 that of the States with an area of 712,508 sq. miles.

### TOTAL POPULATION

British India, with Burma, has a population of 271,526,933, and the proportion of the population of the States to British India is 23 to 77 when Burma is included. On the other hand, if she be excluded, it is 24 to 76. The density of the population varies largely according to the rainfall and in the densest areas—Cochin, of eastern Bengal, the north-east of the United Provinces and of Bihar, the rainfall is heavier than in any other part of India except Assam, where large tracts of hills and forest reduce the population in proportion to the area, and in southern Burma where there is considerable room for the increase of population and where also there are considerable areas of forest and hills. With India's present population and area may be compared England and Wales, with an area of over 58,000 sq. miles and a population of nearly 40,000,000 and a density of 685 persons per sq. mile; or Europe as a whole—an area 3,750,000 sq. miles, population 475,000,000, mean density 127 persons per sq. mile; with America—an area 3,027,000 sq. miles, population 123,000,000, persons per sq. mile 41; or with China, the area of which, including Tibet, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Manchuria is estimated at 41 million sq. miles and the population of which according to latest estimate is 342,000,000 giving a density of 86.5 persons per sq. mile though in the fertile areas it is of course much heavier than this. A more useful comparison, it is stated, should be with China proper, having an area of about 1 million sq. miles and a general density of probably 200 to 220 persons per sq. mile.

The total population of the world is now estimated at about 1,850,000,000 and the population of India forms almost one-fifth part of that of the whole world.

The actual increase since 1921 is 33,895,298—10.6 per cent, on the population at the last census and 39 per cent on the population of India fifty years ago and an increase of 12 persons per sq. mile in 50 years during which time the increase in area has been principally, if not entirely, confined to comparatively thinly populated areas, and amounts to 426,055 sq. miles. These figures may be compared with an increase in England and Wales since last census of only 5.4 per cent, but of 53.8 per cent, in the last 50 years, with an increase in the United States of 16 per cent, since the last census, with an increase of nearly 18 per cent in Ceylon and with an increase in Java of 20 per cent since the last census and of as much as 26 per cent in the outer islands of the Netherlands India.

### INDIAN STATES

As regards the Indian States, the greatest increase has been in Bikaner (41.9 per cent) largely due to the increase of irrigation from outside. One of the next highest increases is that of Travancore in which the density was already among the highest in India. An increase in Hyderabad State is partly to be attributed to an increase of efficiency in the taking of the census.

How high a population can be supported by agriculture when conditions are favourable is shown by Cochin with areas here and there carrying over 2,000 and in one rural unit actually 4,090 persons to the sq. mile on land producing rice and coconuts. In such areas, e.g., Cochin and Travancore, the increase in the population has been higher than in the sparsely populated areas like Baluchistan or Jaisalmer State where there is no extension of irrigations, though there would appear to be more scope for an extension of cultivation.

Immigration, when India is taken as a whole, influences the population very little. 730,562 persons were born outside India as against 603,526 in 1921 without taking count, in either case, of persons born in French or Portuguese possessions. The increase is almost entirely in persons born in Asiatic countries. Against this there must be set off on account of emigration about 1,000,000 persons who are estimated as having emigrated during the decade under review. Migration, however, is of more importance as affecting internal fluctuations of populations varying in British India from 1,244,249 (net) immigrations into

Assam to 15,536 (net) immigration into the North-West Frontier Province. Migration as between British India and the States has tended in the past to be from latter to the former but during the last decade this position has been reversed and the trend of migration on the whole is from British India to the States, where the density is generally lower. Bikaner, where the immigrants total 161,303, i. e., 58 per cent of its increase in population, is a striking instance. The greater number of its immigrants (about 54 per cent) came from British India, and while the natural increase of the population of Bikaner State plus the normal immigration as recorded in 1921 would have resulted in a general increase of 28 per cent, and thereby brought the population back to the 1891 level merely, the increase at this census is much in excess of that amount, and this excess may be put down entirely to the extension of irrigation.

#### HIGH BIRTH RATE

In India the birth rate is everywhere much higher than in Europe largely on account of the universality of marriage, the Parsis being perhaps the only Indian community in which late marriage and small families are the rule instead of the exception. The birth-rate is lower among the Hindus than in most of other communities probably to some extent on account of the general disapproval of widow remarriage, and to some extent on that of the greater prevalence of immature maternity.

On the other hand, the high birth-rate of India is largely discounted by a high death rate, particularly among infants as also apparently among women at child-birth. Here social factors have to be reckoned with, the custom of 'purdah' perhaps exercising its worst effect among the poorer class of Muslims who appear to be more rigid in its observance than the corresponding class of Hindus. This effect is particularly noticeable in crowded urban areas, in which the space available to a woman in 'purdah' and poor circumstances is so small as seriously affect her health.

In the matter of epidemics and of deaths from famine or want, the decade has been particularly favourable to an increase in population. It is true that the influenza epidemic at the end of the previous decade is believed to have fallen most severely on the most reproductive ages and should therefore have had a much more lasting effect than the reduction caused by famine which takes the oldest and the youngest first. There has, however, been no serious famine in the decade under review, and every year sees improved methods of fighting such epidemics as cholera, plague or 'kala-azar.'

#### ASSAM CONDITIONS

Assam, with a present population of about 9,250,000 shows an increase since 1921 of 13.7 per cent. The decade from the point of view of public health has been "the best in the history of Assam," and the tea industry which is, of course, the main industry of the province beyond ordinary agriculture, was on the whole, in a flourishing condition, starting the decade with a recovery from the depression of 1919-1921, booming in 1923 and 1925 and remaining prosperous until the end of 1927, when the present depression began to be felt as a result of foreign competition and over-production. The increase in population, in spite of being the highest recorded in Assam, has been mainly due to natural increase and not to an increase by immigration which only formed 10 per cent of the total. The general economic condition of the cultivator does not seem to have deteriorated up to 1929 in spite of a general tendency to decay on the part of the cottage industries and up to that year, the price of agricultural produce had increased and expenditure on luxuries increased likewise. The standard of living had gone up, and so also apparently had expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies. This had involved increased indebtedness and "the average agriculturist has not learned the importance of saving."

The increase in population has extended to the whole Province, hills and plains districts alike, but is lowest in the Surma Valley, which is the most densely populated part and but little affected by migration. The area of the province has been slightly extended on the frontier towards Burma, but that extension of area has only accounted for 1.25 per cent of the increase. The area of Assam is 67,334 square miles and its population is 9,247,857 having a mean density of 137 to the square mile. The density, however, is very variable. In the Surma Valley the density is 438 per square mile, and naturally the increase in population has been

least in this area. In the Brahmaputra valley it is 171, and it is in this area that immigration is most active; in the hills which, generally speaking, afford a scanty subsistence to scattered villages, the density is only 39.

#### PROLIFIC BREEDERS.

The population is of a very mixed character. In the Brahmaputra the indigenous population consists of Bodo and Shan tribes mostly Hinduized, and with an aristocracy of caste Hindus ultimately of foreign extraction but, like the small Muslim population settled in the 17th century, completely indentified with the country and the people of the valley by a residence of many generations. The recent immigrants consist either of tea garden coolies, mostly aborigines from the Madras Agency Tracts, the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur, who take up land and settle down in the country, and of Muslim cultivators from Mymensingh District in Bengal who have of recent years swarmed into the lower districts of the valley and opened up large areas of waste land. Prolific breeders and industrious cultivators but untruly and uncomfortable neighbours, these immigrants threaten to swamp entirely the indigenous inhabitants and in the course of two or three decades to change the whole nature, language and religion of the Brahmaputra valley and to assimilate it to the Muslim areas of Sylhet, where the population is not Assamese but essentially Bengali, whether Muslim or Hindu.

In the other district of the Surma Valley, the plains part of Kachar, the last stronghold of the Kaohari Kings and once completely Kachari in character, has become a Bengali colony entirely submerging the indigenous Kachari, who has retained his whole tribal nationality only in the North Cachar Hills. There, as in the rest of the Hill districts, the indigenous tribes still hold their own, resentful of the intrusion of the plainsmen, whether Bengali or Assamese, and maintaining their own languages and distinctive cultures and racially belonging for the most part to Burma rather than to India.

The mean density of Baluchistan is 6 persons per square mile, a little more than Tibet with 4 and about the same as Newfoundland exclusive of Labrador; but this density falls in the Chagai district to 1 person per square mile. The decade started with a period of famine resulting from the drought of 1920-21 and although the years 1923-24 were good, the later years were afflicted by locusts and the decade as a whole was below the usual level of prosperity.

As a result of famine and scarcity and of the damage done by the invading sands of the Chagai deserts which bury and lay waste the cultivated areas to the south and east of them and choke both sources and channels of irrigation, the Province lost some thousands of its scanty indigenous population by migration.

The population increased by 69,000 of which 39,500 represents a natural increase, but the phenomenal increase of 45.5 per cent, in the Tribal Areas is not entirely beyond suspicion, and if the natural population of Baluchistan be alone considered, the 1911 figure has not yet been recovered.

#### POPULATION IN BENGAL.

Bengal, ninth of the Provinces of India in area, is first in respect of population. The British districts cover 77,521 sq. miles, exclusive of large surfaces of river and estuary, and the Bengal States 5,434. To these, for census purposes, was added Sikkim State, another 2,818 sq. miles. Thirty sq. miles have been added since 1921 from Bihar and Orissa, but changes in calculation of area have increased the size by an additional 678 sq. miles.

The total population returned is 51,087,338 for Bengal (of which 50,114,002 were in British and 973,336 in State territory) and 109,808 for Sikkim, the population of Bengal being more than one-sixth of the total for British India.

The density in British Bengal is now 646 persons per sq. miles, while that of Sikkim is only 39. Excluding Calcutta, the density of Bengal varies from 2,105 in the Howrah district to 43 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, but by far the greater part of the Province has a density of over 500 to the sq. mile, and if smaller units are taken, a much higher rural density is found in many places, Dacca Division having 3,228 per sq. mile. Munshiganj sub-division of 2,413, and Lohajang thana of

The rate of increase of population has been 7.3 per cent since 1921 and that of Sikkim 34.4 per cent.

Cooch Behar State is one of the few in India that shows a decrease since 1921. This decrease, 0.27 per cent, is entirely Hindu (-4.76 per cent.) and is attributed to

the expansion of settled cultivation by Muslims which has the effect of driving the Hinduised tribes, Koch, Mech, Poliya, etc. into the foot-hills of eastwards into Assam, a process observed likewise in the adjoining Bengal districts. It also suggested that this decrease is partly due to the changes in social custom, such as the abandonment of widow re-marriage as part of a campaign of social elevation and to changes in environment unfavourable to pre-existing adaptations.

Tripura State on the other hand, with only 93 persons to the sq. mile, has experienced an increase of 25.6 per cent. and the thinly populated Chittagong Hill Tracts one of 22.9 per cent.

Conditions during the decade from the economic standpoint are described as having "not entirely unsatisfactory". Harvest have been generally good and prices high until 1929, though there have been severe floods in three years, some cyclones and an earthquake. Wages were high till 1930, but their high level was of little benefit to middle class families with fixed incomes, and it was the skilled workman who reaped the most benefit.

In industry, cotton mills have been prosperous throughout, and just until 1929; tea was prosperous till 1927 ; coal has not been prosperous.

Throughout Bengal, there seems to have been a general rise in the standard of living, not shown in an improved or more expensive diet, though it is reported that the need for a better balanced dietary is indicated by the fact that an ordinary cultivator is found to improve and gain weight on prison fare, but in minor amenities, such as umbrellas and shoes, shirts and coats "now worn by thousands who would never have dreamt of wearing them ten years ago," while the hurricane lantern is almost universally displacing the indigenous oil lamp.

In an examination of the population question, the Census superintendent reaches the conclusion that Bengal might have a population of some 53,000,000 in 1941, and that the maximum population will be from 68 to 74 millions ; that the Hindu population has passed the point at which the rate of increase accelerates in successive decades and is approaching a stationary population, whereas the Muslim population has not yet progressed so far along its present cycle of growth but will ultimately be to the Hindu as 4 to 3 ; and that Bengal could support at the present standard of living nearly double its present population.

#### BIHAR AND ORISSA

Bihar and Orissa has a heterogeneous population of 42,329,583 in an area of 111,702 sq miles giving a mean density of 379 per sq. mile of which 28,648 sq. miles consist of Feudatory States which contain more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions of the population. The increase of the Province has been 11.5 per cent since 1931. The population falls naturally into three areas which do not correspond to its administrative divisions, that is, into Bihar (exclusive of the Santal Parganas), the Chota Nagpur plateau together with the Santal Parganas and the Feudatory States, and Orissa proper. The mean density gives little indication of its great variation, which is as high as 969 persons per sq. mile in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, with a density of 1073 if calculated on cultivatable area, and as low as 43 in the Feudatory State of Rairakhol. In previous decades the number of emigrants has very greatly exceeded the number of immigrants. This excess has been considerably reduced during the past ten years.

But these conditions have been confined to British territory, for in the States there has been in the past an excess of immigrants over emigrants which has been similarly reduced during the past decade. The public health has been exceptionally good throughout the decade, mortality from plague having decreased by about 73 per cent and from cholera by about 30 per cent. At the same time, though the birth rate has fallen from 41 per mile to 36.5, the survival ratio has more than doubled.

Bombay in 1921 included the area which in 1931, was enumerated as the Western India States Agency, and on this occasion therefore its area was reduced to 151,593 square miles (excluding Aden), having a population of 26,347,519 and a mean density of 174. Even with this reduction Bombay remains larger than any Province except Burma and Madras. It comprises not only the British districts of the Bombay Presidency proper but the Bombay States and Agencies and Sind.

#### BOMBAY CITY

In Bombay City itself, the population has actually fallen since 1921, partly probably because the economic depression which has set in by the census of 1931 had

driven back to their homes the countrymen who normally come down to Bombay to work during the cold weather and partly owing to suburban expansion, but every other unit in the confines of the Presidency proper has increased in population during the decade and the general rate of increase, 13.7 per cent, is well above that of India as a whole. In the case of the cities the increase was probably greater than that actually shown, since the municipal authorities did not in all cases co-operate whole-heartedly, while some were definitely obstructive. In Surat, Kaira, Villeparle and Broach at any rate the enumeration was probably defective, and at Ahmedabad it was made impossible to carry it out at all in many parts of the city.

The Central Provinces and, even more, Sind have increased at a higher rate than the province as a whole though Sind has been visited by disastrous floods and in 1929-30 revenue to the extent of Rs. 57,71,940 had to be remitted on account of damage by locusts.

In marked contrast to all the decades since 1891, no district has suffered from a single very bad season during the whole period under review.

#### BURMA

Though only eighth in order of population figures, Burma is by far the largest of the Provinces of the Indian Empire, having an area of 261,610 square miles of which 233,492 were covered by the census operations of 1931. The population census is 14,667,146 having increased by 11 per cent since 1921, part of which increase as nearly as can be estimated 320,000 persons, is due to immigration from India.

The immigration of Yunnanese during the decade has been considerable and has added about 10,000 to the population of the Northern Shan States while Indians largely Gurkhas from Nepal have added another 11,000 to the Northern and 5,000 to the Southern Shan States. In the Salween division the population of the Karen States decreased and the increase in the rest of that division was largely due to the mias in Salween District. The Chin division has increased not only by the natural growth during a prosperous decade but by the inclusion of previously unadministered country on the Assam border. The Central Provinces and Berar area totalling 131,095 square miles, include not only the British districts, 82,153 square miles, and the fifteen States of the Central Provinces, 31,175 square miles, but the four districts of Berar, 17,767, which are leased in perpetuity from H. E. H. the Nizam. The total area of the Province according to the last revision is 133,050 square miles. The total population is 17,990,937 with a mean density of 137 per square mile, but this density is very variable being exceedingly low in the 20,000 square miles still covered by forest. The highest density is that of the Kotghora Tahsil which has 492 persons to the square mile, and the lowest that of the Ahiri Zamindari with only 16. Famines and epidemics have been responsible for exceptional fluctuations in the past, and the Central Provinces more than any other are marked by recurring alternations between good and bad years.

On the whole the intervening prosperity more than balanced the depression at either end of the decade. The net area cropped increased from 23,535,215 acres to 25,364,376; the addition of a thousand miles of irrigation channels added nearly 100,000 acres of irrigated land; 1,000 miles of metalled road were added to the existing metalled roads, and many new bridges, and 300 miles of railway. It is significant of the connection between prosperity and population that the growth of the latter was very small in the north of the Province which suffered three very bad years at the end of the decade. Elsewhere, as in other Provinces, the highest rate of increase was in the most thinly populated areas.

The infant mortality rate appears to be higher in the Central Provinces than in India as a whole or in most other parts of India, but the ratio of increase at this census has been 12.6 per cent for the Province.

#### DECREASE IN COORG

Coorg, smallest after Delhi of the Provinces of India, is the only one which showed a decrease of population at the census of 1931. Its area is 1,593 square miles (of which 519 are occupied by Reserved Forest) with a population of 163,327—511 less than in 1921, and a density of 103 persons per sq. mile. The decrease in population is probably greater than the figures indicate since there has been a decrease of about 5,000 persons in the natural population most of which is balanced by an increase in immigrants more apparent than real, since it consists mostly of labourers who leave the Province for their homes in March. In 1921 many must have already gone when the census was taken but in 1931 the census fell

earlier before the exodus had started. The vital statistics showed an excess in deaths over births of 14,000 though it is stated of the average individual in Coorg that his desire "appears to be to have as many children as possible irrespective of his economic position". Urban population has increased and a general increase in the number of occupied houses points to the gradual dissolution of the joint family system prevalent in Coorg.

### DELHI

Delhi the smallest and most recently constituted of the Provinces of India is primarily an urban unit and the total area of the Province is only 573 sq. miles, but the population is 636,246 persons (722 females per 1,000 males) with a mean density of 1,110 persons per sq. mile. This density varies from 58,273 persons per sq. mile in Old Delhi municipality to 372 in the rural area, where the increase during the decade has been only 3 per cent. as compared with 30.3 per cent for the province as a whole. This rapid increase is due to the abnormal growth of a newly established Capital, and is very largely due to immigration, since the gross balance of migration in Delhi's favour is 189,594 persons, of which the Census Superintendent regards 111,775 as the actual net increase by immigration during the decade since 1921. This growth in population has outstripped the rapid building of houses and in the urban area the density per 100 houses has increased from 410 in 1921 to 454 in 1931. The censured population of the urban areas however (447,442) probably falls to about 330,000 in the hot weather, which is likely to be no more and possibly even less than its permanent population at the height of its importance in the reign of Shah Jahan.

### WHERE MADRAS LEADS

MADRAS, covering 142,272 sq. miles and populated by 46,740,107 persons, is second among the major provinces in area, third in population and fifth in density (329) but in rate of increase seventh exceeding only Bengal and the United Provinces the higher population figures of which is fast over-hauling. Its rate of increase for the decade was 10.4 in British territory, a little less than the general rate of the whole Indian Empire.

The vital statistics of Madras are worthy of reference since this Province is the only one whose registration of birth and death approaches anything like a satisfactory standard. Even so, in 1930, some 62,000 unregistered births and 20,000 unregistered deaths were detected by inspecting officers in the Presidency. In some parts of Madras emigration takes place on a large scale to Assam, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya the annual loss being some 13,000 and though the decline in the planting industry has resulted in large number of returns, these had not had their full effect by the time the census took place even from Burma.

As in the accuracy of her vital statistics, Madras is ahead of other Provinces in the matter of birth control.

The external boundaries have not altered. Internally there have been some changes between districts the most important of which has been the re-absorption in the three neighbouring plains districts of the Agency Division, a hilly tract inhabited by Konds, Sawaras and similar hill tribes and quite alien to the plains districts which have absorbed it. The mean density is 329 but density varies greatly in different areas being only 89 persons to the square mile in the agency tracts and 471 on the west coast, though one district, the plains of Godavari East, on the Coromandel Coast reaches a higher density (660) than Malabar itself with 610. There is a greater tendency to city life in Madras than in any major Province but Bombay, but the towns are far less industrial in character than that of the latter Province. Nevertheless, signs of industrial development are appearing and cotton mills are springing up at small country centres supplied by the cotton growing areas they adjoin. Thus Pollachi, a small town in Coimbatore district, had six miles in 1921 but 30 in 1931. Cheap power from water is a possibility and the use of electricity is steadily advancing in popularity, as the decade has seen many towns with oil lamps or no lamps adopt electric lighting and fans. The standard of living is rising and in ten years the villager has "become accustomed to and takes as necessities what formerly were rather unlooked for luxuries. The great advance in communications which the motor bus and car has brought has contributed enormously to widening horizons."

## FRONTIER PROVINCE

The North-West Frontier Province has an area of 36,356 square miles with a population of 4,684,364 and a mean density of 129 per sq. mile but of this area 22,838 square miles constitute the Trans-frontier Agencies, of the population of which 2,212,837 is only estimated and not obtained by enumeration, making a total with those enumerated in trans-frontier posts of 2,259,288 (density of 99) and leaving 2,425,076 persons in the five regularly administered districts with an area of 13,518 square miles and a mean density of 179, an area a little greater than that of Holland with a population a little less than that of Denmark. Since 1921, the Malandri tract, 20 square miles, has been added to the administered from the unadministered area and four square miles have been transferred from Kohat District to the former. Otherwise there has been no territorial change. The density of population in the administered areas exclusive of urban population varies according to the combined factor of rainfall and irrigable land, decreasing from North to South. The growth of population has depended mainly on the extension of canal irrigation. The Kabul River Canal reached its maximum area of irrigation in 1921 and the Upper Swat Canal in 1929,

## PUNJAB

The Punjab is the eighth Province in India in area, but with the Punjab States Agency fourth in area, sixth in density and fifth in population. It has an area of 136,964 square miles with a mean density of 208, but this includes not only British Districts and the Punjab States Agency, a separate unit though treated in the same volume. Taken separately, British territory has a population of 23,580,852 with a density of 238 over 99,265 square miles. The Punjab States Agency has an area of 32,407 square miles, a population of 4,472,218 and a mean density of 138. The increase in the Punjab population during the last 40 years is well-illustrated by the density of Lyallpur district which was 15 per square mile in 1891 and is now 368. The last decade has seen the highest rate of increase yet recorded. The birth rate, twice that of the United Kingdom, has remained consistently high.

The United Provinces have an area of 112,191, sq. miles of which 5,943 constitute the States of Rampur, Tchir-Garhwal and Benares. The total area is less than that of 1921 by 53 sq. miles on account of 8 sq. miles transferred elsewhere and 45 reduced by fresh surveys. The Province (British territory) is a little smaller than the British Isles and has a slightly larger population, while the total population of the province is 49,614,833 with a mean density of 442. Though seventh of the provinces of India in size, it is third in point of population. Eighty per cent of the inhabitants are actively engaged in agriculture.

There has been a marked improvement in public health, particularly in the matter of deaths from Plague, Cholera and Small-pox. The increase in population during the decade has been greater in the States than in British territory but amounts over the whole province to 6·7 per cent, the density being greater in the east than in the west. In this connection, it is pointed out that the higher castes are predominant in the west of the province, and the lower in the east, or in cases of castes uniformly distributed, the western branches are socially superior. Generally speaking, however, the population of the United Provinces like its language is more uniform than that of most Provinces in India,

## BARODA STATE

Baroda State occupies 8,164 sq. miles in Gujarat and Kathiawar, but it is not a compact whole, consisting of four major and several minor disconnected areas, with a total population of 2,443,007 and a mean density of 299 per sq. mile. The population has increased by 14·9 per cent since 1921. The natural increase is estimated at 8·4 per cent and the increase due to immigration was swollen by 26,755 persons who migrated from villages in adjoining British territory for political motives connected with the non-co-operation movement. Baroda is the sixth largest of the Indian States though about sixteenth in area. No epidemics visited the State during the decade, nor were there any calamities claiming a serious toll of lives. Occupied areas increased from 3,710,000 acres to 83,920,00 and the number of permanent irrigation wells increased from 60,433 to 103,775.

### Table Showing Number in Provinces

The following table shows the number of population in the provinces of India according to the census report of 1931 :-

	Area Sq. Mile	Male	Female	Total
India	1,808,679	1,818,288,923	1,710,008,855	352,837,778
Ajmere & Marwara	2,711	296,081	264,211	560,292
Andaman & Nicobar Isles	3,143	19,702	9,761	29,463
Assam	5,014	4,537,206	4,085,045	8,622,251
Beluchistan	54,228	270,004	193,504	463,508
Bengal	77,521	26,041,698	24,072,304	50,114,002
Behar & Orissa	83,054	18,794,138	18,883,438	37,677,576
Bombay (including Aden)	123,679	11,535,903	10,394,698	21,930,601
Burma	233,492	7,490,601	7,176,545	14,667,146
C. P. & Berar	99,920	7,761,818	7,745,905	15,507,723
Coorg	1,593	90,575	72,752	163,327
Delhi	573	369,497	266,749	636,246
Madras	142,277	23,082,999	23,657,108	46,740,107
N. W. F. P.	13,518	1,315,818	1,109,258	2,425,076
Punjab	99,200	12,880,510	10,700,342	23,580,852
U. P.	106,248	25,445,006	22,953,757	48,408,763
Provinces	1,096,171	139,931,556	131,595,377	271,526,933

Burma is the biggest province as regards area—233,429 square miles.

Bengal is the biggest province as regards population—50,114,002.

Central Provinces have the highest death rate—335.

Assam has the lowest death rate in India—23.8.

Madras has the largest number of females per 1,000, males—1.25.

The Punjab has the smallest number of females per 1,000 male—831.

Burma leads as regards the number of old men. The percentage of population aged 50 years and over is 11.3—the highest in India.

The infant mortality rate is the lowest in Burma.—23 per cent.

The Jews have the largest number of children. The average number of children per family is 5.9.

Hinduism is the predominant religion in India,—6.824 persons per 10,000 population follow this religion.

Christians have the biggest families in India, the number of persons per family being 5.

Bengal has the largest number of widows—226 per 1000 of women.

Burma has the largest number of insane—88 per 1,00,000 population.

Ajmer—Merwara has the largest number of blind persons—386 per 100,000 population.

Burma has the largest number of literates—368 per mile.

# IRRIGATION IN INDIA 1930-31

The report on Irrigation in India during the year 1930-31, which was issued by the Government of India from Simla on the 1st July 1933, gives interesting details of irrigation operation in India during the year under review.

The works completed were (1) improvement to the Kovvur-Manjair junction canal, Godavari Delta system—estimate Rs. 154 lakhs; (2) diversion of the Nalamada drain, Kistna Delta—estimate Rs. 1,018 lakhs; (3) improvements to the Veeranam tank, Lower Coleroon anicut system—estimate Rs. 165 lakhs.

The works in progress were chiefly those related to the Cauvery Mettur Project. The Government state, with reference to this project, that the preliminary headworks have been completed, excavation for the main dam is practically finished, and about fifty-four per cent of the actual dam construction has been done.

The work on the high level sluice is now well advanced and good progress has been made in the construction of regulators, sluices, weirs, aqueducts and bridges. The expenditure on the project during the year amounted to about Rs. 103 lakhs of rupees.

The other works in progress were those relating to the Prolavaram Island project, the Basavamat Channel improvements, improvements to the Yenamaddurru drain, the Kattalai north bank canal, and diversion of the upland drainage across the Cauvery Vennar regulator.

## PROJECTS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Projects under consideration were those relating to revision of the estimate for the Jogudi reservoir in the Ganjam District, preliminary report and estimate for the revised Tungabhadra scheme, investigation of the new high level channel taking off from the Kistna anicut, proposals for a channel for carrying food supplies for storage purposes in connection with the Kannampalli project; proposals for extending irrigation in the Coimbatore district from the water of the Siruvani stream; drainage improvements to the Shiyali Taluk in the Tanjoro District and a diversion bank for the Coleroon; the scheme for remodelling the sluices in the Canvery; investigation of the proposals connected with the Kattalai scheme in the Trichinopoly District and the scheme for the restoration of the old course of the Uyyakondam channel in the Tanjoro Taluk.

The total area sown in the Madras Presidency during the year under review was 39,193,000 acres of which 75,73,000 were Government irrigated. The capital cost on the irrigated area amounted to Rs. 1,763 lakhs and the value of the crops raised over the area and at this cost was Rs. 2,233 lakhs.

The mileage in canals and distributaries in operation during the period amounted to 13,414 miles under the various delta, anicut, channel, tank, canal, river, reservoir and other systems.

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# Report of the Capitation Tribunal

The report of the Capitation Tribunal along with the Government of India's order and the Prime Minister's announcement were published from Simla on the 20th December 1933. The report is accepted wherever the recommendations are unanimous and in cases of difference of opinion the majority opinion is adopted. The British Government have decided to recommend to the British Parliament that the amount of grant towards the cost of India's defence expenditure be one and a half million pounds, this amount to include the separate subsidy of £130,000 per annum hitherto paid from the army funds towards the cost of transport of British troops to and from India. It is calculated that the practical effect of the contributions by the British Government would be to relieve the Indian tax-payer of the cost of some ten British infantry battalions. The total gain to India is estimated at £ 417,000 per annum. The decision takes effect from April 1 of this year.

## Premier's Statement in Commons

The Prime Minister made the following announcement in the House of Commons on the 20th December regarding the Capitation Rate Tribunal :—

"As the House is aware, an advisory tribunal under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Garran was set up last year to advise on questions arising out of the incidence of the cost of India's defence expenditure with special reference to the charges made by the War Office and the Air Ministry for the cost of raising and training British troops for service in India known as the capitation charges, which had for so many years been a subject of controversy between the War Office and the Air Ministry and the Government of India. Two members of the tribunal, Lords Dunedin and Tomlin, were nominated by his Majesty's Government and Sir Shadilal and Sir Muhammad Sulaiman by the Government of India. The tribunal reported in January last and their report has been under careful consideration of his Majesty's Government and the Government of India who have agreed to accept its recommendations and where the tribunal are not unanimous, to act on the majority recommendations. This involves acceptance by the Government of India of the capitation charges calculated in accordance with the tribunal's suggestion as legitimate charges on Indian revenues and payment to India of a grant from British revenues towards the cost of India's defence expenditure. The Government have decided to recommend to the House that the amount of this grant be one and a half million sterling yearly. This amount is to include a separate subsidy of £130,000 yearly, hitherto paid from the army funds towards the cost of transport of British troops to and from India, the continuance of which was one of the matters referred to the tribunal. The Government trust that the action which they proposed to take on the recommendations of the tribunal will be accepted by all concerned as a satisfactory ending to a long standing controversy. I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing the Government's appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the chairman and members of the tribunal. The report of the tribunal would be published as a White Paper.

## FOREWORD TO THE REPORT

In the foreword to the Capitation Tribunal's report the British Government say :

"The text of the report of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal published in the following pages differs in some respects from that actually submitted by the tribunal and considered by his Majesty's Government. In two places in the report signed by all members of the tribunal his Majesty's Government have found it necessary for reasons of military policy to alter slightly the original wording but this has been done without in any way modifying the original significance. It has also not been found possible to publish *in extenso* the notes by Sir Shadilal and Sir Muhammad Sulaiman on the question of Imperial Military contribution in view of the discussion therein of certain matters in the sphere of military policy and foreign relations. The brief summaries of these notes which have been substituted are accepted by the two members concerned as conveying the purport of their respective notes."

## The Tribunal's Report

The report of the Capitation Tribunal mean a total gain to India of £41,417,009 yearly. The orders take effect from April 1, 1933.

The tribunal was appointed by his Majesty's Government to consider certain questions regarding the defence expenditure which are in dispute between the Government of India on the one hand and the War Office and the Air Ministry on the other.

### QUESTIONS AT ISSUE

The terms of reference to the tribunal covered four main points:

(a) Whether, and if so on what basis, capitation payments should continue, namely, the contribution paid from the Indian revenues towards the expenses borne by the War Office and the Air Ministry in recruiting officers, soldiers and air men in England and training them for service in India.

(b) India's claim that a contribution should be made from Imperial revenues towards the military expenditure from Indian revenues.

(c) The claim of the War Office and the Air Ministry that India should pay a direct contribution towards the cost of Imperial reserves.

(d) Whether the sea transport contribution paid by the War Office to India should be continued.

### CAPITATION PAYMENTS BY INDIA

As regards the capitation payments the tribunal found on the main question of principle that the cost of British colonization for the recruitment and training should be apportioned between Great Britain and India proportionately to their respective establishments. On that basis two most important subsidiary principles for settlement were: (1) what should be fixed as the period of training for which the cost should be charged to India and (2) whether India should be allowed a rebate proportionate to the terms served by a soldier in the reserve.

The recommendation of the tribunal was in effect midway between the claims of the War Office and the India Office in regard to the period of training and entirely in favour of India in the matter of rebate for reserve service.

As regards the claim that imperial revenues should continue to contribute towards the cost of Indian defence many arguments were put forward on either side. The tribunal decided to recommend that a contribution should be made and a majority of them considered that the grounds in respect of which contribution should be made were the following two only: (a) that the armed forces of India constitute a force ready in emergency to take the field at once, which does not exist elsewhere in the Empire which is specially available for immediate use in the East and which has on occasions been so used; and (b) that India is the training ground for active service, such as does not exist elsewhere in the Empire.

The tribunal recommended that the contribution should be fixed in relation to these grounds, but did not attempt themselves to assess the amount in terms of money.

On the question of reserve, the War Office claimed that India had no reserve of British troops on the spot and that the War did in fact maintain a larger reserve than it otherwise would in order to provide for India. Indian revenues should, therefore, contribute for the maintenance of the general Imperial reserve and further should accept entirely the maintenance of a specific reserve for India. The tribunal came to the conclusion that India should not contribute to the general reserve. As regards the specific reserve, they found there had been no decision by a competent authority to maintain such reserve for India and they advised, therefore, that at the present stage the claim in the form in which it was presented should not be allowed.

As regards the sea transport contribution paid by the War Office, the tribunal by a majority decided to recommend that payment at the rate of £140,000 a year should be continued.

In December, 1933, his Majesty's Government made a comprehensive award on the points raised before the tribunal. They accepted the recommendations of the tribunal. Where these are not unanimous, they have accepted the majority recommendations.

In the course of the report the Capitation Tribunal say: 'There have been suggestions both in the memoranda of the India Office and in the arguments of

counsel that for various reasons the British Government ought in the financial adjustments with India to act in a spirit of generosity or liberality and that the tribunal in framing its recommendations should frame them on that assumption, in other words, it should advise the British Government to be influenced by that spirit. We are all agreed that this is no part of the tribunal. We think that the tribunal in advising what payments should be made to India as also in advising what payments should be made by India ought not to be influenced by appeals to generosity on the one side or the other. Whether the British Government itself should be influenced by any such considerations is a matter for decision by the Government and Parliament which are responsible for the administration of public funds. The question of generosity is not related to any principle of fairness or equity and we do not think that it ought to be taken into account by the tribunal in advising what payments ought to be made by either party to the other.

#### INDIA'S POSITION IN MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

'It has also been suggested to us that we should give consideration to the fact that India, though already entrusted with considerable powers of self-government, is in the sphere of Military administration still to a great extent in a dependent position and is not able in negotiations upon matters relating to military expenditure or of army organisation involving military expenditure to exercise powers of "independent bargainer".

#### TASK OF THE TRIBUNAL

"We are all agreed that this is not a matter that ought to influence the tribunal in considering the question what payments should be made by one party or the other. In the negotiations between the two Governments it would be quite natural and proper for India to say : "We are not on terms of equality. We appeal to you to recognise this and to deal with us not with the strong hand of a predominant party imposing his will but in accordance with principles of fairness and equity." But such an appeal has no relevance to the deliberations of an independent tribunal which has the task of advising what ought to be done; in other words, what is fair and right between the parties. That is a question which cannot be affected by the fact that one of the parties in relation to the other is not in the position of an independent bargainer.

#### POLITICAL FEELING IN INDIA

'It has also been represented to us that the tribunal ought to be influenced by the fact that some of the charges made against India are the subject of strong political feeling in that country which the British Government as a matter of policy, ought to take into account and which the tribunal ought to advise the British Government to take into account. We are all agreed that the tribunal in advising whether a certain contribution ought or ought not to be made should not take this consideration. Political sentiment considered apart from the question whether it has a sound basis in reason is irrelevant to the question of what is fair and right. Right is not made wrong merely by being thought wrong by a large number of people. Nor has any evidence been placed before this tribunal to enable it to gauge the strength or persistence of this political sentiment. It may, of course, be that the Government in deciding whether a particular form of charge is politic may give consideration to questions such as this but they can only be considered by the Government which has the means of ascertaining the true position and the task of formulating a policy in the light of its knowledge. They cannot affect the tribunal's view of what financial obligations ought to be borne by India.'

With effect from April 1, 1933 payment of account at the capitation rate will be calculated in accordance with the recommendations of the tribunal. The calculation so far as can at present be seen will mean an annual net saving to India of £107,000 taking together payments due to the War Office and to the Air Ministry.

A contribution will be made from Imperial revenues towards defence expenditure from Indian reveaus from April 1, 1933. This contribution will be held at the rate of one and a half pound million a year but will be held to include sea transport contribution of £130,000. The effect of this decision is, therefore, a gain to India of £1,370,000.

When adjustments have been made for certain minor details the total result of the decisions of his Majesty's Government on matters considered by the tribunal is a gain to India estimated at £1,417,000 a year.

On the question of reserve his Majesty's Government have accepted the recommendation that India should make no contribution to the general Imperial reserve but have directed the Office and the War Office to submit for consideration of the Committee of Imperial Defence the military question whether a specific reserve for India should be maintained in England.

There are two points to be noticed in these decisions. In the first place although the reduction in capitulation payments is £107,000, the advantage gained is substantially greater than this figure might suggest. The sum is made up of a gain of £200,000 in respect of payments to the War Office and an extra payment of £93,000 in respect of payments to the Air Ministry. The Government of India have always admitted if contributions were calculated on the basis now recommended by the tribunal, payments hitherto made to the Air Ministry have been inadequate. Further, the Government of India were on their defence before the tribunal against the claim by the War Office that the present capitulation payment of £1,270,000 instead of being reduced should be enhanced to £2,580,000. Secondly, it is to be noticed that these decisions will not have retrospective effect beyond April 1, 1933. If retrospective effect had been given the result would have been payments by the War Office to the India Office on account of army from 1926 only in accordance with the settlement made in that year, and by the India Office to the Air Ministry on account of the air force from 1920 to the present. Owing to an earlier date from which arrears would have been payable to the Air Ministry these payments would roughly have balanced each other and it was, therefore, decided that all arrears upto April 1, 1931 should be cancelled.

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# THE INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The 7th session of the Indian Oriental Conference was opened on the 27th December 1933 in the after-noon amidst impressive scenes by H. H. Gaekwar in Nayamandir, Baroda. H. H. the Maharani was also present. Earlier, the President-elect was received by the Chairman and members of the Reception Committee, who also received a few minutes later, Their Highnesses when they came in state.

After presentation of Mr. Jayaswal and the Conference executive to the Gaekwar, His Highness in declaring the Conference open, welcomed the Conference members and delegates to the capital. His Highness mourned the loss of two great orientalists and ex-Presidents of the Conference, Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi and Mr. Haraprasad Sastri. Dwelling on the Conference work itself, the Gaekwar stressed the necessity for modernising the technique of oriental scholarship in which connection he recalled Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's address before the Calcutta session of the Conference in 1922. His Highness expressed great satisfaction at the march of knowledge in recent years which was marked particularly by the discovery of Mahenjodaro and other ancient signs. He evinced great solicitude for the masses to whose uplift he devotes his best energies and best resources of his State suggesting popularisation of new knowledge through modern vernaculars. His Highness believed that the methods of the east and west were complementary to each other and greater co-ordination between the two should be aimed at. He next referred to the inherent unity of Asiatic Countries and said: "While we Indians should know our own history to see it in proper perspective, it had to be studied as part of Asiatic history and requires at the same time some insight into cross fertilisation of cultures and migrations of races both eastwards and westwards with consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures." In this connection the Gaekwar stressed the necessity for reciprocity among scholars of all Asiatic countries whereby alone fundamental unity of the East would be satisfactorily achieved.

## The Presidential Address

After His Highness had declared the Conference open, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, President delivered his address replete with valuable information and throwing a flood of light on the ancient Indian history. The following is the text :—

It is an occasion which will be recalled in future that you—the representatives and advocates of Indian culture—should be holding your session under the patronage of the most cultured ruler of modern India—our revered Maharaja Gaekwad—the modern Bhoja. In his kingdom, you will practically find no unlettered man as none was to be found in the kingdom of Bhoja. King Bhoja made gems of ancient Hindu literature available to his contemporaries through his treatises and cyclopaedias : Maharaja Sayaji Rao III is repeating the process through his world-famous Oriental Service. He has led Indian renaissance by various measures including personal discourses, the latest being one, before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. The great Hindu Prince of Peace—Lord Buddha—you find installed prominently in his magnificent capital. A bust of R. C. Dutta is honoured in the Hall of Audience at the Laksmbi Vilasa Palace where Dr. Tagore, Sir C. V. Raman and other scholars have almost annually lectured. In his State every village possesses books ; in his capital his subjects have at their disposal one of the largest libraries in India. In his city of Patan, you have one of the largest and most important libraries of Jaina manuscripts. In his Kathiawad, you have the dear Dvaraka.

## THE DEPARTED NOTABLES

Let us hope that we shall achieve something in this session of ours which may partake of the constructive genius of our Patron and which will be fittingly associated with Baroda, the home of progress and reform. When we think of new measures and of a constructive programme, and look round for guidance, we are at once reminded that we have no longer amongst us the two eldest of the Elders of our Sangha. We miss today Mr. Haraprasad Sastri and we miss Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. How poorer are we to-day by the loss of that monument of Hindu learning, that store of historical knowledge, our Fifth President, Dr. Haraprasad

Sastri ! He had, in fact, presided over Indology for three generations. He produced such pupils as the late R. D. Banerji, with whom a new era in research opened through his Mohan-jo Daro discoveries. He was a source of inspiration in Eastern India for nearly half a century, as Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had been in this Western India. I had the privilege of his friendship for twenty years, and in his company I felt I saw a series of moving pictures in quick succession of stages and decades, of cults and culture—of various aspects of Hindu history. It is difficult to fill the void, but as I firmly believe that my race is alive, I expect the void caused by his absence will be filled up by the Indian scholars though not in the person of one man, at any rate, in the aggregate. He has, in any case, left behind one who can be confidently expected to help in making up this loss—I mean Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, the distinguished editor of the Geakwad Oriental Series. To keep up his tradition would be the most appropriate memorial to that departed Sarvabhauma scholar.

The rishi-like, lovable personality of Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi we cannot help missing and more particularly when the Conference is meeting for the first time in his own homeland of Gujarat. Iranian and Hindu are the twin pulses of that whole grain which is known as Aryaa Civilizationa. In the person of Sir Jivanji the two were united and his personality was a constant reminder of that unity in the sessions of our Oriental Conference. That unity, I am glad to see, is being realized both here and in modern Persia which has deputed Prof. Pouro Davood, the leading Persian scholar to Santiniketana, whom we have elected as one of our Sectional Presidents. In India itself, Dr. Taraporewala and others will, no doubt, carry on the mission of Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. It is a good sign to see Hindu scholars like Mr. Jatindra Mohan Chatterji taking up the study of the Iranian Gathas from the Indian point of view. I must add that I would wish to see in this country more Vedic scholars taking to the study of the Avesta and more Avestic scholars taking to the study of the Vedas than is actually the case at present. In Europe, the two studies are hardly ever divorced from one another as is illustrated by Oldenberg, Geldner Hertel and others.

Gujarat has been the first province to contribute to the foundation of modern Indian scholarship. Dr. Bhau Daji's and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's are the names which have always to be invoked and cited by the present and future scholars of this country. Only those who had intimate personal knowledge of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii and Dr. Buhler could realise what an influence the former exercised on the great contributions of the latter to the history of India. Gujarat is gifted both with the practical and the analytical mind, and Gujarat should never lose her leadership in epigraphy and Sanskrit in the growing specialization of Indian scholarship.

#### ACHIEVEMENT IN INDIAN SCHOLARSHIP

The most notable and satisfactory feature of the present time in our field is the high level of achievement attained by Indian scholarship in its many-sided and varied activities. Here I should like to quote from a competent surveyor, Prof. Sylvain Levi, member of the French Academy, the second President of this Oriental Conference, the foremost Indologist of France. In a letter dated the 7th of November, 1933, he writes to me :

"Do not fail to tell the scholars assembled for the Seventh Oriental Conference, that I shall be ever grateful to them for the honour that was conferred by them upon me at the 1921 meeting. Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress in the meanwhile, and the many periodicals now published by Indian savants in India can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the west."

This is the best brief review which can be rendered in the sutra style; and coming as it does from an Elder of our Saagha, I am relieved from the task of essaying to reader it myself. When we have authority, it is enough to quote it. But while quoting it, I as your spokesman cannot but assure our Second President and his colleagues in the West that we will never forget the debt of gratitude we owe them for having devoted their lives to our country and to quote the Professor's words one more, "restored to India her forgotten glory."

#### OUR NEW SCHOLARS

Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters, recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical

boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohanjo Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic. And if this is established, the credit of the discovery will be that of an Indian scholar, namely, Dr. Pran Nath. Two years back, this was the conclusion already formed by Dr. Pran Nath. Since then Mr. Piccoli ("Indian Antiquity" November, 1933) has pointed out the identity of our Indus signs with the undeciphered signs found on ancient pottery and sepulchral remains in Etruria. Mr. Guillaume de Hevesy in a paper published in the "Bulletin de l' Association Francaise des Amis de l' Orient" (Nos. 14-15, 1933, Paris, Musee Guimet) has shown that 52 Indus signs occur exactly in the same form on tablets recovered on the Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. In India itself, we have discovered a long inscription at Vikramkhil, in the district of Sambhalpur, the plates of which have been published by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the "Indian Antiquary," 1933, at a great cost, from copies and photographs taken by the authorities of the Patna Museum. This record seems to show a stage midway between the Indus script and Brahmi. It is inevitable that our views on the origin of ancient scripts be radically revised. This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very wide-spread and long-standing civilisation extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terracottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture to limit the "Indus Civilisation" to the valley of the Indus alone. Possibilities of its discovery in the Western Coast line of Kathiawad are promised by a passage in the Maha-Bharata which mentions seals which were considered ancient and peculiar when the Maha-Bharata was compiled. The sands of Rajputana and certain sites in the Central Provinces may yet disclose similar evidence. There lies an immense task of sorting and collating the mess of material recovered and of deciphering the new documents.

#### SOME RECENT FINDS IN HISTORY

Coming now to the historic periods, welcome finds have been brought to light recently. At Mahasthan in the district of Bogra, North Bengal, a small tablet on a piece of white stone has been found. It is a secular document composed in the Maurya Imperial vernacular. Its letter-forms agree with the Sohagaura copper-plate on the one hand and with the early forms of Asokan letters on the other. Its somewhat difficult language has found an able interpreter in Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, the document is an administrative order on famine relief, issued by the Council of Ministers at Pundra. In my opinion, it is a sister document to the Sohagaura notification which I have already read at the request of Dr. Bhandarkar. The Sohagaura tablet is a copy among several copies cast in a mould thus serving the same purpose which is achieved to-day by printing a hand-hill. This document also provides against drought—(usagame—ushmagame) when grain was lent out or freely distributed to peasants. Both these notifications, in my opinion, refer to the prolonged or repeated droughts occurring in the reign of Emperor Chandra-gupta Maurya. The Sohagaura order was also issued by a Provincial Council, the Council of Oudh, called the Ministers of Sarvasti. These two Provincial Governments to the north of the Ganges were under Maurya Ministers as opposed to Viceroyalties where a prince royal with a Council of Ministers ruled in the name of the Emperor, e. g., at Takhasila, Ujjain, and other places. We further gather an important piece of information that the North Bengal people at the time were called Sam-Vangiyas, i. e., a confederated community like that of the Licchavis, Sakyas and others and were evidently a people allied to them, a non-Brahmanical Aryan community. These are the first administrative inscriptions embodying a governmental order that we get of the Maurya times. These two orders carry the Maurya epigraphy to nearly three quarters of a century before Asoka. On the Sohagaura plate there is a royal Monogram devised for the name of "Chandra-gupta Maurya." There is a chakra covering the top of a cluster of three arches, two placed side by side and one on the top of these two arches. They are a combination of the Brahmi letters 'ga' and a double 'ta', the whole combination giving the name Chandragupta. A similar combination is found on the coins of Agnimitra about a century and a half later. By the side of the monogram we

have the letter 'mo' which is the initial of Moriya, the vernacular form of the Sanskrit Maurya. The same monogram is found at the bottom of the Kumhrar pillar at Pataliputra, dug out from the remains of the Maurya palace, where the word Moriya is written in full by the side of the same monogram. I have traced the same monogram on all the ten cast coins, found in the Pataliputra excavations at the Mauriya level, and on one coin found at the base of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath, and on potteries supplied to soldiers in the Pataliputra palisade fortifications found with their swords and other remains. The monogram was, therefore, the Government mark or Rajanya in the language of the Arthashastra of Kautilya.

### THEIR IMPORTANCE IN RESEARCH

At Yeraguddi and Koppal, new Asoka inscriptions have been recovered. The Yeraguddi record establishes the long-suspected fact that our Brahmi writing was originally hystrophedonic, and probably, it is this method of writing which gave rise earlier to the Jyotiphala and the Ganaptha method of reciting, that is, rendering the Vedas. In making this document quickly available to Indian scholars the "Indian Historical Quarterly," which now occupies a leading position among our research journals did a good service. And, similarly, that journal has been the first in India to give valuable information on the newly discovered Gilgit Manuscripts. Dr. Narendra Nath Law who devotes his learning time and financial resources to the maintenance of this journal, deserves the thanks of his countrymen.

The various activities in the field of Indology, both through the medium of English and vernaculars that are going on in different parts of India have been exclusively and brilliantly reviewed by the last President, Dr. Hira Lal, at our Patna Session and it is not necessary to repeat them here. He has also noted the contribution of the Indian States. I would take this occasion to thank publicly on your behalf the State and the Government of Gwalior for the care which they take in the preservation of ancient monuments in their State. Mr. Grade, the Archaeological Superintendent, deserves special mention.

It is, however, a matter of regret that in some of the Indian States monuments are suffering from a terrible neglect. The State of Ajmer has allowed a most important temple at Nachna to be destroyed by its subjects. This was a pre-Gupta or early Gupta monument the like of which was nowhere to be found in the whole of India. Historical and artistic remains are so widely scattered all over India that unless the public take a dutiful interest in their preservation, they cannot be effectively protected from vandalism and natural decay. An Indian State is especially expected to protect its ancient temples and objects of art.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

The work of the imperial Archaeological Department has been great in the past and the British Indian Government may look back upon it with a rightful pride. In recent years, however, the work of the Department has suffered for want of adequate financial provisions at the hands of the Imperial Government. Owing to financial difficulties, every State undertaking has suffered, but the Archaeological Department seems to have been outstandingly a victim. This has been due to want of interest at the hands of public men and politicians. The Department has found no advocate for its help. This is, indeed, a deplorable fact. It will be a great pity if the present apathy and neglect continues. If steps are not taken to direct our energies to this vast and virgin soil, the result will be that expeditions from foreign countries will possess the fields and crowd us out. In this connection, I might appeal to private societies, like the Historical Society of Allahabad, to undertake the excavation work which the law now permits. If they dig at Kausambi, I am confident that pre-Buddhist remains and documents will be discovered. The dynasty of the Bharatas after giving up Hastinapura came and settled at Kausambi. Personally, I have not the least doubt, if proper operations are conducted and the right sites selected, we shall get at the remains of the family of Satavahana and Shishunaga.

We cannot shut our eyes to what the academic institutions in Europe and America are doing to fit out costly expeditions of exploration in distant lands. The other day we read of a proposed Italian expedition to Nepal. Are our Universities and other institutions merely to sit and look on while others win undying glory in fields which legally belong to us?

What private effort can do in one field is well illustrated by the museum of the Allahabad Municipality, equipped in less than three years.

The educative value of museums needs not to be told to the modern world. It is self-evident. And when we hear that the State of Kashmir has made a retrenchment by abolishing its Museum, we have to draw the attention of the Darbar that the institution should be resuscitated. No State in the twentieth century can afford to be without museum, when even a municipality realizes the necessity and utility of such institutions.

### SOME REGRETS

With deep regret we have to note that from this month the Indian Antiquary will cease to exist. This was the most powerful journal in the field of research in India. For sixty-two years it has served the cause of Indian history in its widest significance and is a record of wisdom and patience. A journal to which Buhler, Burgess, Bhagwanlal, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Fleet and Sir Richard Temple gave their best, should not have been allowed to die.

Another matter of regret is the early retirement of Dr. Hirananda Sastri from the post of Epigraphist to the Government of India and from the editorship of the *Epigraphia Indica*. To quote an English scholar :—"The retirement of that learned and reliable scholar will mean a great loss to the Archaeological Department". The care and caution which he displayed throughout his career in the Archaeological Department will stand as a credit to Indian scholarship.

### AN EMINENT EPIGRAPHIST

Outside the official world, we have to notice the striking work of Mr. Durga Prasad of Benares on the Punch-marked Coins, the most ancient coinage of Hindu India. In a private booklet he has offered a wealth of thoughtfully digested material and an important addition to our knowledge on the subject. For nearly a century the punch-marked coins had baffled all attempts at a chronological arrangement. The only guide we have had was the rough calculation possible on the basis of wear and tear of those coins. But Mr. Durga Prasad is the first authority to dispel darkness and show us light, by finding a clear chronological line through his identification of the Maurya coinage, the provenance of which extends from Afghanistan to the Deccan. These have a definite and exclusive class of symbols methodically employed. From this class, one sub-division which is again sufficiently marked off in individuality, he found on an analysis, to agree exactly with the constitution of the alloy prescribed in Kautalya's *Artha-Sastra* for the royal Karshapanas of silver. This is the Class B on his plates. He concludes from their wide distribution from the North-West Frontier up to the Deccan and the analysis that these are imperial coins of the early Mauryas. That conclusion I have now verified. The monogram on the Sehgaura plate and the Kumhrar Manya stone pillar giving the Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta Moriya, are invariably found on his Class B coins.

### INDEPENDENT CONTRIBUTIONS

It is a notable and welcome feature of our time that our countrymen outside the official circle of archaeologists and specialists are adding every day to the sum of our knowledge by their individual efforts. The recent Asokan edicts have been brought to light by Mr. A. Ghose, Engineer, and the site of Buddha's hermitage in the Rajgir hills has been identified by Mr. P. C. Chaudhury, I. C. S. who has also done some useful excavations at his own cost, near Rajgir. Mr. N. C. Mehta, one of our Sectional Presidents, and Mr. O. C. Ganguly have been constantly employing their leisure to Indian Art with substantial results to their credit and to the credit of their subject. Rai Krishna Das of Benares has privately gathered and made over a valuable Museum of Indian Art to the Kasi Nagari-Pracharini Sabha. This class of workers are entitled to our grateful recognition. In this connection, I may bring to your notice the devoted interest of a friend of mine which has resulted in one of the most remarkable artistic finds of the Manya or pre-Maurya period. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, one of the Vice-Patrons of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, has got his house in the Patna Qila area, where the most beautiful sculpture with Maurya polish at its best was discovered, namely, the Didarganj female figure, life-size. From that very arca Mr. Jalan has found a group of two gold figures in a half-round repoussé relief, evidently a miniature copy of stone images. They are exactly in the same style as the Patna sasunaka and the Didarganj statues. They represent clearly

Siva and Parvati, for the male figures bears a serpent on the chest, very artistically done and the moon below the hair-knot. We have here the oldest Hindu plastic representation of Har-Gauri yet discovered in the country. The reliance on volume in art which we trace in the Parkham, Besaagar, and Patna statues and which disappears under Asoka, is the visible feature in the male figure in this gold group, while the female is as delicate as the Didarganj image, executed with exquisite feeling. In my opinion the gold plaque and the Didarganj image are old remnants of the Nanda Palace called Su-Gangeya. Mr. Jalan has collected many rare things in his private collection, including the only known gold coin of Yosodharman, Swami Janaananda and Mr. Lochanaprasada Pandey, two private individuals have discovered and brought to our notice the Vikramkhol inscription, and earned our gratitude.

#### PROGRESS IN PHILOLOGY

A great stride has been made in the last two years in the philology of our post-Prakrit vernaculars. Dr. Hira Lal brought to light a class of Jain literature dated from 900 A. D. onwards. These texts found at Karanja have now been carefully edited by the Jain community and scholars in the Karaaja Series. They throw unexpected light on the development of Western Hindi. But still more powerful light has been thrown by the labours of Mahapadita Rahula Saakritayana, an Indian Buddhist monk of the Ceylonese school. Bhadanta Sankrityayana has recovered a complete personal history of a series of Siddhas who flourished and wrote in Magadha. His paper on this history has been translated into French and is being published in the 'Journal Asiaticus'. From this recovery of personal biographies of these writers we can now fix with certainty the chronological sequence of the Siddha authors. Now these authors have left examples of their vernacular poems which were translated into Sanskrit about 1000 A. D. and which were also translated into Tibetan. Their original poems range from about 750 to 900 A. D. Some of these authors, or rather most of them, contributed also in Sanskrit. They were great exponents of a particular cult of philosophy, and to popularise their views and teachings, they composed in their own mother tongue, the vernacular of the time. Some of these pieces have been recovered and published by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri. Now according to the positive history recovered by Rev. Sankrityayana these compositions were all made at Nalanda or Vikramshila, places in Bihar, and the natives of Bihar, men born and bred there. From a comparison of their language with modern Magahi, the vernacular current in the district of Patna and Gaya, that is, the modern representative of ancient Magadhi and with Old Hiadi of the Eastern variety, the language of the Siddhas turns out to be the oldest Eastern Hindi, going back to 750 A. D. We have thus the good fortune of having specimens of Old Hiadi in its eastern branch going back to 750 A. D. and in its Western branch going back to 900 A. D. The Eastern specimens are mostly free from Pakritisms, while the conjunct letters and doubled consonants still persist in the Karanja Texts, and they lead back to Prakratism.

Bhadanta Sankrityayana has rendered and restored into Sanskrit the Vijnaptimatrata-siddhi a text which had been lost to the country for centuries and which is the basis of Saakara's system. We are glad to have him in our midst in our Conference as one of our Sectional Presidents.

Our philosophic literature, our wealth is rapidly increasing. The Brahmasiddhi of Madana Misra, contemporary of Sankara, is under publication by Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri, and in the meantime Mandana's Vibhramaviveka has been brought out by Mr. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar under the guidance of that learned Mahamahopadhyaya. On the pre-Sankara period in addition to the Vijnaptimatrata we have now before us the important work Tattvasangraha by Santarakshita, a Buddhist author who flourished just before Sankara. In his Tattvasangraha, in 19,000 stanzas he gives us the different philosophic theories prevailing in his time and we come to know of a number of authors who had been lost to us. This book had been considered as lost as was known only from its Tibetan translation. This is one of the several outstanding publications of the Gackwad Oriental Series, which has also given us a class of literature on Tantric Buddhism, so far neglected.

#### ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH

In our ethnological research I would like to draw your attention to Mr. Hutton's view in the newly published Census Report that the distribution of the brachy-

cephals of the Eurasian Alpine type corresponds fairly well with that of the speakers of the 'Outer Band' Indo-Aryan vernaculars—a point worth consideration both by Indian philologists and ethnologists. I would also draw your attention to the high excellence of the Baroda Census Report by Mr. Satyavrata Mukherjee which, as a high authority in British India told me, is difficult to compete with. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, one of our Sectional Presidents, has kept up its intensive and detailed study of the aboriginal tribes of Bihar and Orissa.

The field of Indian research for the known historical times too is extended beyond the limits of the present-day India by our having realised the fact that Indian history embraces within its fold the Hindu colonies in Indo-China, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, etc., to the East, and Central Asia to the North. The movement started by my friend and pupil Dr. Kalidas Nag in this country through his Greater India Society, is primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulinindia and Further India. It has been my good fortune to receive inspiration from my own ex-pupil in leading me to identify references to the eastern portion of Greater India in our own literature, the Puranas, the Manjusar, Mulakalpa, and the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, which I have placed before the scholarly world through some recent publications. In our literature, the World Bharatavarsha stands for Greater India as opposed to Kumari, and Manava-Dvipa for India proper.

On our own programme of work in India itself, I should like to suggest the preparation of a critical text of the Ramayana on the lines of the edition of the Maha-Bharata, so ably being executed by Dr. Suktankar, the first volume of this critical edition of the Great Epic of India, embodying the whole of the Adiparvan, has been just sent to me by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona for presentation to the Conference. The achievement eminently fulfil the expectations formed and the world-wide interest aroused by the undertaking. As to the Ramayana, Dr. Harichand Sastri has recently established at the Oxford Session of the Oriental Congress that the Ramayana has four families of recensions in the manuscripts, namely, the Bengali, Southern or Devanagri, Kashmiri and Eastern. A distinctive reversion is found in a class of Mithila, Nepal and Oudh manuscripts which may be termed the Eastern Recension. An old manuscript of this family which is in the possession of the Raj-Guru Pandit Hemraja of Nepal, is dated Samvat 1076 (-1019 A. D.) Curiously enough, the Kashmiri text agrees more with Eastern text than with the other two. It becomes now incumbent upon us to distinguish and settle the authentic version out of the material to be gathered from the four families of manuscripts. The Ramayana and the Maha-Bharata are our most valuable treasures and no amount of attention bestowed on them can be too much. We stand in danger of losing old manuscripts and texts. The matter therefore needs an early attention.

#### NEED FOR SANSKRIT RENAISSANCE

I will beg your leave now to emphasize a matter of national importance. An Indian State is the best place for emphasizing the necessity of keeping alive the old system of Sanskrit education. Both Indian and European scholars from the Chair of the Oriental Conference and from other platforms have expressed the greatest concern at the decay of that system. In the passage of centuries, nay of millennia, the traditional Sanskrit learning persisted and survived in this country.

There were giants in the Sanskrit College at Benares when I was at school and there was Pandit Gattulalji in Western India of whom I heard as a boy. They were representatives of the old learning and they were products and representatives of the old system. But at present, there is a visible decay. This decay is mostly due to lack of demand and patronage. The modern colleges in India where Sanskrit is taught through the English medium, do not produce the type of scholars who can hand down the true Sanskrit learning. The British Indian Government is doing a great deal to save the old method, but that is not sufficient. Other agencies as well must come to the rescue. And there can be no better agency than Hindu States. There are various means open to a Hindu State which are not available to a purely secular administration like that of British India, to encourage and patronize Pandits and Sastris trained in the traditional method.

#### WANTED HISTORY FROM INDIAN POINT OF VIEW

Within the last few years the attention of Indian historians has been drawn towards composing text-books on individual provinces or dynasties. This scheme

affords scope for intensive studies, and our motions become more definite. Several such manuals are already in the fore—namely, the volumes on Rajputana by Mahamahopadhyaya Gaurisankara Hirachand Ojha, one of our Sectional Presidents, the volumes on Orissa and on Bengal by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, the volumes by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on Tamil India, the Kadamba-Kula by Mr. Moares, the History of the Rashtrakutas by Dr. Altekar—who leaves out no aspect of life from his survey, and the volumes of Vijayanagar by the Rev. Father Heras, who has erected around him a virtual school of historians for such studies. Yet the main task of writing a general and cultural, synthetic history of India of Hindu Period has remained unexecuted. As our last President, Dr. Hira Lal said in his Presidential Address—"There is.....a great desideratum which is now keenly felt," that is, the absence of a general history "written from an Indian point of view." That every country should write its own history is a settled principle. We have reached a stage where spade-workers have gathered and stacked huge building material. Without architects and builders they are being neglected. The labour spent on them has to become productive.

To begin Indian history at 600 B. C. is to present a headless body. Imagine an ancient history of Egypt which begins with the Ptolemies and leaves out the Pharaohs! According to Indian historians, they have recorded fully the Dynasty of Manu :

"Ithevsha Kathinath Samyag Manivamso Maya thava".

In view of the new vistas opening before our eyes in the Indus valley, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, we have to reconstruct our ancient chronology to see where the preceding civilisation ends and our own begins. We are extremely fortunate in having a written record of our own.

#### THE MATERIAL AVAILABLE

The Indian scholars, beginning with our doyen, Mr. C. V. Vaidya, whom I have consulted, are unanimous that an Indian history by Indians should be undertaken. The only difficulty which they feel is over the question of finance. Personally, what I demand of you and what I aspire to secure is your desire, interest, and approval. The finances I hope to secure without troubling you as an institution. If England can find money for an Indian history, India should and readily find money for an Indian history. Thanks to the text of Manjusri Mulakalpa, made available by the Government of Travancore, and thanks to the labours of Bhadanta Sankritayayana in correcting its text from the Tibetan translation thereof, we have, in my opinion, no gaps left any more in our historical period down to the rise of the Pala Emperors (c. 750 A. D.) Time is in every way ripe for the anushthana. At this moment, we have present amongst us a group of workers who have 30 to 25 years' intensive research work behind them. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Rai Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Dr. Velvalkar, Mm. G. H. Ojha, Dr. Coomarnswami, Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chandra, and others compose a group of elders whose services we must exploit, they being yet fortunately in the field of action. There is a brilliant group of younger men like Dr. Taraporewalla, Dr. Sukhtankar, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. P. V. Kane, Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Dr. Altekar, Mr. N. Majumdar, Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhury, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Mr. Ramkrishna Kavi, Mr. Jaychandra Vidyalankara and others, who would be, I am sure, of assistance to the elder workers. Mr. Jaychandra Vidyalankara has already by himself attempted a comprehensive history in Hindi, and Drs. Majumdar and Ray Chaudhury and others have already tackled various periods and points in detail.

I thought that this would be the most opportune moment and place to press the cause of an Indian history by Indians on you to-day in the presence of His Highness the Gaekwad, who is one of the makers of modern India and who is in his person the sovereign of the two sister communities of ancient times—Parsi and Hindu. He is the ruler of Dvarka. And to Dvarka we have always looked for jnana. For the realisation of the jnana of our past, we may to-day put our heads together under the august and inspiring presence of Maharaja Srimanta Sayaji Rao of Dvarka.

On the conclusion of the presidential address a 'condolence resolution mourning the death of Messrs. Modi and Sastri was moved from the chair and unanimously passed all standing.

# THE ALL INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The ninth session of the All-India Educational Conference was held at Karachi on the 27th December 1933 under the presidency of Sir Ross Maswood, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University.

Welcoming the delegates, Mr. Jamshed Mehta, chairman of the reception committee, stressed the necessity of inculcating into the younger generation a sense of leading clean life and a sense of fearlessness.

## The Presidential Address

In the course of his address, the President said :—

An air of unreality is found in our universities as in our schools. They represent nothing and reflect nothing—not even the culture of localities in which they are situated. With the exception of three, they embody no ideals and, therefore, leave no impress on the lives of their pupils. They have remained impervious to the pulsating life that surrounds them and have for that reason contributed nothing of value towards the solution of many intricate problems with which our people are to-day faced. They remain hollow bodies of a foreign model and are themselves shily conscious of this fact. Our young men regard them as so many windows from where tickets are issued in the form of degrees which they imagine will enable them to start on their bread earning journey.

Sir Ross Maswood added : 'In new India that is now slowly coming into being all this must be changed. Universities must be brought into close contact with the harsh realities of life and their present seclusion ended once for all. With their continued use of foreign language as the medium of instruction, our professors are unable to pass on to the large section of their fellow countrymen the benefit of their researches with the result that the rays of learning that occasionally emanate from our universities illumine distant lands but leave their own surroundings in utter darkness.'

Continuing, Sir Ross Maswood said that the time had now come when 'we should make a minute survey of our educational needs and find out what changes we have to make in our present system so as to ensure a really great future for our land. An enquiry should be conducted by our own countrymen, for no one which is not of our land can understand those subtle differences of culture and sentiment which, though invisible, yet play an important part in the evolution of the people.' Sir Ross Maswood was strongly in favour of using the main vernaculars of India as the media of instruction provided that at the same time the study of English language was made compulsory.

Dealing with the education of women Sir Ross Maswood said : 'We are making the same mistake in the education of our girls which we are now trying so hard to remedy in the case of our boys. Let us avoid this wastage of energy and lay down a scheme of education for them which, whilst strengthening the social and economic life of our people, would also prove more soul-satisfying than that which we have hitherto followed so placidly. Denationalization in young men of the country is bad enough, but if it spreads to its young women it becomes a fatal disease. We can with advantage study the system of women's education prevalent in Europe and Japan and evolve a system which, whilst representing a compromise between the two views, would itself possess great elasticity and be capable of easy modification to suit the varying needs of different groups.'

Sir Ross Maswood suggested the creation of a fund from which every year help should be given to teachers who desire to visit foreign countries with the object of improving knowledge of educational methods. If a sum of Rs. 6,000 could be collected every year one teacher could easily spend 12 months outside India.

Turning to vocational training for such youngmen as are not likely to derive any real benefit from university education as it existed at present, Sir Ross Maswood said : 'I do not think that in this we can do better than follow the example of Japan for we can with slight modifications here and there adopt bodily their system of technical education.'

Replying to the civic address presented to him by the Karachi municipality, Sir Ross Masood complimented Karachi on its cleanliness and observed that the city was destined to play an important part in the future of India.

#### Prof. Seshadri's Address

Addressing the Conference on education in India during 1933, Prof. A. Seshadri of Ajmer drew attention to the appalling figures relating to illiteracy published in the census report in 1931. Indians had to realize the seriousness of the situation as less than 10 per cent. of the total population of India was literate and the advance in percentage of literacy had not kept pace even with the growth of population during the last decade. It was distressing to note that there were more illiterate people in India to-day than ten years ago. He welcomed the proposed revival of the central advisory board of education at the headquarters of the Government of India and appointment of such a veteran educationist as Sir George Anderson as educational commissioner to guide its deliberations. In Mr. Seshadri's opinion, education was too important a subject to be handed over absolutely to the provinces without any attempt at even co-ordination at the centre.

Referring to educational development in the provinces he drew attention to the publication during the year of a report by the Punjab University Enquiry Committee of which he was a member and briefly explained its recommendations. The Minister of Education in the United Provinces had done well in paying special attention during the year to the problems of female education and education of the depressed classes. The U. P. Government had made up its mind to take charge of women's education from the local bodies. Passing on to Bihar and Orissa the lecturer referred to the recent amendments in the Patna University Act which had removed various anomalies and made the measure more efficient. The Province of Bengal had worried itself with educational conditions in the province and had convened a special conference to make education more efficient and more suited to the needs of the province. An educational commission also was foreshadowed in the province. In Madras the Andhra University had opened a college of technology and the Madras Government had schemes for consolidation of primary education to make the existing resources available for the highest efficiency. Bombay had bestowed consideration on the problem of new universities in the province though it had negatived proposals for additional universities. Prof. Seshadri was of opinion that establishment of new universities at Poona and Karachi could not be delayed long. The Bombay University had also started developments in technological education, aided by the magnificent gift of Rs. 30 lakhs from the estate of the late Diwan Bahadur Lakshminarayan, the Nagpur University was also in a position to embark on important developments of technology and education. An interesting experiment of imparting instruction through the vernacular continued to expand at the Osmania University, of Hyderabad, even subjects like medicine and engineering being taught through Urdu.

Concluding, Mr. Seshadri regretted that the present financial depression largely contributed to the absence of educational development in British India and in the States and hoped he would have the privilege of giving a more encouraging report at the next annual session of the Conference.

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# THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

His Excellency *Sir F. Sykes*, addressing the Bombay University Convocation, at Bombay on the 15th. August 1933, observed :—

Since I last had the privilege of addressing you in Convocation, the Bombay Presidency has been passing through an eventful and critical time. Political unrest and financial depression have imposed a heavy strain on our resources ; and both have made educational progress difficult.

But I am happy to believe that better times are ahead of us. There are signs that trade is reviving ; and, in the political field, we have all been watching, with eager interest, the joint efforts of English and Indian statesmen to shape a constitution which will mark a new era in India and which will shortly give to our own Presidency a large measure of self-government. And it is to this larger prospect, I feel, that we must now relate all our thoughts about education. A constitution, in itself, can do but little. It must have the right people to work it, and it must be worked in the right spirit ; and for the training up of the right people, filled with the right spirit, it is to our schools and colleges that we must look. At a time like this education has to be more than academic. It must take as its chief aim what both Aristotle and Cardinal Newman have declared to be its true work—and, that is, the training up of good citizens, of young men and young women who will be useful servants of their country, ready to take the fullest advantage of the new opportunities that will be opening out before them.

## CHANGES IN CURRICULA

It is with this need in my mind that I have watched with the great interest, the various changes that the University has been making, or proposing to make, in its curricula, in order to bring these into line with modern conditions. One of the most important of these changes, and one which has my sympathetic interest, is the endeavour to give a more prominent place to modern Indian languages. This is a subject which has been constantly engaging the attention of the University ; and there can be nothing but praise for the effects of those who are aiming at the enrichment and development of such languages. It is a cause, moreover, in which the Government have shown an active concern, for it is now more than ten years since they approached the University on the subject of developing the vernaculars by adopting them as a medium of instruction in secondary schools—the idea being that teaching could best be given in the tongues which the pupils know best. It was thought, too, that the adoption of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction would give an impetus to the publication of vernacular books on modern subjects. But, unfortunately, the question has turned out to be more complicated than was then thought. There are, first of all, administrative difficulties ; and secondly, there is a danger of deterioration in the standard of English attained by boys completing the High School course, and indeed the further danger that, in the enthusiasm for the development of the mother-tongues, English might be relegated to the back-ground. This, I feel, would be a grave mistake. A knowledge of English—and I would add, of French and German also—is coming to be more and more indispensable to the student who wishes to keep himself abreast of contemporary thought and progress in any subject, be it Sanskrit or Science, History or Economics. And there is a further claim that English has upon us, and one which is of the utmost importance at a time like this. It is a great unifying influence in a land whose future depends on unification. It is the lingua franca, not only of educated India, but of the great family of nations, which we know as the British Empire, and of a large part of the rest of the world as well. If India is to take her rightful place among the nations, the retention of English is indispensable.

Much has been made of the strain imposed upon the boy or girl by having to master two languages. The problem, I admit, is a difficult one ; but it is by no means confined to India. We have it in countries like Canada and South Africa where it has not proved an insuperable obstacle ; and I hope that, here also, some satisfactory solution may be found. I am confident that the University will orientate its policy so as to reconcile the claims of English and the vernaculars in the field

of education and gradually to bring the living languages of our Presidency into a position worthy of the great and progressive race by whom they are used.

### DEPARTMENT OF TECHNOLOGY

And now let me pass on to another sign of the progressive activity of our University. I refer to the plan—to me, full of high possibilities, and already taken up by you with enthusiasm—for the founding of a department of Technology. Such a department, I feel, to be absolutely essential in view of the times in which we are living. A mechanical age undoubtedly brings its problems with it; but it brings also enormous advantages; and I am one of those who hold strongly that the advantages greatly preponderate. When we consider what science has done for mankind—how it has prolonged life, alleviated suffering and opened out immense vistas of new knowledge—I do not think that we can agree with that school of thought which, seeing only the problem, would have us discard the machine altogether and go back to simpler and more primitive modes of life. To take only one solitary instance. Think how the motor car and the aeroplane have tended to annihilate boundaries and to bring distant places into contact with each other. There are those (and I am personally one of them) who see in this shortening of distances the true foundation of a future international understanding.

For, consider this country of India. The development of the aeroplane has, almost from its inception, been one of my particular interests; and so I have watched with great satisfaction the keenness with which young India has taken to flying. A particularly striking demonstration of this keenness which I am sure you must all have admired as much as I do has been given by Mr. Engineer who has just gained the sword of honour at Cranwell. I look forward therefore to a time when India will be covered with a net-work of aerodromes and flying will have become a national habit, because I am convinced that such a development of flying will knit all parts of the country closer together and will at the same time knit India more closely to the West. And with such closer intercourse I am certain that many misunderstandings, which are now a cause of friction, will disappear. Misunderstandings are largely due to ignorance; and nothing dispels ignorance more than actual contact; and it is this contact which the annihilation of distance brings about.

A few months ago it was my privilege to take part in one of the most signal demonstrations of scientific progress in this country—the opening of telephone communication between England and India.

In another direction we must all have noticed the educative and social influence of cheap motor transport on Indian village life. Villagers, whose fathers never left their native fields except to go on an occasional pilgrimage, now think nothing of visiting the neighbouring towns on every market day. This is already revolutionising rural life, and the masses are being brought into contact with the general movements of the day, to an extent undreamed of ten years ago.

It is my earnest hope that your new University schools of technology will turn out a body of young men eager to develop the vast natural resources of the country, her great forests, her stores of minerals, her almost unlimited water-power. If the University of Bombay can assist by training the future generation along these lines, she will indeed be carrying into practice Cardinal Newman's ideal of a University as place for training "good members of society", though in a different sense, perhaps to that which he contemplated. And we shall, I hope, hear less of the unemployed and unemployable graduate on the one hand, and of the poverty-stricken peasantry on the other. My vision is, in a word, not one of idyllic, dreaming India, isolated from the rest of the world and plunged in thought and contemplation of the past, with no industry but the hand-loom and spinning-wheel, but a hive of busy, contented workers—a rich and prosperous country, able to take her rightful place among the great nations of to-day.

### VOCATIONAL TRAINING

I drew your attention in the beginning of these remarks to the fact that the year that has passed has been a chequered one and financial stringency has prevented Government from aiding education as liberally as we should have liked to have done. One famous college we are, with great reluctance, being compelled to close down, but I note that a new Arts College has been opened in Poona, and another one has been started at Belgaum, and while we are all anxious to see the

diffusion of liberal education in this Presidency, I think we should pause and consider clearly what is to be our policy in regard to this matter of affiliating new Arts Colleges in the future. The laws of supply and demand are inexorable, and the capacity of the country for the absorption of graduates is limited. It should be carefully considered, both by the donors of funds for this purpose and by the University itself, whether the time and energy thus expended might not be better and more wisely devoted to vocational training. In a conservative country like India, old traditions die hard. There is still, I fear, in some quarters, a lingering prejudice against occupations which are considered beneath the dignity of an educated man, and a tendency to play for safety, by trying to secure at all costs employment under Government. A very exaggerated value is often attached to the mere possession of a degree. It is, surely, the duty of the University to lead public opinion in these matters. The wastage in the present University course is phenomenal, and only a minute proportion of those who enter College ever obtain a degree; still smaller is the number of degree-holders who obtain suitable employment. The provision of vocational training appears to me to be one of the proper methods of solving this problem.

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## The Patna University Convocation

The annual Convocation of the Patna University was held on the 25th November 1933 in the Wheeler Senate Hall, Patna, His Excellency the Chancellor presiding. After the Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Khaja Mohammad Noor had reviewed the affairs of the University, Dr. R. P. Pranjapya delivered the Convocation Address. The following is the text of the address :—

I am greatly obliged to your Excellency for the honour you have done me in inviting me to address the Convocation of the Patna University to-day, and I readily accepted the honour though it is difficult to say anything fresh on such an occasion, and it is a great pleasure to have such opportunities of intercourse with sister universities in India. I cannot claim any special acquaintance with the affairs of your university or your province, and I have visited this famous and ancient city only once when eight years ago as a member of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee I had the privilege of meeting your Vice-Chancellor and the then members of the Government. But the whole world knows your province as the original home of Buddhism and Jainism, and Pataliputra, Rajgir, Nalanda, Gaya, and Puri are revered by all either as famous memorials of antiquity or as important places of pilgrimage. Bihar, as comprising the old kingdom of Magadha, can claim as its very own the celebrated emperor-saint Asoka whose famous edicts can still be seen scattered over India even as far west as Kathiawar. In more recent times it had great importance in the expansion of the Moghul Empire and in the early rise of the British dominion in India; and at the present day it contains the scene of the greatest Indian industrial undertaking in the form of the Tata Iron and Steel works at Jamshedpur, where the great Parsi pioneer saw the opportunity of using the unrivalled mineral resources of our province for the building up of a vital national industry.

### GLORIES OF NALANDA

An outsider speaking before the Patna University can hardly fail to be reminded of the glories of the ancient monastic University of Nalanda which is said to have sheltered at a time ten thousand pupils who were being trained as religious and moral teachers for all parts of India. The zeal that drew these young men to Nalanda in those days when travelling was so difficult can certainly be imitated in these days even though the subjects of study may have changed a great deal; and the munificence, both on the part of the rulers and the wealthy class, which made it possible for this large number to be fed, housed and taught, apparently without the payment of any fees, deserves to be emulated, though it can hardly be equalled even by a Carnegie or a Rockefeller. One may be permitted to hope that

Patna University will, at no distant date, rival this ancient seat of learning and attract students from all parts of the world as Nalanda is said to have done over two thousand years ago.

At the present moment indeed the organisation of the Patna University as a mere examining body controlling instruction in affiliated colleges is poles apart from what Nalanda must have been. Nothing would be more instructive to me as the executive and academic head of a university than a look at the Calendar or Handbook of Nalanda University if such a thing existed in those ancient days. I would eagerly look for elucidation of several questions which I am myself called upon to consider almost every day and with which you of the Patna University have also to deal. What were the courses of study and the periods of study? Were there any degrees granted? How were the teachers appointed and on what terms? Were any fees charged for tuition, board and examination? Were there any vacations or holidays? Was there any vocational education? How did the pupils maintain themselves after leaving the University and was there any problem of unemployment among Nalanda graduates? What control did the King or his ministers exercise over the University? In what language was the instruction given? Did the students take an absorbing interest in the polities of those days? Had they any organized sports or other means of physical training? Were there any communal difficulties between the Brahmins, the Buddhists and the Jains? Or again, what was the financial position of the Nalanda University? How was its expenditure met and who managed the landed property which belonged to it in the surrounding villages? Were there any bodies like the senate or the syndicate managing its affairs? Were any elections held for any of these bodies with the inevitable canvassing attending them and were suits filed in the courts in connection with them? And finally, what interest me most at this moment, was the Kula-pati—or the Vice-Chancellor—of another university asked to give a convocation address to the outgoing graduates? To all these and other questions, I am afraid it is not now possible to find detailed answers and we can only draw upon our imagination and on little scraps of knowledge in the possession of Sanskrit and Prakrit scholars if we desire to reconstruct in our mind the organisation of a university two thousand years ago.

#### UNITARY UNIVERSITIES

Your university is a recent creation and has yet to build up its traditions. For the old traditions of Nalanda are well nigh forgotten and in any case would not fit into the actual circumstances of the twentieth century. You may have to face some radical change when Orissa is made into a separate province, for it will then surely soon have a university of its own with the college at Cuttack as its nucleus. In that case, if you think it desirable, you will have a good opportunity of transforming your university into a residential and teaching university of the type of the recently created Indian universities without giving rise to too many local jealousies and heart-burnings. Hence a few words on this subject may not be inappropriate. When about 1858 the first universities in India were established, they were formed on the model of the old London University as merely examining bodies exercising a certain amount of control on the affiliated colleges but working chiefly on their power to regulate curricula and conduct examinations. In those early days this was a necessary piece of work as it was imperative to have a wide extension of western education in the first place. That work is now, if not completed, at least fairly done; London University has itself changed its character a great deal and is at present engaged in building for itself an adequate home for all its activities; and Indian Universities should now aspire to take their place among the universities of the world not only by continuing their work of dissemination of knowledge already in existence by making their own contribution to the store of world's knowledge. For this purpose it is necessary to utilize all our resources in the best and most economical way and a system in which colleges giving higher education are scattered all over the province is surely unsuitable. A concentration of teaching ability in one, and later on, in two or more centres, is obviously called for. A single college in one centre cannot afford to have a group of teachers in one subject and the teachers lose the great advantage of contact with allied spirits and tend to become mechanical lecturers without being brought into touch with the most recent developments and having no opportunity of receiving help, comment or criticism from their equals. Moreover, the work of research in these days is impossible without good library with up-to-date periodicals and books

and the resources of one college are not able to secure this advantage to its teachers. In this general statement I do not desire to ignore the good research work done by several teachers even under difficult conditions but from the national point of view we must not make their work harder than need be. To my mind, therefore, the future Indian university is bound to be of the unitary type. It is not likely that any universities in India can arise which are of the type of Oxford or Cambridge which are *sui generis* in the world, and the types we should aim at is that of the provincial universities of England or the universities on the Continent and America. The many well-equipped educational institutions in Patna can all be put under the control of the university and be made its various branches; but for turning out better and more extensive work larger resources will have to be placed at its disposal both by Government and by the wealthy public-spirited people of the province. The intellectual needs of other centres in the province should be met by some arrangement by which during vacations or holidays short intensive courses of a popular character are given by university teachers specially deputed to those centres. But we must not give way to the intelligible but unpractical desire of various localities to have some collegiate institutions of their own. Such a course of action will waste the limited resources available for high education and will also tend to lower intellectual standards.

#### MAINSPRING OF CULTURE

The work of securing adequate resources for higher education and research will be none too easy in the coming days. Under a democratic system the average legislator is apt to look askance at such expenditure and is prone to press the claims of primary education against those of higher education and research. I shall be the last person to say a word against the extension, by compulsory methods if necessary, of primary education but it is a mistake to starve the universities for helping primary education. If the mainspring of intellectual culture in the form of the university is damned, the effect will be seen at no distant date on the efficiency of all other kinds of education also. Our provincial governments of the future will have to make largely increased provision for education in all its branches. I here only wish to sound a note of warning against the opinion that there is a necessary antagonism between these different branches when all are equally important and to urge that the starving of one branch will inevitably lead to the crippling of the others.

Those who are opposed to the spending of too much on higher education and research not only base their case on the more urgent need of primary education, a point to which I have briefly referred above, but also on the increase of unemployment among the educated classes. They contend that there is no object in further encouraging higher education if the only result is to add to the ranks of the great unemployed. It is of course the duty of Government and the leaders of the public to take measures to combat this unemployment, but it is taking a wrong view of higher education to suppose that it is intended only to make the educated men directly self-supporting. This idea has come to us from the early days of English education in India when Government required Indians with a knowledge of English to occupy the various posts in its service for which it was not possible to get recruits from England. When such men were few they easily got well-paid jobs, and the impression that a degree should procure a man a good post immediately has not yet died out, and one reason is that English education is now for the first time spreading among certain classes and strata of society which fondly believe that they will be favoured by the same good luck that was the fortunate lot of those who went in for English education 60 years ago.

#### TRAINING IN LEADERSHIP

The cause for higher education rests on the fact that it makes men and women better fitted for any role that they have to play, that it makes better men and better women who are able to act as leaders of the people about them and that in these days it is impossible for a country to attain its proper rank among the nations of the world unless there is a certain proportion among its people who have a well developed intellect, who can take wide views on affairs and whose horizon is not limited to their immediate surroundings. It has been found that even in distributive trades a well trained graduate with a good general education soon outstrips in efficiency a man who has been apprenticed to his particular job from his early years. And graduates must get rid of the idea that they are fit for occupying

any post without some special training. Such training is of course necessary in every cause, though for well-educated people its period will be much shorter. The extent of their rise will depend upon their own effort but they must not grudge this period of apprenticeship. Just as the human embryo has to pass, though very rapidly, through the stages of an invertebrate, a fish and other animals before being born to the dignity of man, so also must the graduates pass through all the stages from the very lowest before he can hope to rise to the heights of which he should be capable. If he is unable or unwilling to pass through these necessary stages, he cannot blame his education for his want of success. I have in my mind the cases of some of my pupils whom I was able to recommend to some millowners. Some of them disliked the early stages where they had to take their coats off and work with soiled hands like a manual labourer. They gave up in the very beginning after a few days and are to-day probably among the unemployed graduates or at best low-paid school teachers against their will. Some others, on the other hand, stuck to their job and have risen fairly high in their line. The force of circumstances is leading to the gradual abandonment of the idea that certain classes are only meant for intellectual or clerical work and the manual or mechanical work is something of a degrading nature. In these democratic days all must have equal opportunities. All work must be regarded as honourable and noble, and the only thing that is dishonourable or ignoble is selfishness and disregard for the rights of our fellowmen. To encourage this habit of mind nothing is better than early manual training and later on some scientific education in the laboratory and the workshop. And it is a very encouraging sign of the times that the number of those that go in for the B. Sc. and other scientific courses is rapidly increasing all over India.

#### BLACK-COATED VARIETY

We cannot, however, overlook the problem of unemployment of the educated classes. If the only occupations that these will care to follow are of the black-coated variety, requiring residence in towns with all their modern amenities, I am afraid that the problem can never be solved. In some professions like medicine we can see the simultaneous existence of crowding in towns and absolute scarcity in rural areas. Every qualified medical man aspires to build up a practice in the bigger centres and many of them fail to make even a decent living. If only some of these men can be induced to settle down in areas, they will do most beneficent work for people who are left to the ministrations of quacks and charlatans or go altogether without help of any kind and they will earn a respectable living, considering the cheapness of life in villages, provided they do not pitch the standard too high. If in a thickly populated province like yours the ideal to be achieved is to have at least one qualified practitioner for every area of 25 square miles containing a population of about four or five thousand, there will be a vast field for the useful employment of medical men. For some time it would be necessary to give to each such practitioner a small subsidy of, say Rs. 25 per month, and he would naturally get all the fees he receives in his practice. The only undertaking required from him is that he will settle down in that area and be available to the people and will also do some small amount of public work in the nature of supervision of rural sanitation.

Other educated men with no specialist qualifications like medicine have also a great field of work in villages if they have the necessary public spirit and receive some special training for village work. The spread of co-operation in all its forms is made difficult by want of properly trained organisers. Village uplift movements like those organised by Mr. Bryne in the Punjab and Mr. Devadhar and his colleagues in Bombay, and so eloquently advocated in recent days by the Governor of Bombay, call insistently for workers. It is a pity to see so much available man power lying unused when so much work is to be done. The workers can only get a living wage but that is better than eating their heads off in idleness and mental, physical and often even physical starvation. Then, again, there are a certain number of our educated men who have fair landed estates of their own but are content to let them out and are themselves seeking employment elsewhere. If such cease to be absentee landlords and live on their land cultivating at least a part of it themselves, they will naturally be the real leaders of the people and we shall hear less of landlords claiming special political privileges as *soi distants* leaders while spending their whole time in luxury in towns or even abroad, their only concern with land being to get their rents duly collected. The growing migration of edu-

cated persons to towns is an evil recognized all over the world, but it is peculiarly grave in our country where about 80 per cent. of the population is rural. The large numbers of our educated men still have some connection with villages but in a generation or two it will have practically disappeared. The leaders of the people with the encouragement of a government responsible to the people must seriously consider this problem and solve it before it is too late.

To those who take up work in villages a few words may be usefully addressed. If they think that it is a kind of employment similar to that in an office or a factory, they are making a grievous mistake. Work there would be of a different nature and requires an amount of tact, sympathy and consideration for others. But there should be no appearance of dictation. The villagers, even though uneducated, are intelligent enough to weigh the quality of a man and to distinguish the real missionary from a mere careerist. While a gradual attempt should be made to teach them better ways of living, a sense of the practically possible must be always present in the mind. New methods of cultivation and improved marketing, and better ideas of social life should only be gradually introduced, as the people are naturally conservative. Above all a village worker must keep clear of factions among the villagers and should acquire the confidence of all. It would be better not to engage in any money-lending transactions on one's own account, but every attempt should be made to push on the co-operative movement on right lines. I have sometimes seen educated men who have settled in villages showing characteristics which I have here deprecated and their presence in the village is worse than useless, and they are found only using their education and intelligence in fostering litigation and trying to feather their own nest. The satisfaction that the village worker can expect should come from a consciousness of useful work well done. The difficulties of village life are in these days not so great as they were some years ago. The increase in motor traffic has brought villages nearer urban centres and one need not feel so lonely there if one makes work there his object in life. The increased circulation of newspapers, the constitutional progress in the political field and local self-government are also gradually bringing villagers to a higher level. I have great hopes that an early extension of broad-casting with programmes suited to the capacities of the villagers and given in the vernaculars will be taken in hand by Government and semi-Government agencies and this will help the cause of village uplift. What is required is the proper missionary spirit and I am sure that youthful enthusiasm will lead at least some of you educated young men to take up this work than which there is nothing more important from the point of view of all round national advance.

#### WESTERN EDUCATION NOT A MISTAKE

With the vast extent of middle class unemployment facing us the question is often asked: Is there anything wrong with our system of higher education? I do not belong to the class of those who feel that the introduction of western education in India has been all a mistake. On the other hand, I feel that our advance as a nation is bound up with our fully imbibing the spirit of modern civilization, and that our rising feeling of nationalism is a direct consequence of our knowledge of western literature, history, arts, science, industry and philosophy. But we must take care that we accept only the best part of western culture and that we do not feel satisfied with the mere outer shell. There is unfortunately too great a tendency to be content with only the acquisition of a degree somehow or other and an inability to realise that the degree is only the beginning of more extensive education in the University of life. Even as regards degrees and examinations there is in many places—I do not say in the University of Patna—a desire to make the attainment of a degree too easy thus lowering the value of the degree itself. It is worth serious consideration whether all those who join a university are really capable of profiting by the education that is given there and whether the success of a University should not be judged more by the quality than the number of the graduates that it turns out. The graduates that the country wants are men who have learnt the art of using their rational faculties, who know how to acquire knowledge from books, who thoroughly grasp the fundamental principles of the subjects they study and who, if they are students of science, realise the importance of the methods of scientific investigation and are firmly convinced that correct results are only to be obtained by means of suitable experiment and observation and that a mind invariably open to receive new ideas

and revise the old ones is the essential characteristic of the scientist. The graduate whom the country can well do without and whose education has entailed a mere waste of money and energy is one that has only aspired to obtain his degree by simply cramming the notes dictated by his teachers, who has not even read the books prescribed for his study by the University, to whom the use of reference books is quite unfamiliar, who does not love books and cannot make use of a library and to whom education means simply an intensive exercise of his memory. If anywhere the extension of higher education has only led to an increase in the number of this latter class of graduates, then it is time to consider some means of improving them or even of closing the doors of the University against them.

#### TASK BEFORE YOUNG MEN

*Graduates of the Patna University*—I congratulate you all on the completion of the important chapter in the history of your life and I add my special felicitations to those to whom your Chancellor has awarded medals and prizes or who otherwise distinguished themselves in their academical career. As I have said before it would be a mistake to think that your education has now been completed. It has only attained one stage but it must continue throughout your life. Your *alma mater* will always watch how you conduct yourself in future and will feel pride at any distinctions you attain or any sterling service to render to your province, your country or the whole human race. It is not, however, possible for everybody to play a prominent role on the world's stage; but the way in which you carry out the responsibilities, great or small, in your own sphere, the consideration you show to others perhaps not so fortunate as yourself, the regard you entertain for truth, justice and fair dealing in the affairs of life, form the real tests by which you and your education will be judged.

India is not now a country which can retire into its shell and have nothing to do with the world outside. Whether we will or no, we form an important part in the great community of nations and we are influenced by what goes on elsewhere just as we exert our own influence on others. There can be no more fallacious saying than that of the poet:

‘East is East, and West is West,  
And never the twain shall meet’

East is meeting West and West is meeting East and the contact is ever growing more and more intimate. India will never more let the legions thunder past and go to sleep again. But if our country is to keep awake, we must rouse ourselves from the sleep which is but another name for our fond hugging of the dead past. We have to live in the present and prepare for the future and in this preparation you have to take our own important part. Learn to form your own independent judgment and do not be carried away by slogans and catchwords; keep an open mind ever ready to change your opinion on due cause shown. Though for the moment the liberty of thought and action appears to be endangered and even on the point of disappearance in many countries and dictators are rising up everywhere, have firm faith that the world will soon return disgusted to the well-tried paths of sanity and freedom that the democracy will once more come into its own, that the humanity will again enter on its career of ordered progress in all fields and that our country is destined to play a great part in this glorious work of restoring the efficacy of those noble principles which have served well so far and will serve better in future.

# The Benares Hindu University Convocation

The sixteenth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held on the 11th, December 1933 in the spacious grounds of the Amphitheatre, specially decorated for the occasion. More than fifteen thousand people attended the function. Three thousand five hundred students, representing different provinces, gave a tremendous ovation to the distinguished guests. "Loud speakers" had been installed. The University training corps and the volunteers presented a guard-of-honour to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Benares and to the Vice-Chancellor. The graduates' procession was a picturesque one. The procession entered the Convocation pandal at 2. P. M.

The proceedings began with the recital of a Sanskrit prayer. Afterwards Malaviyaji addressed the gathering in Hindi.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in presenting Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, referred to his pre-eminence as a thinker, scholar and statesman.

Prof. Krishna Kumar Mathur, Dean of the Faculty of Science, presented Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy. The Vice-Chancellor in conferring the honorary degrees on the three distinguished sons of India referred to Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's valuable services to the Benares Hindu University, to Sir Jagadish Bose's eminence and scholarship and to Sir Prafulla Ray's devotion to the Motherland and Science.

## CONFERNMENT OF HONORARY DEGREES

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, expressed his good wishes for the progress and prosperity of the Benares University.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose observed that he valued distinction conferred on him by a university, which was the result of Pt. Malaviyaji's labourers. He expressed his high appreciation of the honour done to him.

Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy said that from the beginning, he was connected with the noble University of Benares, as an honorary professor.

The Vice-Chancellor then conferred degrees on 620 graduates.

After Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy's eloquent convocation address, the Pro-Chancellor, the H. H. the Maharaja Saheb of Benares, Sir Aditya Narain Singh Bahadur, spoke a few words.

## VICE-CHANCELLOR'S REMARKS

The Vice-Chancellor, the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, observed that this year's convocation was the most memorable event in the history of the Benares University. He evoked the blessings of Lord Viswaoath and hoped that the Benares University would become the soul of India.

## Acharya Roy's Convocation Address

Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy in the course of his convocation address said : 'I am not out to preach a jeremiad against University education altogether. Ever since the delivery of my Mysore University Convocation Address in 1920 and even before that, I have been harping on the insane craze for university degrees and its baneful effects. The Universities are over-crowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training', is the finding of the Indian Statuary (Hartog) Commission. I only plead for a considerable elimination of candidates in the process of selection. An all round education should be imparted to the majority of the students in the secondary stage through the medium of the vernacular. This will correspond to the "school final" in England. No one should chose a university career unless he feels that he has an instinctive call in that direction. A university should be a centre of scholarship, research and culture. Let those also seek the portals of the academy who are prepared to dedicate their lives to the enlargement of the bounds of knowledge.

If one took a census of the greatest of world's men and women, I fear he would be surprised to discover that the majority of them owe very little to university or indeed to any educational system. Shakespeare knew little Greek and less Latin. Our Keshab Chandra Sen and Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the prince

of novels and story-writer, Grish Chandra Ghose, the foremost of our dramatists, never crossed the thresh-hold of the university. I may also add the names of Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and the Nobel Prize winner of the present year, namely Ivan Alex Buaria, all of whom were self-educated. Then, again, the great rulers and statesmen of Europe who hold the destiny of the world in the hollow of their palm—Ramsay Macdonald, Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin have also been innocent of college education. Nor need I mention the names of Abraham Lincoln and others who born in the log cabin in the back-woods of America rose to be the proud occupants of the White House. In the second labour Ministry most of the Ministers began as day labourers who in the evenings by self-tutious gathered learning.

Every one will admit that with an improved and broadened form of secondary education, the functions of the universities will be stripped of many of their unnecessary appendages, making thus for real progress. The mechanical portion of training, which ought really to be finished in the school stage, but which unfortunately is carried on to the university forms, will then greatly disappear and make these universities real centres of learning and culture. The present university system is as yet so full of routine details that its functions is not very far removed from that of Secondary school. No doubt the lecture system gives an appearance of work, but if the student is himself willing to utilise his time, he would in most cases find that he goes through more work by absenting himself from these compulsory lectures. Just consider the opposite system where the student is only given the names of some books and some questions on the problems dealt therein. He reads them, digests them and develops his own answers to the questions by a process of thinking which is his own, and then in the college Seminar discusses them from his own point of view with his colleagues and professors, preferably in limited groups. I am sure, under these circumstances, his powers of analysis as well as synthesis will be better developed and his efforts will soon enable him to cure out his own intellectual empire.

I have been called upon, at a very short notice, to deliver the convocation address. I am afraid, however, I shall scarcely be able to deal adequately with the subject which I have chosen for our discourse, namely the true function of a University as also the imperative need for adopting the vernacular as the medium of instruction.

The first educational institution established in India by the British Government was the Calcutta Muhammadan College or Madrassa founded in 1780, at the request of several Muhammadans of distinction, by Warren Hastings.

The next attempt on the part of the British Government was initiated in 1791 by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Benares who founded the Benares Sanskrit College as a means of employing beneficially for the country some part of the surplus revenue over the estimated receipts. The College was designed to cultivate the "laws, literature and religion of the Hindus" i. e., to accomplish the same purpose for the Hindus as the Madrassa for the Muhammadans, and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European judges.

The next important step is the establishment of the College of Fort William, whose prof. of Bengali, Wm. Carey, was the founder of a school of Bengali writers. It was formally opened on August 18, by a Minute in Council in which the Governor-General detailed at length the reasons for starting such an institution.

The Minute then declares that "A College is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the Junior Civil Servants of the Company."

The Marquis of Wellesley, impressed with the "sloth, indolence, low debauchery and vulgarity," which too often grew upon the younger servants of the Company, decided that they should have a proper education in Calcutta.

After the battle of Plassey and during the next thirty years the darkest period of Anglo-Indian history—the Company's servants seem to have felt a constant apprehension of losing all the fruits of the victory as suddenly as they were acquired, and no proposal excited more alarm than one involving any real or supposed interference with native religious prejudice. To show the general feeling at the time, it is enough to mention that in 1803 one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service, then resident at a Native Court, deemed it to be "madness" to attempt the conversion of the natives of India, or to give them any more leading or any other description of learning than what they then possessed. "The Hindus," he said, "had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people"; and with regard to the Mussalmans, "It is quite sufficient if we endeavour to conciliate their confidence and to mitigate their vindictive spirit."

Better counsels, however, prevailed. "A sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India."

From 1813, owing to the causes above stated, the Indian Government seems to have had no settled policy or even intention on the subject of education, but several disjoined efforts are worth recording. In 1814, a High School was established by a missionary, Mr. Robert May, at Chinsurah, and some smaller schools were affiliated to it. This school was conducted with such success that, in 1816, a Government grant of Rs. 600 per month (afterwards augmented to Rs. 800) was sanctioned for them.

In the same year (1814), the Benares Charity School was founded from the interest of Rs. 20,000 deposited by Jai Narain Ghosal, an inhabitant of Benares, with an additional grant of Rs. 252 monthly from Government. In this school, English, Persian, Hindustani, and Bengali were taught with reading and writing, grammar and arithmetic together with the Government regulations, general history, geography and astronomy (Howell).

As no account of English education in India can be complete without a history of Jay Narayan's, I make no apology for inserting it here. It is culled from a brief report kindly furnished by Principal P. Russell who very properly observes that "his High School might claim to be the oldest English teaching school in the whole of Northern India". Its origin read like a romance when it is borne in mind that its founder was an orthodox Hindu and that he anticipated even the precursors of western education like Rammohan Roy.

Maharaja Jay Narayan Ghosal, of a well-known Bengali family, left his home in Calcutta towards the close of the eighteenth century, in bad health and came like a pious Hindu, to Benares to die.

This was in 1814; and during the four succeeding years Jay Narain was in consultation with Daniel Corrie as to how to place the school on permanent and proper foundation.

Lord Moira's minute of 1815 was followed by the establishment of the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College in Calcutta.

The foundation of this College marks an important era in the history of education in India as the first spontaneous desire manifested by the natives of the country for instruction in English and the literature of Europe. This was the first blow to Oriental literature and science heretofore exclusively cultivated in the Colleges. The new institution was started at a meeting of many of the leading Natives of Calcutta at the house of the Chief Justice, Sir Hyde East, who has left an interesting account of the origin of the project and of the original rules drawn up for its management. The further peculiarity of the College was its being designed "primarily for the sons of respectable Hindus," and entirely under Native superintendents—the funds amounting to nearly a lakh of rupees being voluntary contributions by the projectors of the scheme.

"English education was in a manner forced upon the British Government;" says Alex Duff. "It did not itself spontaneously originate it. There were two persons who had to do with it.—one was Mr. David Hare and the other was an Indian, Rammohun Roy".

It reflects no small credit on the Hindus, that long before England had learned to do anything of the kind, they themselves had founded a college at Calcutta by their own voluntary contributions, for the instructions of their youth in English literature and science.

#### MACAULAY'S FAMOUS MINUTE OF 1835

This stage of the controversy has a peculiar interest, not only as a turning point in the history of education in India, but because of the part taken in it by Macaulay then on the Committee, and at the same time the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council. In the latter capacity Macaulay wrote a long minute replying fully to arguments political and educational, advanced by the Orientalists. He declared : "The Government was not bound by the Act of 1813 to any particular kind of teaching, or fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, but was at liberty to employ its funds as it thought best, and that the best way of employing them was in teaching what was best worth knowing. English was better worth knowing than Sanskrit and Arabic. The Natives themselves have found this out. They

would pay to learn English but they required to be taught Sanskrit and Arabic and then thought themselves entitled to compensation from Government for having been engaged so long in so useless a nequisition. It is quite possible and very advantageous on every ground to make Natives of India thoroughly good English scholars, and to this end the efforts of the Committee should be directed."

The minute, distinguished by the brilliancy of style, the profuse illustration and incisive logic peculiar to the author, concluded with a distinct declaration that if the present system were permitted to remain unchanged the writer would resign his seat on the Committee. The Governor-General Lord William Bentick, briefly endorsed his entire concurrence with Mr. Macaulay's views.

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the Natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone."

On the receipt of this order the Committee resolved that henceforth "schools for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of English language should be established in the principal towns in Presidencies of Fort William and Agra, as funds became available and school masters can be procured."

But Macaulay never lost sight of utility of vernacular as the medium of education, as in the course of the Minute, he takes occasion to observe.

To hire four or five people to make a literature is a course which never answered and never will answer in any part of the world. Languages grow. They cannot be built. We are now following the slow but sure course on which alone we can depend for a supply of good books in the vernacular languages of India. We are now attempting to raise up a large class of enlightened natives. I hope that twenty years hence, there will be hundreds, nay thousands of natives, familiar with the best models of composition, and well acquainted with western science."

Mr. F. J. Monahan, who was Commissioner of two divisions in Bengal, had a thorough and intimate knowledge of Bengal and Bengali: in the course of his evidence before the Calcutta University Commission he says:

"I think that some Englishmen who advocated the use of English as a medium of instruction in Schools and Colleges are influenced by natural enthusiasm for the Imperial idea. They value the English language as bond of union in the Empire and dream of its becoming the common and universal language of India.

"There are also many examples which show that to attain in commerce or industry a very small amount of knowledge of English, or indeed of education of any kind suffices. The millionaire Marwari merchant of Barabazar has not taken the trouble to learn English, and employs a Bengali B. A. on Rs. 40 a month to conduct his English correspondence. Though a good general education, including English, should be an advantage to an Indian in every walk of life, yet if the main object were to make as many Indians as possible commercially and industrially efficient, probably the best plan would be to help them to acquire as quickly as possible at school some form of "pidgin" English, in addition to arithmetic and book-keeping and apprentice them at an early age to a commercial or industrial business".

Before we conclude this portion, we must not, however, forget to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. We yield to none in our admiration for Macaulay, whom we may almost style the father of high education in India. But when Macaulay had not even been elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Rammohan Roy had sent a pathetic appeal to the representative of the British nation, which extorted the admiration and drew forth the encomium of Bishop Heber; there are passages in it which are almost interchangeable with those which occur in Macaulay's Minute.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, - it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy, and other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

Engaged in the tedious and protracted Burmese War, Lord Amherst could not afford to trouble himself much about the intellectual progress of the Indian people. Rammohan Roy's voice was thus as that of one crying in the wilderness. Not even an official intimation was vouchsafed to him that attention should be given to his memorial. It is perhaps a sign of human weakness that we are apt to give more credit to one who, no less by disinterested zeal than by a fortuitous concourse of events, brings a movement to a successful issue, than to one who, amidst comparative darkness, takes the initiative. We do not know which of the two to admire most—the Indian or the Englishman—Rammohan Roy or Macaulay.

#### NON-ADOPTION OF VERNACULAR AS MEDIUM—THE FATAL MISTAKE

If we begin by critically examining our methods in India (not only in your University) the first outrage that we find we committed was in making a foreign language our vehicle of instruction. It is surprising that this principal reason for our intellectual sterility was not discovered till very recently, and it is still more surprising to find that some of the wellknown educationists of the time continue to regard this relegation of the English language to an inferior position as fraught with disastrous consequences. To avoid misconception, I must here, once for all, make it clear that the study of English or other important foreign languages is by no means discouraged; they open up newer vistas of thoughts and ideals; there is no need of entertaining the fear that the language in which Shakespeare and Milton wrote will be left uncultivated. Only it must not be looked upon as the medium of instruction. A man of education must, in the first place, be one well up in all-round information, and he can gather it best and in the minimum of time if he does so in a language he learned to lisp in, while sucking his mother's breast—the language of his nursery. Arithmetic, History, Economics, Politics, Logic and Geography, in short the book of knowledge, can readily be mastered in one's own vernacular. That should be the first stone in our educational edifice if we want to build well and high.

Gustave Le Bon, in the course of a psychological study on the overproduction of graduates, observes :

"The primary danger of this system of education very properly qualified as Latin consists in the fact that it is based on the fundamental psychological error that the intelligence is developed by the learning by heart of textbooks. Adopting this view, the endeavour has been made to enforce a knowledge of as many handbooks as possible. From the primary school till he leaves the university a young man does nothing but acquire books by heart without his judgment or personal initiative being ever called into play. Education consists for him in reciting by heart and obeying.

"It gives those who have been submitted to it a violent dislike to the state of life in which they were born and an intense desire to escape from it. The working man no longer wishes to remain a working man, or the peasants to continue a peasant, while the most humble members of the middle class admit of no possible career for their sons except that of State-paid functionaries. Instead of preparing men for life French schools solely prepare them to occupy public functions, in which success can be attained without any necessity for self-direction or the exhibition of the latest glimmer or personal initiative. At the bottom of the social ladder the system creates an army of proletarians discontented with their lot and always ready to revolt, while at the summit it brings into being a frivolous bourgeois, at once sceptical and credulous, having a superstitious confidence in the State, whom it regards as short of Providence, but without forgetting to display towards it a ceaseless hostility, always laying its own faults to the door of the Government, and incapable of the least enterprise without the intervention of the authorities.

"The State which manufactures by dint of text-books all these persons possessing diplomas, can only utilise a small number of them, and is forced to leave the others without employment. It is obliged in consequence to resign itself to feeding the first mentioned and to having the others as its enemies. From the top to the bottom of the social pyramid, from the humblest clerk to the professor and the prefect, the immense mass of persons boasting diplomas besiege the professions. While a business man has the greatest difficulty in finding an agent to represent him in the colonies, thousands of candidates solicit the most modest official posts. There are 20,000 school masters and mistresses without employment in the depart-

ment of the Science alone, all of the persons who, disdaining the fields or the workshops, look to the State for their livelihood. The number of the chosen being restricted, that of the discontented is perforce immense. The latter are ready for any revolution, whoever be its chiefs and whatever the goal they aim at. The acquisition of knowledge for which no use can be found is a sure method of driving a man to revolt".

"It is evidently too late to retrace our steps. Experience alone, that supreme educator of peoples, will be at pains to show us our mistake. It alone will be powerful enough to prove the necessity of replacing our odious text-books and our pitiable examinations by industrial instruction capable of inducing our young men to return to the fields, to the workshop, and to the colonial enterprise which they avoid to-day at all costs".

#### TRUE FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITY

Every one will admit that with an improved and broadened form of secondary education, the functions of the universities will be stripped of many of their unnecessary appendages, making thus for real progress. The mechanical portion of training, which ought really to be finished in the school stage, but which unfortunately is carried on to the University form, will then greatly disappear and make these Universities real centres of learning and culture. I fear a good deal of explanation is necessary at this point, mainly because the present University system is as yet so full of routine details that its function is not very far removed from that of a Secondary School.

No doubt the lecture system gives an appearance of work, but if the student is himself willing to utilise his time, he would in most cases find that he gets through more work by absenting himself from these compulsory lectures. Adopting as his text the dictum of Carlyle that the modern University is a University of books, Mr. H. G. Wells says :

"Now the frank recognition of the book and not the lecture as the substantial basis of instruction opens up a large and interesting range of possibilities. It releases the process of learning from its old servitude to place, and to time. It is no longer necessary for the student to go to a particular room, at a particular hour to hear the golden words drop from the lips of a particular teacher. The young man who reads at 11 o'clock in the morning in luxurious rooms in Trinity College, Cambridge, will have no very marked advantage over another young man, employed during the day, who reads at 11 o'clock at night in a bed-sitting-room in Glasgow."

Just consider the opposite system where the student is only given the names of some books and some questions on the problems dealt therein; he reads them, digests them and develops his own answers to the questions by a process of thinking which is his own, and then in the College Seminar discusses them from his own point of view with his colleagues and professors, preferably in limited groups. I am sure under these circumstances his power of analysis as well as synthesis will be better developed, and his efforts, though irksome in the beginning, will soon enable him to carve out his own intellectual empire. All these, however, presuppose a sound secondary education based upon his vernacular.

I have pointed out some of the main defects of our University educational system : the medium of study, the absence of elimination, the system of compulsory lectures, and the non-participation of students in the organisation.

Whilst, on the other hand, therefore, the charge of handling mediocrity in the University system is not altogether unfounded, the current Emersonian aphorism that 'Universities are hostile to genius,' is, on the other hand, not wholly justifiable. Whilst Universities should be anxious to invite real workers for human progress, we on our part should see that they are rendered independent to do so. If I may quote from Mr. Wells, they (future Universities) will offer no general education at all, no graduation in arts or science or wisdom. The only students who will come to them will be young people who want to work in close relation as assistants, secretaries, special pupils, collateral investigators with the devoted and distinguished men whose results are teaching all the world."

I am not out to preach a jeremiad against University education altogether. Ever since the delivery of my Mysore University Convocation address in 1926 and even before that, I have been harping on the insane craze for University degrees

and its baneful effects. "The Universities are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their University training," is the finding of the Indian Statutory (Hartog) Commission.

I only plead for a considerable elimination of candidates in the process of selection. As all round education should be imparted to the majority of the students in the secondary stage through the medium of the vernacular. This will correspond to the "school final" in England. No one should choose a University career unless he feels that he has an instinctive call in that direction. A University should be a centre of scholarship, research and culture. Let those alone see the portals of the academy who are prepared to dedicate their lives to the enlargement of the bounds of knowledge.

Laski observes in his "Dangers of Obedience": I have no use for the lecture that is a mere substitute for books. The University has failed when its students are not aroused to dispassionate discussions among themselves or when the work they do fails to awake them to the study of great books. The student who is satisfied with pemmicanized knowledge has gone through the University with his mind closed: he has eaten facts, but not digested them."

Cardinal Newman very properly observes : "It is, I believe, as a matter of history, the business of a University to make the intellectual culture its direct scope or to employ itself in the education of the intellect."

It is no doubt one of the main functions of the University to promote culture, but at the same time we must be on our guard, says Alfred Zimmern.

"Culture is an element making for grace, promotion, and harmony in human spirit. But if any criticism is to be levelled at the ideal and the processes of culture it is surely just this—that they may tend to fix men unduly in stereotyped ways of thinking and feeling, ministering to a self-satisfaction which inhibits initiative rather than stimulating them to fresh efforts with all the possible conflicts involved. In other words culture is apt to be confounded with sanctions crystallised by use. Then again he refers to the memorable descriptions in Renan's St. Paul of those models of classical culture, the Athenian Professors, to whom the apostle addressed in vain the Word of Life. Athens, at the point to which it has been brought after centuries of development, a city of grammarians, of gymnasts and of teachers of sword play, was as well disposed as possible to receive Christianity. The baseness and inward dryness of the schoolman are irremediable sins in the eyes of grace. The pedagogue is the most difficult of men to convert, for he has his own religion which consists in his routine, his faith in his old authors, his taste for literary exercises; this contents him and extinguishes every other need." This is also the opinion of Bertrand Russell.

"Atque inter silvas Academi quaerere veram" (in the groves of the Academy search truth), thus sang the Latin poet. In ancient India and to a certain extent in the "Tols" of medieval and modern India, the disciples in the "asram" of the preceptor (guru) while tending cows, collecting fuel and doing all manner of household drudgery used to get lessons on eternal verities : witness the sublime and transcendental discussions in the "Vrihadaranyaka Upanishad." The very word "aranayaka" (i.e. in the forest) reminds us of the groves of Plato. I am afraid, in the mad and incessant imitation of the west—in attaching palatial, residential quarters to our Universities with all the amenities of modern luxuries, we are doing incalculable harm. We are turning out helpless nincompoops utterly unfit to face the matter-of-fact world. This fact should not be over-looked by our educationists. May the University steer clear of these shoals.

## The Punjab University Jubilee Convocation

A distinguished gathering of delegates from over forty universities and learned societies of the world and prominent men and women of the Punjab, were present at the special Jubilee Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the 4th December 1933, when His Excellency Sir Herbert Emerson, Chancellor,

conferred the honorary degrees of LL. D. on Sir Shadilal and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain ; of Doctor of Oriental Learning on Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, and Sir Sundar-singh Majithia ; and of Doctor of Literature on Sir Mahomed Iqbal and Mr. S. C. Woolner, Vice-chancellor, Punjab University.

Addressing the Convocation, the Chancellor welcomed the delegates, and then referred to the important part taken by the Princes of Punjab and the adjacent States in the inauguration of the University fifty years ago, and the practical interest they had continued to show in its welfare.

His Excellency dwelt upon the great services rendered by the recipients of degrees which were being conferred to-day. Continuing, he said that all were determined to see that the Punjab University advanced, though there might be differences regarding the lines of advance. The Chancellor paid a tribute to the work of the Punjab University Committee and said that perhaps the most important of the questions examined by the Committee was whether their system could not be developed and adapted so as to provide greater opportunities for the employment of the youth of the Province. The Committee's report was now under the examination of the University authorities, and as soon as the Local Government were in possession of their views, they would proceed to take careful consideration of the various questions raised in that.

His Excellency referred to the necessity of strengthening among the students, the corporate character of university life, and in this connection, dwelt on the proposal to construct a University Union Hall to mark the Jubilee.

His Excellency gratefully acknowledged the generous response already made in this connection, and appealed for further generous help. Concluding, His Excellency emphasised that there could be no better way of celebrating the Jubilee than by a resolve to work for the single purpose of promoting the good of those committed to it for the higher good of the community.

Addressing the Convocation, Prof. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor, referred to the history and progress of the University during the last half a century, and observed that in point of numbers the University might now be considered to be celebrating its coming of age. The next stage was to attain maturity in the quality of work done, and adaptation to the needs of the area served.

Prof. Woolner referred, in this connection, to the economic and social problem of unemployment and underpaid teachers, and the growing demand for a greater measure of independence in Indian education, depending less on other countries for the highest training and the need of widening the horizon by the presence of devotees of varied knowledge.

Concluding the Vice-chairman stated : Whatever rearrangements may be found necessary or convenient as regards the control and testing of lower levels of college teaching, it should be borne in mind that whatever line be drawn, the knowledge and ideas that permeate all levels will derive from the University and its colleagues, and consequently any limitation of the resources of the University, can only tend to increase the intellectual of all."

## The Punjab University Convocation

Addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the 22nd December 1933 Sir Shadilal, Chief Justice, Lahore High Court, invited the attention of the new graduates to the great constitutional changes impending in India and said that time would surely come when many of them would play an important part in the successful working of that constitution. For the attainment of that object, character was of vital importance and he asked them to so shape their future life that when the call came from their country, they would be able to respond to it whole-heartedly.

Earlier in the address Sir Shadilal referred to the problems before the Indian educationists and said the original purpose for which Indian Universities were

established had been fully served and it was necessary that the course of instruction should be lifted from the groove in which it had been running so long. To make it really useful it must be directed to more profitable channels. A small section of our students might continue to follow the course now prescribed by the University, but the bulk must be trained to business, to develop the resources of the land, organise and expand industries and apply themselves to all branches of commerce. Sir Shadilal suggested that the Punjab University should consider the desirability of instituting a department of business administration and, continuing, he added there could be no doubt that teaching imparted by the University was adding year after year to the already large number of unemployed graduates. Discontent caused by this took a political complexion and from political discontent to political crime was only a step. "While law may safely be left to deal with actual crime, it is the province of statesmanship to do all it can to neutralise the potentiality of political crime and deal constructively with the root causes of political discontent. There is such a thing as healing of unrest and discontent and when this is done political crime due to economic causes should decrease and India should be able to move along new road of peace and prosperity. Therefore, besides reorganisation of the present system of University education, fresh occupations would have to be found for graduates of universities and there must be fresh outlets for their energies".

Sir Shadilal dwelt on the need for comprehensive programme of economic development of the country.

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## The Allahabad University Convocation

The Allahabad University Convocation was held at Allahabad on the 16th December 1933 under the presidency of H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the United Provinces. After the Vice-Chancellor, Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurur had conferred the degrees, Sir Tej Bahadur delivered his convocation speech. In the course of his speech he said :

One of the greatest thinkers and seers of our day says, in a recent book of his, that in spite of all their apparent modernization the universities have never yet discovered how to lead a community. They have a timidity in their hearts ; they would rather propitiate than dominate. They have simply substituted the tradition of yesterday for inalterable tradition to save themselves. They have almost come up-to-date, and they have been carried on prosperously by a hurrying and not too critical world. But they will always be, by their very nature, by their instinct for following power instead of exercising it, not quite up-to-date. It is difficult to imagine how they can even get beyond yesterday. With their fundamental hieratic professions, their degrees and examinations, their curricula and direction of study, they must always remain organizations for the confirmation and transmission of what has already been accepted in the unorganized world of free intelligence. They cannot handle knowledge in this fashion until it is more or less traditionalised". He then pronounces the following doom on the universities : "The break-up of the universities may be at hand in their very phase of maximum expansion. The undergraduate body may melt away suddenly, dispersing to forms of work and training of a more specialised and continuous sort, and with that the university properly speaking, that immense obsolescent educational gesture, the miscellaneous great gathering of students and teachers, will achieve a culminating gala of sport and splendour—and cease.

There is a great deal in this judgment, severe as it no doubt is, with which it is impossible to agree—though I hope our universities are not so near that 'gala of sport and splendour' and cessation which this thinker foreshadows for universities in the West. Nevertheless, I think it is pertinent to ask whether our universities have yet 'discovered how to lead a community'.

The conception of a university as a retreat situated in sylvan surroundings and away from the madding crowd, where knowing and pious professors, and

eager and devoted youth foregather to quench their thirst for knowledge, to contemplate and revel in the mysteries of knowledge, to discuss and rediscuss the eternal verities of life and death and leave behind for a not too happy posterity elaborate, if not illuminating, commentaries upon the texts of sages and 'rishis', may bring comfort to the heart of the revivlist who lives in an ancient past which can never be resuscitated or furnish a theme to the mornlist who thinks that to preach morality is to leave a moral life—but a distracted world like ours in the grip of an unsparing struggle for existence and torn by the conflicting and confusing cries of nationalism, economic and political, and the demands of a seductive internationalism, the centre-piece of Mr. Wells' new philosophy which can live only upon the ruins of nationalism, will not easily accept this monastic conception of a university.

Such knowledge as I have acquired of the West convinces me that there is a growing revolt there against the traditional ideas of the functions of the universities, and while it is no doubt true that they still are and will, I dare say, continue to be the radiating centres of learning and culture—a sort of Solomon's Houses—they are watchfully becoming more and more responsive to the needs of the times, they are contributing not a little to the solution of those pressing problems of life which must needs be faced and tackled in a practical and business-like manner. The urgency of giving a different turn to our universities seems to me to be given greater in India. I shall ask you to approach the entire question in something like the following manner. Let us assume that the Allahabad University produces every year a hundred brilliant graduates who know everything in English literature from Chaucer to Bernard Shaw, Galsworthy and Masefield. Let us again assume that there is every year an equal number of excellent graduates in pure physics, chemistry, biology and every other ology. Let us also assume that there is every year a fair number of graduates produced steeped in all the wisdom and philosophy of ancient times and modern in all the 'doctrines' of social reconstruction beginning with Plato and ending with Karl Marx and Lenin—and do not let me forget—I am making here no assumption—that you produce every year at least a hundred graduates in law crowding the corridors of the High Court and the district courts and waiting for their talents to be recognised. When you have made all these assumptions, you must answer the question which is bound to be put to you more and more emphatically as time goes on. What good does it do to the nation, to society and to India at large to produce year in and year out these fine cultured gentlemen who after they have left the portals of the university wake up to the reality of the situation to find that the call of hunger is more insistent than the call of culture and that the fine maxims of morality which they imbibed in their class-rooms are more in the nature of impediments than a help in the struggle for existence? These very men who are your products will put you that question: their disillusioned and disappointed parents will also put you that question. I shall assume that you can afford to turn a deaf ear to impudences and irrelevancies of this character and comfort yourself with the virtual and self-righteous conviction that you have at least brought light where there was darkness, you have extended the bounds of knowledge, and endowed these young offspring of yours with noble ideals and elevated principles. But I fear you cannot for long ignore or refuse to answer the very same question when it will be put to you by the representatives of the tax-payer to whose long suffering generosity you owe your very being and continued existence. The time is not distant when the serenity of your detached and cloistered life will be disturbed by the irrepressible questions of the tax-payer. I therefore ask the elders of the University—those who are in charge of this huge machinery—to take note of the signs of the times and to readjust it before it is too late.

Do not let me give you the impression that I am taking refuge behind vague generalities or that I am sounding an exaggerated note of alarm. Much as I value the benefits of academic learning which rises superior to considerations of a utilitarian character, much as I should like some of our young men to live dedicated lives in the service of culture, to enrich their minds and the minds of their countrymen with the treasures of thought inherited from ages, I feel that, generally speaking, the interests of our country will be better served if we lay greater emphasis on and make better provision for practical scientific education—an education which will enable us to stand the stress of modern competitive life. I am not raising before a humanistic ideal of education. Professor Do Burgh, a great exponent in England

of classical education, says : 'A classical education in contrast with that in the applied sciences is commonly disparaged as unpractical. The word 'practical' in every day thought and speech is almost synonymous with vocational'. Men mean by it something that contribute directly to professional efficiency, to earning a material livelihood ; they forget that without friendship, morality, religion, and art life would not for a moment be worth living.' Now, I do not venture to dogmatise about the West or the universities in the West, but I should like to make an attempt at interpreting the feelings, howsoever inadequately, of the great mass of young men to whom you stand in *loco parentis*. It is not that their imagination is not fired by the noble ideas which ancient and modern literatures place before them, or that they are not moved or are not susceptible of being moved, by higher impulses or that friendship, religion and art make no impression on their character ; it is, however, the vital fact of their existence that, at any rate in the case of the vast majority of them, chill penury repress their noble rage. Add to it the equally undeniable fact that the deadening weight of a mediaeval if not antiquated social system, not frequently supported by a proud nationalism and an undiscriminating pride in the supposed perfection of our past, presses heavily on them and then you can have some idea of the tremendous wastage of Indian intellect and Indian effort. Why should we therefore fight shy of vocational education as something to be despised or something unworthy of ourselves ? Why should anybody in these times apologise for demanding an education which contributes directly to professional efficiency or to the earning of a material livelihood ? At any rate, I make no apology for making such a demand. This demand, if legitimate as I think it is, can only be fulfilled if we are prepared to recognize a few essential facts of the situation.

Good as university education may be for some, I fear it is not good for all and sundry. From a purely cultural point of view, from the point of view of the advancement of knowledge and learning, it does not seem to me to be desirable that our universities should consciously or unconsciously allow themselves to be used as so many factories for manufacturing candidates for deputy collectorships, tehsildarships and munisipalities, not all of whom can fulfil their ambitions. Again, what good does it do to the nation or to the young men themselves to turn out year after year so many hundreds of young Bachelors of Law ? It is literally true of the legal profession—more true of it than any other profession—that many are called but few chosen. One inevitable consequence of this indiscriminate multiplication of graduates must be the lowering of the standards of education and also of conduct under the stress of competition and if an unpleasant truth must be uttered, it must be admitted that many if not all of the ten commandments which you inculcate within the four walls of this magnificent hall are honoured more in their breach than in their observance outside these portals. Lives which might be more usefully and more honourably spent in other, though humbler, spheres are thus wasted in disappointment, discontent and despair. You can if you like retort by saying that it is none of your business to bother yourselves about the future of your alumni, that when you have imparted to them some knowledge and put the hallmark of your degrees on them, and that when once every year your Vice-Chancellor has solemnly charged them to be worthy of the same, you have done your whole duty by them. Similarly, a Government, which thinks that its main if not the whole duty is the preservation of law and order and which cannot cope with the economic malady of the country, may plead that it is none of its business to tackle the problem of unemployment—but the laws of Nemesis are inexorable, and neither universities nor Governments can escape them. Indeed they are already in operation and while the builders of our constitution may be putting stone upon stone and the wreckers, posing as saviours, may be actually busy in holding out threats to them, the hungry crowd of your middle class graduates, disown'd alike by Government who look upon them as the source of all trouble, and by patriots who have a horror of our university-bred bourgeoisie, goes on increasing apace complicating the situation for both.

What then is to be done and who is to do it ? I do not think there is any single agency which by itself can solve the problem. The university, the Government and Indian society must all combine to attack the problem. The university and the Government can combine each within its sphere in providing for the diversion of a large number of our young men into schools and institutions where they can be made to learn something that may enable them to earn a decent living by following some useful vocation or occupation, or by settling them on land where

land is available. This will necessarily involve the overhauling and readjustment of the entire educational machinery. In order to relieve the pressure on the university and at the same time to make university more efficient from a practical point of view, it seems to me to be necessary to provide more and better equipped secondary and vocational schools, so that after the completion of the school education it may be possible for the vast majority of our young men, in whose case the earning of livelihood is a necessity and the pursuit of culture at the university in luxury, to settle down in career and trade, business and industries, and thus save that wastage of our youth which to my mind is one of the most alarming signs of the times. This alone will not suffice; the State must take a more active and a more sustained interest in giving those men a start in the various departments of life, and lines of business or industries. The State then should assume a further financial responsibility for the better equipment of our universities which may then be expected to produce leaders of community in the fields of thought and action.

It is true that in 1932 the world's figure for unemployment reached the staggering total of about twenty-five millions, and it is equally true that in the midst of the present world-wide economic chaos, most of the leading nations of the world are groping in darkness, only developing the new industry of international conferences which pay very poor dividends. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the main occupation of all Governments in the West is somehow or other to conquer the demon of unemployment. At any rate people there know and feel that their ministers and their representatives are doing or professing to do something to reduce unemployment and it is success or failure in this sphere which is the determining factor in the existence of Western Governments. Can you say here that you may fix responsibility upon any one in the Government and call him to account for his failure? I realise that no Government—foreign or national—can possibly absorb all the educated youths of the country in its services and even if such a thing were possible, it would betoken ill for the country and its future. I am not, however, thinking of 'jobs' in Government offices. I am thinking generally of finding work for our young men to do, and if Government denies its responsibility in the matter and admits its incapacity to deal with the problem, then in my opinion it stands self-condemned, howsoever much for the moment it may congratulate itself upon having 'restored' respect for 'law and order'. Addressing as I am a learned body like this which is essentially urban in its character, I am refraining from all reference to the larger and more complicated problem of rural unemployment and distress. I have ventured to refer to the question of urban unemployment among what are at times derisively called the educated classes, as I look upon it a very real and growing menace to society, calling for concerted and well-planned action. Can the Ministry of Education in these provinces, dealing with the universities and numerous schools scattered over some 48 districts, disclaim or disavow its responsibility in this matter to the thousands of students, who uncared-for and perhaps ill-equipped—must year after year swell the figures of the unemployed? Can the entire Government—transferred had reserved—genuinely feel aggrieved if it is told that it has lost its prestige and moral hold on the youth of to-day who must be the citizens of to-morrow?

The pages of history are littered with cases of change of loyalties to old social and economic ideas and old systems of government under the stress of want and despair. I have no ready-made remedy to offer, no panacea for the economic maladies of the younger generation committed to your charge, but I do suggest that interminable discussions in the Legislative Council can bring no nearer the solution in future than they have done so far. What is wanted is action, Rooseveltian, if you like, on the part of Government—action based on a well-thought-out plan, aiming at the opening of new avenues of work for the youth who are the output of the entire educational machinery. In any genuine and sustained attempt that Government may make in this direction it will clearly be entitled to the support and co-operation of not only all the Universities in the province, but also of the general public—and particularly of that section of the public which possesses large estates or controls business on a large scale and who must as much for their self-preservation as for public good reorganise their methods of work and utilise expert and general knowledge. I do not wish to resolve Indian society also of its responsibility in the matter. We must revise our values, we must cease to think that honour and influence flow only from office, we must be prepared to recognise that the man who tills the soil or works in a factory or earns his livelihood as an assistant in a shop or pursues

some vocation, howsoever humble, is as useful a unity of society within his range of work as an official or a lawyer or a doctor is within his sphere. Again our society must be prepared to give these young men a fair and free start in life without encumbering them before they have reached the threshold of their careers with wives and children.

It is only when the State has reorganised its system of secondary education and made it more fruitful than it is at present, it is only when it has raised the level of general intelligence among the masses and endowed them with a faculty for the reception of new ideas that the universities may be expected to fill that place in the general life of the country which it is their duty to fill. Until then we must look in vain for creative energy of thought or even a purposeful pursuit of knowledge on the part of our universities. At best, taking things as they are, the number of geniuses or first-class men must here, as anywhere else, be very limited. If this is so, then I venture to think that we should, at present, concern ourselves more with the multiplication of good second class men who form the backbone of a nation, than with the unachievable ambition of producing an ever increasing number of first-class men.

The problem therefore of university education as it seems to me—a layman—in the present circumstances of India is not the problem of its expansion but of its intensification and concentration on studies that do not add merely to its spiritual wealth—good no doubt as it is—but also and mainly to its economic wealth. Until that stage is reached, I fear our universities must continue to occupy more or less a place of isolation in the life of the nation, occasionally producing a Raman, a Saha or a Parniptha, but, generally, producing a crowd of men knocking at the doors of Government offices which must refuse to open for all or an alternative—as I am told at times—gambling in learned professions where the cards they draw are more often than not blank. It is not till then that our universities will have 'discovered how to lead a community.' Perhaps all this will be treated as heresy by those who have been fed upon the pure milk of traditional culture, but the heterodoxies of to-morrow. I urge that from now our universities must be prepared to recognise that it is their duty to march with a resolute mind and firm steps towards a new stage.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I shall not any further obtrude on your equanimity any more *obiter dicta* of mine and from you I shall now turn to your flock. I see in front of me the serried ranks of young men—who taking leave of this University to-day will seek to enter an infinitely larger university—the university of life. To them will go forth from every one assembled in this hall his or her best wishes—and may I add—sympathies. Perhaps what I have said so far may have a depressing effect on the mind of some of them. Let me, however, assure them with all the sincerity I am capable of, that no one can have a truer or more genuine sympathy with them than I claim to profess. Men of my generation have had, and very nearly have had, their day. You are the men of future and it is you and not we who will determine what the future of India is going to be within the next fifteen or twenty years. I salute you as the future citizens of India and the custodians of India's honour, India's self-respect and India's well-being. May I, however, as a man of yesterday, talk to you on some aspects of the life which awaits you?

Many of you, my young friends, I make no doubt, cherish in your bosoms the ambition of joining public life. It is a very laudable ambition to cherish, a noble duty to perform. The urge of nationalism was never more irresistible in the case of Indian youth than at present. You need offer no apology to any one for being lovers of your country. That is your right and that is your duty, and an Indian youth who does not recognise that right or that duty must be a political invertebrate, worthy of the fostering care of only the Indian Empire Society and Mr. Churchill. But while I maintain that it is your right and duty to serve your country, I think I should be guilty of insincerity towards you if I failed to impress on you that public life is a very serious and difficult vocation entailing prolonged and painful preparation and probation. I shall assume that there are many amongst you who are prepared to forsake the pursuit of personal ends for the service of the country and to undergo the necessary training and probation. Still you must answer a few questions and answer them frankly and courageously. Are you going merely to destroy this huge and complicated structure of society in the hope—vain hope as I think—that you will build on altogether new foundations, or are you going to follow the less dramatic, the less spectacular, but more laborious

rious and solid task of repairing the damaged parts of the edifice, remodelling it when you can and must, and letting in more sun and light and air into the building? The choice will not be wholly yours; there are others too whose existence you cannot ignore, there are circumstances which you cannot and will not be able to control. There are new gods and new idols which a distracted humanity in the West has set up for itself, but how long these gods and idols will continue to command the worship and homage of their worshippers and what response they are going to make in the end to the prayerful appeals of their devotees, only time can show. I am afraid one of the onerous inheritances of our people is that we are by temperament drawn into the endless discussions of theories and principles, and it seems to me that on the intellectual side of our life we have to exercise more than ordinary self-restraint lest our inherited metaphysical tendencies cramp, if not paralyse, our faculty for work. Perhaps our east and our present environments are not wholly to blame our youth and our middle aged men have every right to complain that the conception of the State which is in vogue to-day and which is at present being emphasised in England by those who cannot or will not visualise to themselves your changed outlook leaves them no real opportunity for work and compels them for want of anything better to do only to theorise and dogmatise. You are changing and you must change but if the change is to be an all-round change you are entitled to expect that the conception of the State as a polis State, must undergo a change.

Next, let me ask you whether your objective in public life is going to be to work for any section of the community or for the community as a whole. I have no doubt that an overwhelmingly large section of our educated young men and women are "nationalists". This is as it should be. It is inevitable that in the circumstances of our country and living as we do in an age when assertive and suspicious nationalisms are upsetting, like bulls in a China shop, the little-applecart of European and American statesmen at Geneva and all over the world, the youth of our country, not yet contaminated by the gullies of the wire-puller, should always be thinking in terms of 'nationalism'. But long and hard experience has convinced me that in not a few cases our nationalism is a smoke-screen behind which stand the sinister forces of particularism, sectionalism, communalism and provincialism. The warning given by Dellelo Burns cannot be too emphatically repeated that 'the modern mind requires in the life of the community some unifying principles to connect merely the different specialisms, but the different levels at which its members live.'

Economic as no doubt certain aspects of our nationalism are, the immediate object of our "nationalism" ought to be to harness together all those forces of mutual trust and cooperation without which, I am convinced, we cannot make any real progress towards freedom or self-government, and to constantly suppress all those fissiparous tendencies which stand between us and our destiny. I am fully aware that it is held in certain quarters that unity will follow and not precede Indian freedom. I fear that the multiplicity of 'leaders' in the country—and the enthronement or dethronement of leaders is at present a very fascinating occupation has produced a bewildering multiplicity of panacea for the ills of our body politic. This is, however, neither the time nor the occasion for me to discuss the relative merits of the various remedies which are sought to be prescribed by our 'leaders' but in the midst of this babel of confusion which you find at present, the still small voice of true nationalism may yet be heard. One can almost hear that voice saying to you that you cannot fight the modern battles of life with the theological or theocratic weapons of the middle ages. You have to make a conscious effort to cultivate a broad and catholic spirit of tolerance in religious and social matters and to realise that apart from the field of relationship between man and his Maker there is a vast field of common service, common enterprise, common enjoyment and co-operation from which religious and section polemics that divide, must be rigorously excluded. Do not be misguided by the siren voice of a myopic communalism which masquerades in the garb of nationalism, but which really thinks in terms of percentages, or gloats in dialectic victories, or rouses passions which it is always dangerous to rouse and difficult to assuage. It should be your proud privilege to possess an evangelical zeal for Indian unity. You are in the spring-time of life, you have not yet been spoiled by the calculating artifices of the opportunist in politics—you can do better than your elders have done in this field. The future is yours and the efforts must be yours.

## THE NAGPUR UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

His Excellency *Sir Hyde Clarendon Gowan*, in calling upon Sir C. V. Raman to deliver the address at the Nagpur University Convocation held at Nagpur on the 2nd December 1933, said :—“I know how greatly my predecessors Sir Frank Sly and Sir Montagu Butler valued the opportunities which the position of Chancellor afforded them of rendering service to the cause of learning. I cherish the hope that I may be able, during my tenure of office, to assist the university in some measure in the attainment of its aims and ideals. It is not my intention on the present occasion to address you at any length, though there are one or two notable developments recorded in the past year's report on which I should have been glad to linger. It is my pleasant function to-day to introduce to you one of India's most distinguished sons. Sir C. V. Raman is not a stranger to this province. There must be many among you who remember him as Assistant Accountant-General in Nagpur and the memory must give rise to the reflection that if he had not devoted himself to the pursuit of knowledge he would, in all likelihood, have illuminated the world of Finance as he has irradiated the realm of Science. Of his researches in the domain of Science, it is not for me to speak. They are well known all over the world. Universities and learned societies have delighted to honour him with their titles and their degrees. The award of the Nobel Prize, a few years ago, stamp him as one of the foremost physicists of his time.”

*Sir C. V. Raman*, addressing the new graduates, referred with pride to the days he spent in Nagpur 25 years ago. He expressed surprise at the vast all-round progress made by Nagpur since then.

Proceeding, he said that India was passing through difficult times and it was well once in a way to come into contact with reality, however painful it might be. “To-day may be dark and to-morrow still darker, but the time will come when they would be wanted.” Sir Raman remarked that he did not belong to that class of pessimists who valued education in terms of current coin. Education and culture had their own value and excessive attention to utilitarianism would defeat its own purpose. Great discoveries were made by those who were devoted and not by those who were bent on making money. If they studied any branch of science for making money and neglected others, they would be laying the axe at its root. Science and industry must go hand in hand. Science was based on the postulates that knowledge was to be acquired for its utility. Countries like England, Japan and Germany were realising this truth.

Dr. Raman exhorted the graduates to try and see life as scientific men. India had no place under the sun if they were going to shut out science in its broadest sense and it was desirable to have a dispassionate, cold and reasonable outlook on life.

Concluding, he said belief in Science, truth and reason, logic and intellect should govern your life and not passion or emotion. “Then you will have a good life in the future and a good place for your country.”

## The Annamalai University Convocation

The annual Convocation of the Annamalai University was held at Chidambaram on the 26th October 1933, H. E. the Governor presiding. *Sir T. Desikachari* delivered the annual address. Seventy-nine candidates took degrees in person and 28 in absentia. In the course of his address, *Sir T. Desikachari* said :—

This University, which we owe to the generosity and foresight of Raja Sir Anna-malai Chettiar, brings back to my mind the traditional accounts of academies fos-

tered by Royal patronage, in ages when "knowledge and high quality were not sought for the sake of some price to be obtained for them, but they were in request for their own sake, for the moral and intellectual virtue which has to be its own reward, the humanity which has the ethical significance that ought to be inseparable from high culture."

Among those seats of learning were the far-famed Sangams of the Pandya country. The achievement of each Sangam is of surpassing interest, attracting—as it seems to have done—from all parts of Tamil-akam, a galaxy of poets and literatures. It was an examining body with a large number of members and a President; and the circulation of any literary production before it had received the Academy's imprimatur was prohibited by Royal Mandate. King's extended their munificent patronage to inspired poets by gifts of land and liberal presents. Titles of distinction were also conferred on them.

Long after the 'Sangams' came the charitable and religious foundations recounted in South Indian inscriptions. The temples in the Chola and Pandya country, beautiful and imposing with their stately towers and marvellous sculpture, not only enshrined the imago of the presiding deity sought and worshipped by pilgrims and devotees, but served also as chosen centres for the dissemination of those intellectual, moral and spiritual ideals which are characteristic of the soul of our nation. Royal grants were provided for recitation of religious hymns; for measured chants of the Vedas; for musical recitals from the Puranas and Itihasas; for the due maintenance of teachers (Gurus) and pupils (Sishyas) studying grammar (Vyakarana), Sivadharma and Saiva Siddhanta and for the propagation in general of science, art, philosophy and religion. None of them, however, furnish us with as many details regarding the professorial staff, the number of attendant disciples and their equipment, as the interesting epigraph of Rajendra Chola I (1036 A. D.), surnamed "Gangaikonda-Chola, in Chaturvedimangalam (Ennayiram village) in this district. In the Gangaikonda Cholan Mandapam of the village, three hundred and forty Brahmacharis were ordered to be taught by fourteen Acharyas, provision being made for their maintenance by allotments in money and grain and by the supply of ghee, curds, sugar and firewood. On the day of 'Jayantashthami', the birthday of (Vennakattar) Krishna, those who had studied to the end, the Rik, Yajus and Sama Vedas, received a gold flower at their annual convocation.

This was how, nearly nine hundred years ago, Gangaikonda Chola established and endowed a Vedic College with the Guru and Sishya residing in daily association and intimate contact with one another. Nine centuries after this, it was given to Raja Annamalai Chettiar to found and organise this Residential University in the village of Tiruverkalam, by the inspiration and guidance of Pasupatheswara and the encouragement and co-operation of the Madras Government.

Conceived and created with the same high-souled purposes as the ancient Universities of India, the Annamalai University has tried to adapt them to modern conditions so as to be a living association of teachers and students creating strongly developed social and intellectual life, with ample opportunities for cultivating the qualities of organisation, initiative and leadership. As members of the University, you must ever cherish what your Alma Mater stands for with its site hallowed by tradition and justly famed as the victorious camp of heroes and the refuge of Tapasvis seeking enlightenment. The training, discipline and culture which you have secured here, will, I trust, be cherished by you wherever you are and whatever situation in life you occupy.

You will find not many of your countrymen who have enjoyed the unique advantages of mental equipment which it has been your fortune and privilege to secure in Annamalai Nagar. It is now your turn to go forth and endeavour to raise the intellectual tone of society in Tamil-akam; "cultivate the public mind; purify the national taste; supply the principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to aspirations; give enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of your age; and refine the intercourse of private life."

You are going out of this University at a time when a new constitution is being shaped, which will make a new era in India and which, let us hope, augurs well for the attainment by our motherland of her full stature. Here is a rare opportunity opening out before you to utilise your knowledge and culture in a genuine endeavour to lead your brethren to the proper exercise of the power placed in their hands by an extended franchise, to the right appreciation of their villages and the intelligent discharge of their duties. You will ere long be called upon to

exercise your own suffrage in returning suitable representatives to local bodies or yourselves to serve on Panchayats, Taluk Boards, District Boards and Municipal Councils. That the administration of local affairs is capable of considerable improvement is acknowledged on all hands : it is marred by many blemishes due to power centring in the hands of individuals chosen in a haphazard manner, not for their capacity to represent usefully the rate-payers who return them, but by adventitious aids unrelated to the cause which has to be represented or the ability of the person who is entitled to espouse that cause. If Local Self-Government should be the training ground for the attainment of full responsibility, young people imbued with the ideals of University education, must see to it that the welfare of the rate-payer and the right utilization of the rates levied from him must be placed above petty caste and sectarian jealousies, factious strategems and personal aggrandisement. In this and in many other ways, help and direction will be needed by those less favoured than you by education. In all the service you render them, you ought not to permit your reason to be dominated by unruly sentiment ; you should always respect constituted authority and not follow any devious methods or ways calculated to wreck life and confuse law and order. It is tempting and easy to enter the paths of disorder ; and it is hard to pursue those of duty rightly understood ; but it is the path of "Dharma" which leads ultimately to national good and individual welfare.

The unceasing endeavour and great wealth devoted to primary education during many years have not contributed to even the rudimentary literacy of the average ryot. The children going out of elementary schools are not better prepared than before to follow at least their father's calling ; their education does not awaken in them any keen sense to keep their villages clean or their surroundings sanitary ; it does not help them even to read, write or count ; for they lapse into illiteracy very soon after they leave the schools, and at adolescence their "marks" or 'finger prints' have to be taken as evidence of their execution of legal documents. In saying all this, I am not recounting what is new. According to the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, "when calculations are made on the basis of information supplied by the Census reports, it appears that the total number of pupils in recognised schools who pass through class IV is a little more than the normal loss due to death among literate males of twenty years of age and over."

The call is urgent for devising a scheme which will prevent the phenomenal wastage in the present system of primary education. The idea of consolidation and concentration of elementary schools in suitable areas for making them more rational and useful has not yet taken concrete shape. But whatever shape it may take in the future, let us hope that those who direct elementary education will enable you and the large number of graduates turned out every year from our Universities to contribute your share of work in educating the ryot's son and training him in useful vocations suited to his family and calling.

If opportunities and facilities be made available for the employment of cultured young men like you in the work of rural education and reconstruction, Elementary Education is bound to reach far more satisfactory ends than it does in the existing dispensation. The dearth of cultured "man-power" with real and abiding interest in the rehabilitation of agriculturist is often pleaded as the true cause of the disconcerting failure of all our efforts to promote the education of the masses. I entertain no doubt as to the great part you have to play in this important department of activity ; supposing you are willing and desirous to go to the village and help the villager, who is often proclaimed as 'the backbone of our country', you will find ample scope for the use of those qualities which your education has given you. Let us hope that the authorities having the direction and control of primary education will realise that in you is available the human agency fit to instruct and guide on correct lines, the ryot, who with his own measure of native shrewdness and common sense is sure to appraise at its value anything good or useful.

The charge has been levelled against those who have had University training, that they comport themselves as if they were of another caste among the many castes which have suffered so grievously our nation ; that there is a gulf in thought and aspiration between them and even their parents, more so between them and those brethren of theirs who have not enjoyed their unique advantage. You, who have come in social contact and friendly converse with colleagues drawn from every caste and have walked the narrow and steep way with your fellow-

pilgrims in quest of knowledge and the life of Reason, I do hope and trust, will not be open to such reproach. On the contrary, I expect you to help in all forward and progressive movements and lead your brethren, teaching them, bearing with them and guiding them so as to enable them to play a useful part in the promotion of the progress and prosperity of our country and the increase of its social, moral, material and political strength.

The canker of 'communalism' is eating into the vitals of our nation. In the Tamil land, if I have studied its past aright and gauged its present with experience, there is no justification for making any distinction born of caste, community or creed. Siva and Vishnu are worshipped in a single temple here in Chidambaram. Nandanar attained canonization here. And it is common knowledge that the Alvars and Nayanmars were drawn from different communities and castes, and also from the "depressed classes" now so called. Are these not enough lessons from the past history of your ancient land to serve you as powerful motives to quell the demon of 'communalism'? Why, I ask, split the glorious Tamil Nadu by stupid differences and sub-divisions which breed and promote unhealthy jealousy and insane antagonism? In Annamalai Nagar you have all come together and have had intimate contact and converse with one another so as to be members of a brotherhood whose aim must be to place India first, and caste, community and creed very much in the background. United we stand, divided we fall; the old adage will ever rule.

According to the ordinances of Manu, "women are to be honoured and adorned by fathers and brothers, by husbands, as also brother-in-law who desire much prosperity". "Where women are honoured, there the gods rejoice; but where they are not honoured, there, all rites are fruitless." And there are other directions in the same strain. These guided our family life and our duties in the second stage of life, that of the householder. There were women famed and venerated in India, learned and wise, courageous and noble, pure and self-sacrificing. Students of Sanskrit and Tamil literature must easily recollect their names. Such women are not wanting even to-day; they are asserting themselves and formulating their claims at their meetings and conferences in no halting or uncertain terms as to their share in the direction of all our affairs. Can you then bear it to be said that your sister, wife or daughter is imperfectly equipped for occupying her rightful place in the existing constitution or the one that is to come? The Hartog Committee has had to remark that "the middle and high classes of India have long suffered from the dualism of an ignorant womanhood and an educated manhood—a dualism that lowers the whole level of the home and domestic life and has its reaction on personal and national character." Let not this remark, which is not now altogether undeserved, pass by, without thought from you. People like myself who have had to move freely and familiarly with every section of the public know that the women in however low state—indeed the women of the middle and lower classes are assertive and independent—exercise a dominant yet beneficent influence in the family council often ignored by those who claim to speak about the true position occupied by women in India,

According to my estimate of women's powers, I have no doubt that, if all opportunities were entirely open to women, a great many of them would distinguish themselves in every high range of effort. They have not in latter days secured the same advantages of education as the men have. There is no sensible reason why women should not learn whatever men were taught. Why should their education be inferior to yours? Rather, it must be superior to yours, "in as much as it can easily be freed from the drudgery incidental to the practice of special trades and also because it must be adapted to the more sympathetic, more alert, more tractable, more imaginative intelligence of women." As far as their natural limitations and your duties by them may allow, go hand in hand with them in every forward movement, on the line of correct advance. Let them obtain "equal opportunities of self-expression" which are not to be found alone in matrimony: the limitations of their sex need not deter you from acknowledging that they are your equal partners in every walk of life. Let them not say that you "love to keep them as children." Let not "convention beat them down" nor be in the way of your giving them the choice of their careers and the selection of their spheres of activity. I have no faith in the shibboleths that dictate the dull uniformity in training that has led to the distinster which has made all our young men, eligible and mediocre, attain the hall mark of University distinction. Let there be freedom, such freedom as in every way opens the path of progress to women equally with men.

I have already adverted to the evil of caste and sectarian antagonism which you must conscientiously avoid in the best interests of our country. Germano to this is the amelioration of the depressed classes. With their elevation are bound up the progress and welfare of all classes in India. 'Hinduism' in its best and purest aspects contains within itself the elements favourable to the upliftment of the depressed classes. One is apt to suppose that it is only now that we are making an effort to raise them; it is not so. As observed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, 'To say that social service is unknown to India is to utter a cold untruth. Much capital is made out of the treatment of the untouchables. It is not remembered that a free India rendered them much greater service than what other free countries even in recent times have done for their backward classes. From the time the Aryans met the peoples of the lower grade of civilization they devised ways and means by which the different portions of the population could develop in social and spiritual directions. If the work of civilizing the backward classes had not been undertaken by the ancient Indians, we would have had not merely fifty millions of these depressed classes, but a much larger number. To disregard the claims of man simply because he happens to be low or belongs to another race is against the religious spirit of Hinduism. Now that things are in a more settled condition than on the advent of disturbing influences, "the Hindu leaders are reiterating the central truth that the least of all men has a soul and need not be considered past all power to save."

We must all of us strive for the attainment, by them of their due stature as cultured units of our social fabric; in applying ourselves to this end we are doing something brighter and purer for all of us. The first thing to be achieved is their education and improvement in their standards of life: in due time will follow their admission to all the privileges demanded for them by their advocates; it will follow as the bright day does the dark night. The attainment of the object which our reformers have in view could only be in successive stages: the goal could not be reached socially or spiritually at one bound without an inward call by any drastic measure with or without the aid of legislation. I do not want to find fault with any one who strives for the upliftment of the 'depressed classes' at a faster pace. Far from it, I have had to deal with their 'cheries'; I have striven in spite of them to improve their mental outlook, sanitary needs, moral and material welfare, during the many years I had to serve as President of a District Board. I merely indicate to you the problems facing those of you who desire to do this form of social service.

I cannot omit to mention two other fields of useful activity which must commend themselves to you. The basic industry of our country is agriculture; it does offer considerable scope for the utilisation of the training and culture imparted to graduates. Somehow they do not take kindly to and are not attracted by agriculture: they do not realise that it will result in material benefit to themselves and their countrymen: they often assume a superior attitude and deem it not consistent with the status attained by University education to go back to the village. The Agricultural College at Coimbatore can easily develop into a university for those who desire to qualify in agriculture, forestry and applied sciences. How many of the sons of owners of land take advantage of the course of study relating to extensive farming or improved methods of cultivation or increased productivity of their lands? Many who join the Coimbatore Agricultural College seem to do so because they expect to secure a salaried employment and not with a view to improving and increasing the growth of plantain, paddy, sugarcane, ground nut or cotton on their own lands.

Intimately connected with the improvement of the prospects of the agriculturist is the service open to you on the field of co-operative effort. Much useful work in fostering the economic ideals of co-operation and inculcating the principles of thrift and self-help for the betterment of the ryot is greatly needed. His wasteful expenditure on all functions from birth to death leads him into a state of indebtedness and insolvency deplorable in the extreme. The development of co-operative credit and non-credit societies requires workers with knowledge, culture, sympathy and understanding. No Greater service awaits the educated young man than what could be rendered to the ryot by training him to appreciate the value of co-operation in increasing the produce from his holding, securing a suitable market therefor and enabling him to secure the amenities of social life and education and sanitation so badly needed in rural areas.

One grave objection entertained to the grant of extended political reforms in certain directions appears to be our country's unpreparedness to defend itself. Very few of our graduates join the Indian Territorial Force or joining, continue for a

period sufficiently long to make them senior officers. His Excellency the Commander-in-chief had recently to observe that 'the University Training Corps were raised primarily with a view to obtaining recruits for the officer classes in the provincial and urban units of the Indian Territorial Force. But as a recruiting ground for officers it had been found that they had entirely failed and the University Training Corps were of no direct military value. Even from the conventional point of view, the results achieved had been disappointing. On the whole, there seemed to be no spontaneous desire in most parts of India for the University Training Corps.' Will you let this reproach go unheeded? Do not you realise that military discipline and the use of arms develop manly spirit and the resource to face an emergency? Are there not some among you who could find the means, strength of mind, courage and perseverance to choose a military air or naval career?

As observed by His Excellency Sir Frederic Sykes in his Bombay University Convocation Address, the time is not far off when India will be covered with a net work of aerodromes and flying will become a national habit; such a development of flying will knit all parts of the country closer together, and with such closer intercourse many misunderstandings which are now a cause of friction will disappear. Misunderstandings are largely due to ignorance and nothing dispels ignorance more than actual contact; and it is this contact which the annihilation of distance brings about." Here again the initiative and enterprise of Chettinad have already given South India a lead, and let us hope that a number of young men will qualify as pilots and ground engineers, ere long.

While the situation engendered by the purpose for which University degrees were and are sought is really tragic, that does not in any way detract from the high purpose to be achieved by the quest of knowledge in University like yours. The remedy for evil of unemployment perhaps lies in the division of youths with average means or ability, in the secondary school stage, to courses of study which might fit them in parallel institutes of instruction to avocations available in textile and other industries; in primarily training them so as to reconcile them to develop the main industry of our country, viz., Agriculture; in directing them to fresh avenues of work like those in an electrical or a mechanical power house or new commercial ventures. Mr. H. G. Wells, writing on the Education needed for the 'Modern Progressive Community', formulates the need of the common citizen of the future in the following characteristically trenchant language:—

"May he will have to pass a Matriculation test before he embarks upon various definite callings; or it may be found that the compulsion of these tests is not required. But from the ends of the school stage onward—which ought to be completed at the latest in the middle teens—I can see no use for any further general education in school. Every thing necessary for common mental foundation will be there. The ordinary 'arts' course in our older Universities to-day is merely a wasteful prolongation of puerility. After or concurrently with the closing years of the general school course in the middle teens, specialization will begin not in the upper forms of general schools, but in schools carefully planned to achieve the particular end in view and in close contact with realities."

The Indian Territorial Force, the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Air Force, however, will not attract those who have to seek the means of livelihood directly they leave the University. One cannot blame either the University or its products, the brilliant young men who have to face the struggle for existence. The problem of unemployment is no doubt disconcerting among the educated middle classes. Neither the door of Government Service nor that of the learned professions can any longer offer encouraging prospects to them. To those with opulent means or extraordinarily brilliant parts the problem does not often assume so perplexing a form as to the average graduate who is generally poor and who feels, with his parents, most keenly the dearth of avenues of employment after securing the hallmark of a University degree. Their disappointment and distress often find expression in the exclamation that the time, energy and money spent in the attainment of a University degree have all been wasted. The poor graduate is willing enough to avail himself of any opening which offers him a subsisting wage, but he is unfortunately ill-equipped for walks of life different from those to which graduates in the past were attracted. Indeed he often thinks it beneath his dignity to start from the lower rungs of the ladder in an industrial concern.

Lord Moreley observed half a century earlier than Mr. Wells,—it is true to-day in India—"The best thing I can think of as happening to a young man is this, that he should have been educated in a day school in his own town: that he should

have opportunities of following also the higher education in his own town : that at the earliest convenient time he should be taught to earn his own living. The Universities might then be left to their proper business of study. Knowledge for its own sake is clearly an object which only a very small portion of society can be spared to pursue ; only a very few men in a generation have that devouring passion for knowing, which is the true inspirer of fruitful study and exploration. Even if the passion were more common than it is, the world could not afford on any very large scale that men should indulge in it ; the great business of the world has to be carried on.

The criticism is often levelled against our Universities, from which the Annamalai University is not free, that they impart no technological instruction, and that our endeavour to train boys to qualify as graduates bears no fruit and is barren of any pecuniary return. Such criticism is born of the anxiety to solve the problem of unemployment.

#### TECHNICAL EDUCATION

In a University like this, the propriety is questionable of mixing up academical culture with technological training for men and women on the same terms. Its effect will be directly to discount the value of University education. Moreover, for a very considerable section of our people in the Tamil Nadu in which the staple industry is agriculture, a sustained and lengthy technical education is as expensive as it is unealled for. Supposing a large or even a small proportion of scholars provided at great expense embarked upon courses of technological instruction in order to equip themselves for responsible positions in 'Industries', consider what a small fraction of them could attain to such responsible positions in the present state of our Industrial outlook. We must but multiply another set of specially trained students to face the spectre of unemployment.

I do not now wish to dwell upon "any of the great common places which the follower of knowledge does well to keep always before his eyes and which represent the wisdom of many generations of studious experience". The Annamalai University has not been conceived as a seminary where people could seek knowledge simply to get degrees as passports for employment. A very exaggerated value is often attached to the mere possession of a degree. The law of supply and demand is inexorable, and the capacity of the country for the absorption of graduates in stipendiary posts is limited.

Graduates going out of a University conceived with these high aims, could entertain no doubt as to what their degree means and what is expected of them after they leave the portals of their *Alma Mater*, and there can be no disappointment or disillusionment to them or their parents with regard to the market value of the diplomas they have secured here. There has been in your University, so far as I can see, no lack of either opportunity or provision for the formation of the tastes of the scholar and the habits of the worker. The splendid library of your University furnishes an index to the generous lines on which means have been provided for your intellectual equipment. You may go from these surroundings to devote your life yet more completely to Literature or Science or Philosophy, or seek distinction in a profession or success in commerce. Whatever occupation in life you may chose, remember that your intellectual equipment as members of this University has enabled you to attain, if you choose, the highest self-expression, and that you have it in your power, if you have the will, to make large and valuable contributions to cultural advancement and national progress.

#### RESEARCH

To rebuild and elucidate the history of the Tamils is a noble undertaking. They possessed an enduringly valuable and edifying culture, fascinating in the extreme and giving a good measure of the development of the soul of the people and consequently of their civilisation. Interesting avenues of research are ever open to watchful eyes trained to see things which have eluded untrained vision so far. There is scope here for ethnological, anthropological and sociological investigations. There is room for antiquarian studies, and for the illumination of many a dark page in the history of forgotten empires. In all this research, you, members of this University, may play a glorious part. Inscriptions on stone and on copper plate furnish in boundless riches and in infinite variety materials for reconstructing the history of the Tamils based on recorded facts and not on tradition or poetic imagination. The field is wide and well-endowed ; earnest and capable labourers are greatly needed.

In Sanskrit and Tamil, you have two model languages which are among the most perfect forms of speech we have yet found to exist among men. If you read well the literature in these two languages, you will realise what a remarkable people they were to whom we owe this wealth of classical knowledge; and it will be well if you can get into the understanding of what they were and what they did. After all, the civilization of a people is judged by their efforts to light up noble forms of human life: how they contrived to exist, grow and perform their feats in the world.

There is noticeable occasionally a spirit of rivalry between the advocates of Tamil and Sanskrit studies in their value as aids to historical research and to the place of prominence due to each. This, however, is a faint attempt at a conflict which must have been set at rest at what time was achieved the assimilation of Vedic lore in South Indian hymnology. He who aims to excel in Tamil must have a working acquaintance with Sanskrit. The Sanskrit Pandit who desires to read aright the philosophy and history of the Tamil people must have some proficiency in their language. That monumental enterprise of Vidwan M. V. Ramanujacharyya—the translation of the Mahabharata—could not have been successfully achieved but for the existence of Vidwans versed in both Sanskrit and Tamil. The Annamalai University has as its fundamental basis the study of both Sanskrit and Tamil as leading to the right appreciation of the culture and civilization of the Tamil land. There has been such fusion between Tamil lore and Sanskrit learning that it is impossible to divorce the one from the other.

There are immense potentialities in the field of research in South Indian Numismatics. Monetary issues of a past ago are still available in large number and great variety, and throw a flood of light on the indigenous standards, problems of bimetallism, relative values of gold, silver, copper and lead; on their relation to prices and on the part played by trade-guilds and money-changers controlled by sovereign authority or a spiritual hierarchy. Many of the great periods of South Indian History are illustrated by coins. Roman coins found in India furnish a mine of information on the connection of Rome with India from the time of Augustus to that of the Byzantine Emperors, and on Yavana colonies in Kaveripattanam and Kudal. The occasional discovery of a large number of small copper coins in the bed of the Vigai after a flood, apparently intended for the exigencies of a Roman Colony, requires careful research in the scientific spirit.

May your intelligent interest, cultured curiosity, trained capacity and high patriotism lend their aid to, and with faith sustain you in, the continuance after you leave Annamalai Nagar, of those studies for proficiency in which you have to-day received marks of recognition. "Diligently use your own minds: diligently seek to extend your own opportunities to others so as to help to swell that common tide, on the force and the set up whose currents depends the prosperous voyaging of humanity". May the blessings of the Great Architect of the Universe be with you.

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# CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S REPORT 1931-32

The political situation running from April 1931 to December 1932 has been exhaustively surveyed in the Government of India's Report 'India in 1931-32' which was published in December 1933.

This period has been divided into two—"the first covering the currency of the Delhi settlement of the 15th March 1931, commonly known as the 'pact' and the second the revival and decline of the Civil Disobedience Movement".

Reference at great length has been made to Congress' response to Lord Irwin's earnest endeavour to establish peaceful conditions, the central motive of the Government's dual policy—"on the one hand a resolute stand against C. D. and on the other the expeditious progress with the constitutional programme; until by the end of the year untouchability vies with C. D. as the main issue of domestic administration and constitutionally the interest is centralised in the coming publication of the White Paper."

After dealing with the period of nine months of the year 1931 (April to December), the narrative at the beginning refers to the genesis of the Gandhi Irwin Pact, picketing and boycott as the unexpected result of the 'pact', Congress accusation of its breaches by the Government, communal tension and economic danger-signals during the period to the end of May of the year, situation in U. P. and N. W. F. P. and Gujarat in April-July, Terrorism in Bengal, the Second Settlement in August, the financial crisis in September, the Second Round Table Conference, political situation from October to December, crisis in N. W. F. P., the Kashmir agitation, the origin and final break up of the Burma rebellion, the Report says:—

The year 1932 opened with the resumption of Civil Disobedience. Once the issue had been decided the Government of India and local Governments took strong and immediate action. Four ordinances were promulgated on the 4th January—the Emergency Powers Ordinance, conferring certain special powers for the maintenance of law and order and in particular widening the operative section of the Press Act so as to permit action against the publication of matter calculated to encourage the Civil Disobedience movement; the Unlawful Association Ordinance, directed against no-tax campaigns; the Unlawful Association Ordinance, aimed at Congress buildings and funds; and the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance, directed against picketing and the boycotting of public servants. Mr. Gandhi and other leaders were quickly arrested and a direct attack made on Congress organizations. Many of them were declared unlawful associations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and once so declared their headquarters were liable to sequestration and their funds to forfeiture under the Unlawful Association Ordinance. At the same time, in view of the continuous interference with business and trade that marked the previous Civil Disobedience movement, the public were assured of the full protection of the Government in carrying out their lawful avocations. There is no doubt that the Government's determination to deal firmly with the movement, thus early displayed, greatly impressed public opinion. Loyalists were encouraged, Government officials heartened, wavers induced to lean to the Government side and lukewarm sympathisers of the Congress discouraged. The absence of serious clashes between the police and the public as compared with the opening weeks of the Civil Disobedience movement in 1930 was marked. Arrests of prominent leaders which in 1930 often caused trouble were effected with little or no excitement. It appears in fact clear that the Congress had over-estimated the keenness of the country for a renewal of Civil Disobedience. Many people were tried of agitation and discord and were prepared to wait and see what results could be produced by co-operation on the basis of the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. Muslim opinion was on the whole pleased with the firm line adopted by the Government against the Congress, although some uneasiness were produced by reason of the action taken in the North-West Frontier Province and the Kashmir trouble. Altogether there was a noticeable lack of enthusiasm in the towns and the trouble had as yet no time to stir up the rural areas. Nevertheless, the first flush of revival led to a few minor clashes with the police.

### DISTURBANCES

Disturbances occurred at Allahabad on the 4th January and at Benares on the 5th ; at Berhampore in the Madras Presidency on the 15th, at Jagannathpur in the United Provinces on the 16th ; at Latakhola in Bengal on the 23rd, at Motihari in Bihar and Orissa and Simaria in the United Provinces on the 26th ; at Hashangabad in Bengal on the 13th February, at Tarapur in Bihar and Oriesa on the 15th and at Sheopur in the same province on the 28th. In each case a large and unruly mob assembled for some such reason as sympathy with the arrest of Congressmen, or in connection with a Congress procession, or as in one instance with a view to reoccupy Congress premises seized by the Government, and as excitement rose attacked the police and on one occasion the District Magistrate, usually with stones or brickbats. On each occasion the police were compelled to open fire either in self-defence or to prevent grave disorder and members of the crowd were in some cases killed or wounded.

### PICKETING

The vigour and intensity of the action taken by the Government took the Congress by surprise and they were never able to regain the ground thus lost. They effected some temporary recovery however and the latter half of January saw a definite increase in activity. The three main features of the opening stages of the campaign were picketing, the observance of particular 'days' in celebration of some selected event, and the boycott of British goods and institutions. Picketing was the most common form of open activity and was concerned mostly with cloth shops in the towns. It accounted for many arrests in the early days and on the whole was free from violence. The observance of particular 'days' was designed to excite or maintain public interest and to provoke clashes with the police and so arouse feeling against the Government. In January and February the most important were Independence Day, Frontier Day and Gandhi Day. Generally speaking, however, these demonstrations were poorly attended, aroused little excitement and rarely provoked the desired clash with the police. The contrast between their success in 1930 and their comparative failure in 1932 was marked.

### THE BOYCOTT.

The most successful activity of the Congress was undoubtedly the non-militant boycott. It attained considerable success as directed against British goods but little as against institutions. The boycott of British goods was based largely on sentiment and while there was some evidence of coercion exercised through the medium of social pressure, there was less intimidation and more secret persuasion than in 1930. In Bombay city where the boycott was most successful sentiment was no doubt reinforced by the more material factor of self-interest. Outside Bombay city its success varied from province to province, although the precise direct effects of Congress activity were difficult to appraise because of the presence of other factors, such as, the general trade depression and increased Japanese competition. It remained the chief as well as the most successful feature of the Congress programme.

In addition to these three main lines of activity there were casual attempts to defy the salt laws in Bombay, isolated instances of the breach of forest laws, and some local talk of no-tax campaigns. But these activities were half-hearted, and the restricted character of the revived campaign was further emphasized by the comparative absence of agitation in rural areas, of resignations of Government officials and of social boycott of Government servants. The comparatively small number of students in the Congress ranks was also noticeable. Apart however from the dislocation of Congress plans caused by the Government's initial action, the lack of response from students and the agricultural classes was in some degree due to their customary pre-occupation with respective examinations and cultivation up to April or May.

Nowhere was the contrast between 1930 and 1932 as regards the demonstrative side of the movement more marked than in the Bombay Presidency. In 1930 Bombay city was the storm centre and large areas of the province strongholds of the movement. The salt campaign reached great intensity in a number of places ; there were many serious clashes with the authorities and large crowds had frequently to be dispersed in Bombay city ; and in Gujarat where whole districts openly supported the movement the no-tax campaign assumed serious proportions. In 1932, on the other hand, the maintenance of law and order was not seriously threatened and no difficulty was found in dealing with demonstrations. In the districts activity

was comparatively slight and the response from Gujurat very small. Congress had clearly lost their hold, the result of the prompt and vigorous action by which the local Government secured the initiative.

The partial recovery achieved by Congress later in January lasted until about the middle of February from which point the movement patently began to wane. Figures of convictions clearly mirror the course of the movement. The total number of convictions under the ordinary law and the ordinances in connection with the civil disobedience movement during the month of January was 14,803, in February 17,818 and in March 6,909. From then onwards there was with one significant exception a progressive decline in the monthly totals. The comparatively high figures of conviction in January and February did not reflect as they might at first sight suggest, a successful outburst of civil disobedience, but were due to the fact that the policy adopted by Government differed from that pursued in 1930. In 1930 the Government's initial action was restricted and the movement had gained appreciable momentum before action was taken against the rank and file or even against some of the lesser leaders; in 1932 on the other hand comprehensive action was taken at the outset. By the end of March the Government's ascendancy had become plain.

The low ebb to which the movement had fallen was shown by the failure of "National Week", staged by the Congress from the 6th to the 13th April. Its main feature was the boycott of foreign goods, especially British, but demonstrations of various kinds were also included. The programme however aroused little public interest and no enthusiasm except in very few towns. One serious clash with the police occurred at Allahabad on the 18th April and appears to have been due to an organised attempt to provoke disorder. Stones were thrown at the police and it was necessary to open fire in order to bring the situation under control, two persons being killed and 33 injured.

#### DELHI CONGRESS

The Congress then announced their intention to hold their annual session at Delhi about the 23rd April. Government promptly forbade the project and in the event this also was a failure. The open session consisted in the hurried collection in twos and threes of some 200 persons who managed to evade the vigilance of the police and "passed unanimously" five resolutions gabbled out by one of their number. The proceedings had lasted less than five minutes when the police quietly arrested all the participants. More important than the farcical session itself was the excitement which the attempt to hold it created in Delhi especially on the date fixed for the session, and care had to be exercised by the local authorities to prevent disorderly consequences.

The decision of the Government forbidding the holding of the annual Congress at Delhi, while the Congress as a body had not been declared an unlawful association, was criticised as illogical. The charge does not bear examination. Government's policy was directed against the civil disobedience movement. Congress however has a large membership, and many of its members while supporting its general political aims and activities were not in active sympathy with the revival of civil disobedience. The declaration of Congress as an unlawful body would have made all its members liable to prosecution whether maintaining neutrality or not and would have been in excess of the action required against civil disobedience proper. When however it was proposed, as at Delhi, that the Congress as a body should endorse the civil disobedience programme, the Government consistently with their policy had necessarily to intervene and prevent it.

#### POSTAL WEEK

These two projects, 'National Week' and the 'Delhi session', were obviously launched in the hope of reviving flagging interest and re-establishing the prestige of the Congress, but their failure showed clearly enough that the methods of Congress had lost any semblance of general appeal. Thereafter there was a progressive enfeeblement of civil disobedience activities, scarcely interrupted by occasional devices designed to rekindle enthusiasm such as 'Postal Week'. This took place in May and had as its object the boycott of postal offices and the postal system generally, but was mainly characterized by the destruction of letters lying in post boxes by the insertion of burning matter or corrosive acid. These senseless acts of mischief aroused considerable indignation although the damage caused was not great. Congress it may be noted disclaimed responsibility for them.

## ASSEMBLY ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Political criticism of the Government's policy against Civil Disobedience, compendiously described as "rule by ordinance", was voiced in the Assembly during the debate on a resolution moved by Sir Hari Singh Gour, the leader of the Nationalist Party, on the 1st February. This resolution was described by Sir James Crerar, the Home Member, as a curiously dovetailed piece of mosaic ; for it deplored the arrests of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Sen Gupta and Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan ; disapproved of the fact that the various ordinances had been promulgated immediately after the conclusion of the last sitting of the Legislative Assembly and of the manner in which they were being worked ; condemned acts of terrorism and violence, no-rent campaigns and similar activities ; recommended that emergency bills in substitution of the ordinances be laid before the Assembly ; and urged that a committee elected by non-official members of the Assembly be appointed to enquire into the atrocities reported to have been committed in the North West Frontier Province. Criticism of the Government's policy during the course of the debate was to the effect that the powers conferred by the ordinances were drastic : that they were not being used with moderation ; instances of their alleged abuse and of police excesses being given ; that any extraordinary measures found necessary by the Government should be laid before the Assembly in the form of a bill ; and generally that what the country needed was not "repression" but expedition in constitutional reform. The Government explained through the medium of Sir James Crerar and Sir George Rainy that they could not have asked the Assembly for powers in the previous session in anticipation of the emergency arising late in December, that the emergency demanded immediate action while recourse to the Assembly meant delay, that the extraordinary powers taken would be directed solely against Congress activities and were essential if the forces of disorder were to be checked, and that while these powers were being used with conspicuous moderation, local Governments would enquire into any specific allegations of their abuse. The resolution was defeated by 62 votes to 44.

The interest of the Assembly in the political situation was further shown by ten adjournment motions tabled during the session. Of the five motions that were actually moved, one was covered by the resolution just described ; another drew attention to the Government's policy of expediting constitutional reforms while Mr. Gandhi was in jail ; a third dealt with the alleged maltreatment of women political prisoners and the remaining two with alleged excesses on the part of the police in Delhi.

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN DECLINE—APRIL TO JUNE

Numerous attempts continued to be made to revive and extend the movement and to keep the Congress before the public eye. A fairly general feature that emerged about June but one most marked in the United Provinces was the organisation of so-called district political conferences. Many of these projects were abortive, as in the case of the annual session of the Congress at Delhi in April, and in nearly all cases the crowd which attended the meetings was small and was dispersed without difficulty. But instances were not wanting of the manner in which political agitation of this nature leads to excitement and thence to a breach of the public peace. Two such political conferences in Bengal led to clashes with the police, one at Tethatta in June and other at Munsurin early in July when unruly and aggressive mobs were dispersed only after the police had resorted to firing. Two other disturbances occurred at this time, necessitating dispersal by the police ; the first at Umara in the United Provinces on the 5th July when a revenue officer attached property for arrears of rent was attacked by a crowd, and the second at Danton in Bengal on the 12th July when a turbulent mob defied a prohibitory order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In addition to political conferences other activities during this period were the mischievous destruction of the contents of letter boxes, begun as we have seen in "Postal Week" in May. In the United Provinces up to June no less than 160 such attempts were made. In addition telegraph wires were cut in 58 places and eight attempts made to set fire to railway carriages. Another prank designed to attract public attention was to stop a train by pulling the communication cord, whereupon a band of youths or children emerged shouting Congress slogans and distributing Congress hand-bills. Although these childishly mischievous activities illustrated the bankruptcy of organized agitation, it was clear that the will to promote struggle was still strong and that the Government could not afford either to abandon the special powers they had taken

early in January or to relax their vigilance. Public opinion had been impressed by the firm policy of the Government and disapproval of the Congress programme had been shown by a number of loyalist meetings held all over the country from time to time and organized by non-official agency; but concerted revival of Civil Disobedience on a large scale such as might have followed any modification of the Government's policy could clearly not be risked. The Government therefore decided to renew the special powers taken in January and a consolidated ordinance called the Special Powers Ordinance was promulgated on the 30th June embodying most of the powers contained in the four ordinances that it replaced.

#### RULE BY ORDINANCES

In view of the criticism of "rule by ordinance" so often voiced and of the dislike of ordinances that undoubtedly prevails among many educated persons and especially those connected with the legal profession, it is perhaps desirable to examine the actual application of the special powers conferred by the ordinance and the precise degree to which they were employed. In the first place the consolidated ordinance contained no additional power, whilst certain wide powers which appeared in the Emergency Powers Ordinance of the 4th January were abandoned. These were the powers to control the supply of commodities of general use, to take possession of movables, to employ additional police and to control public utility services. In addition certain other powers the scope of which experience had shown to be unnecessarily wide and modified. Secondly, the powers conferred by the ordinance were not brought into force throughout the whole of British India. Certain powers having all-India force under the existing ordinances were brought into force throughout British India at once. These were few in number, the most important being the provision amending the Press Act so as to permit action against incitement to or encouragement or support of the civil disobedience movement. Beyond these general powers, any particular power conferred by the ordinance required two distinct steps before it could actually be brought into force in any particular area. The first step was extension by the Government of India; the second, actual application by a local Government. Thus, although a certain power might be extended by the Government of India to any province, it would not come into force until the local Government issued a modification to that effect.

Further, the local Government would not necessarily apply it throughout the province, even though it might have been extended to the whole of the province by the Government of India. It could apply it to such areas within the province as it thought necessary, and this in fact was the policy pursued by local Governments. In this manner the operation of the Special Powers Ordinance was considerably restricted as compared with that of the four ordinances which it replaced. Some local Governments were able not only to narrow the area within which certain powers would apply but also to do without powers they had formerly possessed.

#### C. D. CONVICTIONS

The accusation of 'rule by ordinance' therefore clearly does not do justice to the facts. The charge can be further refuted by an examination of the actual figures of conviction. It will be convenient in dealing with the matter to give the figures up to the end of 1932 and also to produce in the following table the figures already given up to March. The following are the total convictions under the ordinary law and the ordinances in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement :—

January	14,803
February	17,818
March	6,900
April	5,254
May	3,818
June	3,531
July	3,595
August	3,047
September	2,791
October	1,937
November	1,898
December	1,545
Total...	66,946

All attempts at direct settlement between the communities themselves having failed, His Majesty's Government, in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians and with the approval of British Parliament, undertook the difficult task of attempting to remove this great obstacle from the path of constitutional progress. His Majesty's Government did not attempt to decide all the minor points at issue between the various communities nor did they confine themselves to a settlement of the dispute between the two major communities. The decision was restricted to the representation of various communities and interests in the provincial legislatures (excluding Burma), but within that sphere it was complete. It was also made clear that while His Majesty's Government had undertaken this task in the interests of constitutional progress they would be prepared at any time before a new Government of India Act had passed into law, to recommend to Parliament the substitution for their decision of any agreed solution reached by the communities concerned. The terms of the decision were roughly as follows. In those provinces where Hindus form majority of the population and will have a clear majority of seats in the provincial councils (that is, in all provinces except the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province) the Muslims receive, as in the past, seats in excess of their population ratio. The problem in Bengal and the Punjab, the two important Muslim provinces, differs somewhat. In Bengal the Muslims form about 55 per cent of the total population and the Hindus 43 per cent, but there is also the European community which, though comparatively small in number, has very great commercial and industrial interests and has been given a large representation under the existing Government of India Act. The effect of the distribution of seats made by His Majesty's Government was that Muslims received about 48 per cent., Hindus 39 per cent., and Europeans 10 per cent. of the total number of seats in the Legislative Council. In the Punjab the Muslims outnumber the other two major communities and form about 57 per cent of the population, the Hindus being 27 per cent and the Sikhs 37 per cent. Under the distribution effected in this province the Sikhs receive weightage as in the past and their seats amount to 18 per cent of the total, while the Muslim and Hindu percentages are 49 and 27 respectively. Actually, however, Muslim representatives will probably secure three additional seats reserved for landholders, in which case their proportion in the council will be approximately 51 per cent.

#### RECEPTION OF COMMUNAL DECISION.

It was not to be expected that a decision of this kind would satisfy all communities, for it represents an attempt to balance the scales between conflicting claims which the claimants themselves have been unable to reconcile; but one satisfactory feature was that it did not give rise to any recrudescence of communal disturbances. Even in the Bombay, where feeling between the two major communities remained tense, the decision was not made an excuse for stirring up trouble and no untoward incident occurred. On the whole, it may be said, subject to qualifications that will appear hereafter, that Hindus generally condemned the decision on the ground that it sacrificed their interests to those of the Muslims, that the Sikhs were greatly dissatisfied with it, and that the least opposition came from the Muslims. Hindu criticism was voiced by the extremist papers, which are predominantly Hindu, denounced the decision as perpetuating communal dissensions, as the death-blow of Indian nationalism and an unholy pact between the Muslim community and British commercial interests. Even the more moderate nationalist papers gave expression to similar views though couched in more restrained language, reflecting an admixture of genuine nationalist feeling and Hindu communalist motives. Specific points of criticism were in regard to Bengal and the Punjab, where the omission to give to the non-Muslim minorities the weightage accorded elsewhere to Muslim minorities was bitterly resented. In regard to Bengal a frequent objection was that the Europeans would hold the balance between the two major communities. Exception was also taken to the provision of separate representation for the depressed classes, which although limited to a period of 20 years and terminable earlier by mutual agreement, was regarded in more extreme quarters as a deliberate attempt to split Hinduism. The depressed classes themselves were on the whole not dissatisfied, although Dr. Ambedkar, their representative at the Round Table Conference, considered the number of seats provided inadequate. But another of their leaders, Mr. M. C. Ranjih, who in February had come to an agreement—the "Moonje-Rajah Pact"—with Dr. Moonje, the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats,

expressed disapproval of the temporary provision for separate electorates. While Muslims as a whole were less hostile and were disposed to accept some features of the forward. The All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi, for example, expressed dissatisfaction that the community had not been given a statutory majority in the Punjab and Bengal and complained of reduced weightage in some provinces and of undue weightage given to non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province. Sikh disapproval was general and unqualified. This creation of a Muslim 'raj' in the Punjab in complete disregard of Sikh claims had, it was said, shaken Sikh faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. A revival of Sikhism was preached and there was some talk of rejecting the new constitution if it meant Muslim domination. The Hindu minority in the Punjab was not slow to take advantage of this position and sought to stimulate the Sikhs to organized resistance. European, Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and Labour interests were on the whole satisfied.

The objections to the decision just described appeared mainly in the press. But the trend of the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th September, when the first excitement had subsided, suggests that dissatisfaction with the decision was not so deep or genuine as had at first appeared, and that the more sober-minded political elements in the country were prepared to regard it as a workman-like solution of an otherwise insoluble problem. The speech of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, then acting as Law Member of the Viceroy's Council in the absence of Sir B. L. Mitter, made a great impression. He pointed out that not only the Round Table Conference but numerous conferences of Indian Leaders had failed to solve the problem in the past, that the action of the Consultative Committee in appealing to the Prime Minister to settle the problem was generally approved throughout India, and that the main point to bear in mind was that any bickering over the decision would necessarily impede the consideration of other and greater matters to be dealt with in their march towards responsible self-government. Moderate opinion was also given a lead by the attitude of public men like the Right hon. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whose preparedness to accept the decision probably had more influence with the sober and responsible elements in the country than the impassioned outpourings of the press.

#### GANDHI'S FAST

General discussions on the communal decision was concentrated with dramatic suddenness on one particular aspect of it by the announcement on the 13th September of Mr. Gandhi's intention to fast to death unless the method of representation provided for the depressed classes was altered. In the course of the correspondence preceding this announcement the Prime Minister has explained that while the decision, so far as it related to the depressed classes, was designed solely to protect their interests, nothing had been done to separate them permanently from the Hindu fold; for their special constituencies would be automatically abolished at the end of 20 years and in addition they would be entitled from the outset to vote in the general Hindu constituencies. Mr. Gandhi however was not satisfied, and his decision to fast and the publication of this correspondence aroused intense popular interest. On the whole there was little tendency to blame the Government for this unforeseen development. It was generally recognized that the issue was less their concern than that of the Hindu community itself and that if Mr. Gandhi's life was to be saved caste Hindus and depressed classes must themselves reach an agreement. Many Hindus however were much more stirred by the sniffling that a great Hindu leader was about to undertake than concerned with the merits of the controversy. On the other hand, criticism of Mr. Gandhi's decision was not wanting. Dr. Ambedkar, one of the leaders of the depressed classes, described it as a "sheer political stunt," while other critics saw in it an attempt to retrieve a dwindling prestige. The Government's attitude was announced by Mr. (now Sir Harry) Haig, the Home Member, during a debate on the subject in the Assembly on the 13th September when he said that "no Government could possibly let its action be influenced by methods of this kind," the method adopted could be employed with reference to any major issue and if allowed to succeed would establish a dictatorship of a novel kind which would mark the end of all government. Two days later a further announcement was made in the Assembly to the effect that as soon as Mr. Gandhi began his fast he would be removed from jail to a suitable place of private residence, where he would be required to remain. Mr. Gandhi however felt himself unable to accept any conditions and asked to be left

in jail, whereupon the Government decided to allow him all reasonable facilities for private interviews inside the jail and unrestricted correspondence. Meanwhile, almost continuous conversations had been taking place among Hindu leaders in Bombay and with Mr. Gandhi in the Yeravada jail, and Mr. Gandhi's unconditional release to conduct the negotiations was persistently urged.

#### THE POONA SETTLEMENT

The fast began on the 20th September and after a few days of feverish discussion a settlement was reached. This settlement, sometimes called the "Poona Pact", provides that instead of the 71 seats allotted to the depressed classes by the decision on the basis of separate electorates, a total of 148 seats should be reserved for them from the general constituencies. Election to these reserved seats is through joint electorates, subject to a system of primary election under which the depressed class voters in the constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of our candidates who will stand for the secondary election by the general electorate. This system of primary election is automatically to cease after ten years if not previously abolished by mutual consent. On the 26th September His Majesty's Government announced their willingness to modify the communal decision on the basis of the settlement reached at Poona, and this gave general satisfaction. The settlement, which it may be noted also contained certain other provisions designed to ameliorate the conditions of the depressed classes generally, was distinctly favourable to the depressed classes in that it more than doubled their representation and reserved for them representatives of their own choice for the secondary election. For some time to come however, at any rate in some areas, they will probably experience difficulty in obtaining educated candidates, and it is possible that those finally elected by the system of joint electorates may be subject to the influence of the higher castes.

The settlement was acclaimed with delight by the nationalist press as a personal triumph for Mr. Gandhi and as a sure indication that Indian political leaders were able after all to settle their own differences. More dispassionate examination however suggests that the agreement reflects little departure in principle. It still provides for the reservation of special seats and, while separate electorates are abolished in name, it is doubtful whether they are not perpetuated in effect—as indeed a Liberal critic suggested—by the device of primary election. Other critics remarked that similar results might have been achieved at the Round Table Conference if Dr. Ambedkar had not been driven into his demand for separate electorates by Mr. Gandhi's uncompromising objection both to separate electorates and special reservation of seats. It is doubtful however whether this reflection sustains the charge of inconsistency levelled against Mr. Gandhi; for he would no doubt explain that the principle he had maintained in London having been denied by the decision of His Majesty's Government, the problem had been re-created afresh. At all events the fast retrieved to some extent the loss of prestige which Mr. Gandhi had suffered by his lack of success at the second Round Table Conference and the failure of the civil disobedience movement, although some of his supporters were bewildered and perhaps alarmed at the diversion of attention and energy from political to socio-religious questions. It also illustrated very vividly the manner in which Mr. Gandhi was still at that time able to appeal to the emotions, not only of the masses but also of their leaders at the expense of their reason.

#### UNTOUCHABILITY

While the leaders were busy over the settlement of the Yeravada jail a whirlwind campaign was being conducted in many large centres throughout the country for the removal of the disabilities attaching to the depressed classes. Temples were thrown open or promised to be thrown open, caste wells and so forth were no longer to be taboo, untouchability generally was to be exorcised. Emotionalism quickly subsides in India however and relief that the Mahatma was out of danger was not calculated to sustain it. Enthusiasm for the new campaign had lasted only some ten days when signs of reaction became apparent. Hindu misgivings began to suggest that the number of seats allotted to the depressed classes was excessive and still further sapped the strength of their representation, already sacrificed to Muslim claims. This was particularly manifest in the Punjab and Bengal, where the Hindu minorities were already apprehensive regarding their general position and their strength in the Legislative Councils 'vis-a-vis' the Muslim majorities. The reaction among orthodox Hindus however was due as much to

the social implications of the settlement as to the effect on the political balance of power. Several temples which had been thrown open to the untouchables were closed again; in others the sacred images had been either removed or screened before the untouchables entered; others again reported to have been opened were apparently not so after all. In the Central Provinces certain caste wells from which the untouchables had drawn water were purified with water from the Ganges. A depressed class leader who fasted outside the gates of the famous Guruvayur temple in south India in protest against the refusal of the temple authorities to admit untouchables was shown very little sympathy by caste Hindus and Mr. Gandhi telegraphed to him to break the fast. The mood of excited benignity born of Mr. Gandhi's fast did not reach the villages at all, and many demonstrations of friendliness with the depressed classes were more theatrical than real. Reaction later hardened into opposition and the settlement was denounced in one quarter as the work of a small heterodox minority. This is not to say however that many caste Hindus, especially the more political minded, were not sincere in their desire to improve the status of the depressed classes and in their recognition of the inconsistency of that status with a democratic form of Government. The truth of the matter is that a system so deeply embedded in the history and traditions of a people, so much a part of their daily lives, is not likely to succumb to a sudden onslaught of emotion. It must take many years of patient striving to relieve the depressed classes of the disadvantages under which they have so long laboured.

#### DECLINE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Civil disobedience activities continued at a low ebb during the rest of the year. One significant feature was the abstention from further participation in the movement of the great majority of persons convicted earlier in the year and released on expiry of sentence. Efforts were made to revive interest by publishing programmes of future activities, by attempts to hold political conferences and by raids on Congress buildings seized by the Government in the early stages of the movement. These raids as a whole however were no more successful than other activities. It had now become clear that the second civil disobedience movement had definitely failed to win public support as not conceived in the best interests of the country. The position was amply recognized by the passage of the "Ordinance Bill" which, introduced in the Simla session, was debated in the special session which sat from the 7th November to the 15th December. The bill embodied the main provisions of the Special Powers Ordinance and was based on the realization that, while civil disobedience remained the accepted policy of a political organisation, the measures devised to combat it must be given a more permanent form than could be secured by ordinance. It aroused some clamour in the nationalist press and more sober opposition in the Assembly, the general view being that not "repression" but the speedy transfer of political power to Indian hands was the true remedy for the country's political ills. Certain changes were accepted by the Government in Select Committees of which the most important was a time limitation of three years. The definition of picketing was also modified but in this respect the Home Member made it plain that Government were definitely not prepared to go so far as those who wished to give a license to peaceful picketing." These changes did not however satisfy the opposition. Their general view was voiced by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar who, after contending that non-co-operation originated with the dissatisfaction caused by diarchy, declared that the special powers taken to meet an emergency were no longer necessary, now that the Government had brought the movement under control. He also urged that the "repression" under which the country was suffering was quite inconsistent with the approach of the reforms. The bill was however passed by a satisfactory majority of 57 votes to 31, indicating the extent to which political opinion had been won over by the logic of facts to the Government's view that civil disobedience could not, in the best interests of the country, be tolerated. By December provincial bills supplementing the Government of India's bill had been passed by substantial majorities and without serious opposition by the Legislative Councils of those provinces where the civil disobedience movement had been most intense, namely, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. The powers with which the legislature thereby armed the executive constitute an effective guarantee against a revival of civil disobedience and against subversive movements generally and the manner in which responsible opinion was thus marshalled against what is

a menace to any form of Government should be carefully weighed by those who fear that India may falter in assuming responsibility under a self-governing constitution.

### TERRORISM IN BENGAL IN 1932

We propose now to attempt some description of the course of the terrorist movement in Bengal, which we have thought better to treat as a whole for the year 1932. Terrorist crimes were committed at almost regular intervals throughout the year and reached a total of 97. Of these, 10 were murders, 27 attempted murders and, 57 dacoities. In the previous year the total number was 81, comprising 8 murders, 23 attempted murders and 41 dacoities. The growth of the movement is illustrated by comparing these figures with those for 1929 and 1930, when the outrages totalled 8 and 53 respectively. The more outrageous and spectacular crimes committed during 1932 require mention. On the 6th February at the convocation ceremony of the Calcutta University an attempt was made by a girl student to assassinate the Governor of Bengal; fortunately His Excellency was not injured. On the 30th April, at Midnapore, Mr. Douglas, the District Magistrate, was shot and mortally wounded while attending a meeting of the District Board. On the 13th May, at Dacca a gang of terrorist gunmen held up a passenger train and after wounding the guard robbed certain merchants of Rs. 32,000. In June on the 13th, Captain Cameron was shot dead while raiding a house in the Chittagong District where "wanted" terrorists were hiding; and on the 27th, at Dacca, Mr. Sen, an Indian Magistrate, was shot dead while asleep. On the 29th July, at Comilla, Mr. Elison, Superintendent of Police, was shot in the back and died of his wounds. On the 5th August an attempt was made in Calcutta on Sir Alfred Watson, the editor of the "Statesman," fortunately he was not injured. His assailant was captured but contrived to take poison and died soon afterwards. On the 22nd August, at Dacca, Mr. Grassby, Additional Superintendent of Police, was shot at while his car was held up at a level crossing and wounded. On the 24th September, at Pahartali, near Chittagong, an organised attack was made on the railway institute which was fully at the time with European and Anglo-Indian subordinate railway officials. A gang of terrorists suddenly appeared at the doors and windows, threw bombs into the hall and opened fire with guns and pistols. An elderly lady of 65, Mrs. Sullivan, was killed and thirteen persons of both sexes were wounded. The casualties would probably have been much greater but for the presence of mind of those who switched off the lights. Four days later, on the 28th September, another attempt was made on Sir Alfred Watson; both he and his secretary were slightly wounded. Two of the assailants took poison and died. In November, on the 11th, Mr. Luke, the Superintendent of Rajshahi jail, while out driving with his wife and daughter, was shot and wounded in the jaw; and on the 20th an attempt was made on one Abdul Khalil, who was suspected of being a police informer and whose life had been threatened in two anonymous letters. In addition to these dastardly crimes a number of dacoities were committed in various parts of Bengal, some to raise funds with which to further the movement and others to obtain revolvers and other arms.

The feelings of the European and Anglo-Indian communities in Calcutta and Chittagong were deeply roused by these various outrages. There was however no hint of reprisals as in 1931; the public generally were more appreciative of the difficulties of the situation and of the measures adopted to deal with it.

During 1932 a number of drastic powers were taken or re-taken with a view to increase the pressure on terrorist organizations. We have already mentioned the two ordinances promulgated towards the close of the previous year. The first of these, giving wider powers of detention without trial, was embodied before its expiry in an act (the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932) which became law in March. In May, just before the expiry of the ordinance promulgated in November, another ordinance was issued giving the local Government power to make rules to facilitate operations against the terrorist movement, and making attempts at murder punishable with death or transportation for life. This provision was later given permanent form by inclusion in an act passed in September (the Bengal Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, 1932), while Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act placed on the statute book certain emergency powers previously taken by ordinance and re-enacted earlier provisions for the trial of terrorist offences by special procedure. At the end of the year another act was passed (the Bengal Criminal Law Arms and Explosives Act) providing enhanced punishment for certain offences under the Arms and Explosives Act: this was directed not only against terrorists but also at smugglers and others engaged in the illicit arms traffic who though pos-

sibly not terrorists themselves supply the assassins with their weapons. In addition to the taking of these special powers, six battalions of infantry were sent to Bengal from other parts of India at the beginning of the cold weather and stationed at the worst centre of terrorist activity. This measure had a twofold object ; on the one hand to encourage and sustain both the loyal and peaceful sections of the population suffering from terrorist activities and Government servants, carrying out their duties in most trying circumstances ; and on the other hand to demonstrate to the revolutionary party and their secret sympathisers that the Government had ample power in the last resort to suppress disorder.

The greatest difficulty in dealing with the terrorist movement is that of obtaining evidence. In many areas the rural population though loyal at heart have been intimidated and witnesses are reluctant to come forward for fear of reprisals. This is particularly marked in Chittagong where in addition many inhabitants are suspected of secret sympathy with the objects of the movement. The police had the utmost difficulty in obtaining evidence against the miscreants responsible for the shocking outrage at the Pahartali railway institute which we have already described. Although the police effected many highly creditable capture during 1932 a number of organizers are still at large and appear to find no difficulty in obtaining recruits from young men of the upper middle classes, among whom unemployment is acute. Nevertheless, the general situation is definitely more hopeful than in 1931. The difficulties of the local Government and the policy by which it is sought to surmount them cannot be better exemplified than by the following extract from a speech delivered by the Governor of Bengal on the 30th November 1932. "There is.....a feeling in some quarters of disappointment that the drastic measures taken during the past twelve months have not been productive of more immediate and obvious results. Those who take that view fail, I think, to appreciate the character and ramifications of the terrorist conspiracy. In the past the suppression of outbreaks of a similar though less formidable character has taken a considerable time. Even so I am satisfied that the position of Government is in many ways much stronger than it was twelve months ago and I entertain no doubt whatever that the menace of terrorism will be fought down. Whether the poison which has induced these periodical outbreaks will be completely eliminated from the body politic depends primarily not upon Government but upon the fibre and quality of the people of Bengal. In the meantime I know of no sovereign remedy, of no heroic measure, to which a civilized Government can have recourse, that will ensure an immediate suppression of the evil. On what it is the fashion to call the "repressive side" of our policy we rely on steady pressure and gradual strengthening of the resources of the Government, letting no opportunity slip of perfecting both the protective and the combative elements in our armoury. Fortunately terrorism as an organized movement has continued to make headway only in Bengal and in 1932, as compared with 1930, its spectacular manifestations also were almost confined to that province. Of the isolated terrorist crimes that occurred elsewhere during the year under report the following were the most notable. In April an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Gibson, the Commissioner of Ajmer, but the assailant's revolver misfired. In November, in Bihar and Orissa an approver in the Lahore conspiracy case of 1930 was stabbed to death and a man who courageously tried to prevent the escape of the assailant was fatally wounded.

## The B. & O. Police Administration Report

"There was less revolutionary activity than in 1931, but the evidence is growing that the youth of Behar is developing a taste for terrorism and that he is prepared to act without guidance from Bengal" stated the Report on the Administration of Police in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa for the year 1932 which was published in September 1933.

The Report further stated that in the last week of January two successful attempts were made to derail a train within a few miles of Patna but no deaths occurred. In these two cases the Police succeeded in bringing home a charge of

conspiracy against four local nationalists whose sole object was to cause damage to Government property. Two were sentenced to transportation for life, one to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and one turned unprover.

In Bhagalpur, there were two cases, one a dacoity with murder in which an old revolutionary suspect was implicated and sentenced to transportation for life, the other an attempted dacoity at the Sabor Post Office which led to the detection of a gang who had planned a series of raids on post offices. The police arrested two of the leaders of the gang with bombs on their persons and a conspiracy case was the result thereof.

In November of the year, under review, Phanindra Nath Ghosh, an approver of the Lahore Conspiracy Case, was attacked by two men and died afterwards of the injuries he received. In the same month about 40 persons—Jogendra Sukul's gang—were declared to be members of a criminal tribe.

Different important Bengal absconders are known to have paid visits to the Jbaria coal-fields during the year.

A Sub-Inspector and a member of the public were shot dead by a disgruntled constable of the 24 Perganas who subsequently committed suicide.

Referring to the Civil Disobedience Movement the Report stated that the prompt action taken against the leaders when the Civil Disobedience campaign re-opened early in January paralysed the Congress. Underground activity continued for some time and resulted in occasional out-breaks of violence.

The first serious clash was at Motihari on January 26, (Independence Day) when the police were compelled to open fire in order to frustrate a determined attempt by a mob to re-occupy a pandal seized by the police. Two rioters were killed and several injured. Thereafter, said the report, a widespread organisation for the preparation and circulation of leaflets containing "Maliciously untruthful or distorted accounts of events" was started and continued with varying degrees of success throughout the year.

A popular form of activity was the erection of flags on public buildings and this led to serious incidents. As, for instance, in the month of February of the year under review, attempts to hoist flags on the police buildings at Tirapur in Menghyr district and at Sheohar in Muzaffarpur had to be dispersed by firing of gun. The total casualties were 18 killed and 32 wounded. Those two events caused considerable excitement in Congress circles, but from that time demonstrations were less violent and the efforts of the leaders to stage spectacular shows such as the attempts to re-enter the Sadaquat and other Ashrams and to hold conferences at Cuttack and Gaya were easily frustrated.

Eleven pamphlets were proscribed during 1932. Four prosecutions under section 124A Indian Penal Code and one under Section 153A, Indian Penal Code, ended in conviction.

## The U. P. Police Administration Report

The following references to political and revolutionary activities are made in the U. P. Police Administration Report for 1932 published in November 1933:—

Towards the end of 1931, the Congress made preparations for a fresh no-rent campaign in certain districts of these provinces. The Government countered with the United Provinces Ordinance which was promulgated on December 14th, 1931, and, a little later on, certain Congress leaders were arrested for breaches of this Ordinance.

On his return to India from the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi decided to support his followers in the campaign they had launched against the Government, and his arrest followed as a matter of course. Within a few months open Congress activity had almost ceased, though secret propaganda continued by means of pamphlets and other publications.

Demonstrations were attempted in certain places on Independence Day, January, 26, and on Azad Day, February 27, but they were promptly suppressed. A National Week was instituted early in April, which included Boycott Day, Women and Children's Day, and Jallianwalla Day and there were some slight disturbances in connection with the celebrations of the week. These disturbances were quickly

suppressed. Thereafter the Congress adopted a more pernicious form of activity. Combustibles were dropped into letter boxes, telegraph and telephone wires were cut, trains were stopped, and railway carriages were set on fire. All these senseless sabotage could not have had the support of the more thoughtful members of Congress and many of them must have condemned it in their hearts. Sporadic efforts were made to revive interest in the Congress movement during the year, but they met with little success.

The Premier's Award on the question of the franchise was published on August 16 and two days later it was announced that Mr. Gandhi intended to fast unto death unless separate electorates for the depressed classes were abolished. A hurried meeting of the leaders of all classes at Poona decided that the seats should be reserved for the depressed classes within the general constituencies. This decision was accepted by the Premier and Mr. Gandhi's fast came to an end.

Thereafter the question of untouchability was taken up by the Congress with avidity, and by the end of the year it had overshadowed all other Congress activities.

The failure of Congress to make good their promises led to increased revolutionary activity. There were no less than 25 bomb outrages during the year, though in the majority of cases the bombs were so crude that they failed to explode or they did little damage. Thirteen bombs were thrown at police officers or were placed near police buildings or were hurled into the courtyards of police stations and outposts. Ten constables were injured by these explosions, one seriously.

It was natural that with the inception of the Civil Disobedience movement at the beginning of the year, and the continuance of a good deal of terrorist activity, the Special Branch should have had another busy year. On many occasions information supplied by this branch enabled districts to deal successfully with the various phases of the Congress movement, but its activities were chiefly directed towards combating the terrorist movement, and in this it achieved considerable success.

At the end of 1931 revolutionary leaders and abettors met in the Meerut district to map out a few plan of campaign. Several of these persons were subsequently arrested by the Special Branch and by the Delhi Police. On January 23, Mr. Pilditch of the Special Branch arrested Yashpal, the "Commander-in-Chief" in Allahabad, after a revolver duel which gained him the King's Police Medal. This was followed in April by the arrest by the Delhi and Meerut Police of 6 men who had joined forces with the Delhi group of terrorists. In August extensive raids carried out by the special branch officers and the Cawnpore Police in Cawnpore resulted in about 20 arrests and the recovery of several fire arms including five revolvers. This action dealt a severe blow to the terrorist organisation in the United Province. In Agra successful investigation by Criminal Investigation Department officers led to the recovery of four revolvers and one automatic pistol and the institution of a conspiracy case against half a dozen persons. These are instances of the more important success achieved by the Special Branch during the year.

Altogether during the year Criminal Investigation Department officers recovered thirteen revolvers, five pistols, eight bombs, three guns and a quantity of ammunition and explosive material, while the District Police recovered seven revolvers, three pistols, one gun, one small-bore rifle and fourteen country-made bombs.

During the first six months of the year there were 22 cases under the Explosive Act eleven of which were the work of revolutionaries. Seven cases in Allahabad may be attributed to a gang the members of which were later arrested in Cawnpore. In Lucknow a bomb explosion injured six policemen, while in another such explosion a lady was injured. The fact that only three unimportant cases were reported during the second half of the year must be attributed to earlier and good surveillance.

No less than fifty revolutionaries were convicted under ordinary law during the year while an additional eighty revolutionaries and their associates, went to jail for offences committed in pursuance of the Congress campaign.

# The Bengal Administration Report 1931-32

The 'Bengal Administration Report for the year 1931-32 was published in November 1933, and we make the following excerpts from it:—

The main object of the Delhi settlement of 5th March 1931 had been achieved when Congress decided to take part in the further discussions of the Round Table Conference, and Mr. Gandhi sailed for England to attend the Conference. While Government, however, scrupulously observed their side of the agreement, Congress seized the opportunity to consolidate their position and to make preparations for a fresh attack on constituted authority. A movement for the non-payment of rent was launched in the United Provinces, an agitation of a frankly revolutionary nature was set on foot in the North-West Frontier Province, and Bengal followed suit when at the Bengal Provincial Congress Conference held at Berhampore in the first week of December a resolution was passed urging the people of Bengal to prepare for the coming fight and to institute an immediate boycott of British goods and British concerns. Such threats could not be ignored and the Government of India made the necessary preparations to meet them.

## REVIVAL OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

On his return from England Mr. Gandhi sent a telegram on the 29th December 1931 to His Excellency the Viceroy in which he asked if the promulgation of the Ordinances—he was referring to Ordinances which had been issued to deal with the situation on the Frontier and in the United Provinces and Bengal—was to be taken as an indication that friendly relations between Government and Congress had come to an end. The Viceroy replied justifying his action and informing Mr. Gandhi that there could be no discussion of those measures and that they would remain in force until they had served the purpose for which they had been adopted. On the 1st January 1932 Mr. Gandhi announced that he had decided to be guided by the Congress Working Committee which had passed a resolution favouring a reversion to civil disobedience. The resolution had demanded "adequate relief" in respect of the Ordinances, free scope in any future negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim to complete independence and the carrying on of the administration of the country "in consultation with popular representatives pending the attainment of such independence."

## DRIVE AGAINST C. D.

There was only one possible answer to these demands and that was given in the Ordinances Nos. II—V promulgated on the 4th January 1932, the Emergency Powers Ordinance, the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the Unlawful Association Ordinance and the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance. In the statement which accompanied their issue the Government of India reviewed the march of Congress along the "barren road of non-co-operation" since December 1929 and showed how in using their full resources to meet the challenge of civil disobedience they were fighting the battle not only of the present Government but of the governments of the future. Parliament was pleased to a scheme of constitutional reforms which had been accepted as reasonable by the great majority of the delegates to the Round Table Conference and had given undertaking that every effort would be made to overcome as quickly as possible the difficulties in the way of its early attainment. At such a juncture the Government of India could not permit any outside political organisation to usurp their functions and they were bound to take every step that was necessary to suppress a lawless movement which would hinder the work of political advance.

The drive against civil disobedience began forthwith. On the 4th January Mr. Gandhi was arrested and in Bengal the more native and dangerous leaders of the movement were imprisoned. Various local associations whose object was to encourage or participate in illegal activities were declared unlawful, while the places in their occupation were seized by Government under the Ordinance. The policy was one of rapid and vigorous action. Any breaches of the law or defiance of authority were met by immediate arrest and prosecution and the whole resources of Government were thrown in against civil disobedience from the outset.

## EFFECT OF ORDINANCES

Responsible members of the community were not long in realising that Government were resolved to maintain law and order at all costs and to afford adequate protection to the law-abiding against the intimidation of the agents of Congress. Those who were wavering in their allegiance therefore took heart and openly declared themselves to be on the side of Government. Congress on the other hand was staggered by the swiftness and decision with which it was attacked. Bereft of leadership by the incarceration of personalities such as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and deprived one after another of those who succeeded them, the movement suffered from lack of co-ordination from the start and was never allowed to become the menace it was in 1930 and 1931. The following is a description month by month of the course of civil disobedience during 1932.

## THE STRUGGLE

The "dictators" and others who continued the struggle made a great effort to incite the public to participate in the celebration of "independence day" on the 26th January in the hope that this would lead to clashes between the demonstrators and the police. In Calcutta, however, that expectation was frustrated by the closing of the public parks so that no meeting of any size was held and no serious disturbance ensued. In the mafassal the few meetings which were held attracted scant attention and the large and hostile crowds which used to be a feature of such demonstrations in the past were conspicuous by their absence.

In February, as the result presumably of orders issued by the All-India Congress Committee organised attempts, seldom successful, were made to hoist the Congress flag on Government buildings in the mafassal. An increasing share of the work was taken by women both because it was becoming more difficult to find male recruits and because the presence of womenfolk was calculated to prove an embarrassment to the police.

In March the celebration of the anniversary of Mr. Gandhi's march to Dandi at the opening of his salt campaign of 1930 proved a complete fiasco, while "Bhagat Singh day", which was warmly sponsored by the Congress in spite of its professed abhorrence of violence, was equally a failure. At places in the Sutahata and Tamluk thanas of the Midnapore district additional police forces had to be posted at the cost of the inhabitants who had taken part in disorderly mass demonstrations.

In April His Excellency Sir John Anderson who had taken over charge as Governor of Bengal on the 29th of March, in replying to addresses of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and of the Marwari Association refuted the assertion that the Ordinances were prejudicial to the interests of trade and commerce and pointed out that civil disobedience had preceded the Ordinances. The latter were designed and administered for the protection and benefit of the law-abiding sections of the community and especially for those whose normal pursuits, commercial and financial, rendered them most vulnerable to any disturbances affecting the safety of property and the maintenance of credit.

In Bankura, Midnapur and the Arambagh sub-division of the district of Hooghly the efforts of the Congress representatives were successful in working up opposition to the realisation of union board taxes, a success to which the prevailing economic distress was an important contributory factor. In the Nandigram thana of the Midnapore district a small party of police while engaged in dispersing a salt demonstration was attacked by a hostile mob on which it had to open fire. An additional police force was consequently posted at that place at the cost of the inhabitants while similar measures were taken at Sonamukhi, a municipality of the Vishnupur sub-division, because of the defiant and disorderly conduct of the inhabitants.

The ordinances were due to lapse at the end of June and before deciding the question of their renewal their value in combating civil disobedience and the attitude adopted towards them by the people as a whole were reviewed. It appeared from the reports of Divisional Commissioners that the Ordinances had been used both in rural and urban areas with entirely salutary results. That the Ordinances were effective against Civil Disobedience was proved by the progressive decline month by month in the number of convictions both under the ordinary law and under the Ordinances. The movement, however, was not dead, and there was reason to believe that in some parts of the province at least the continuance of the

powers conferred by the Ordinances was absolutely necessary if conditions were not to revert to a state of lawlessness. The Government of India accepted this view and the main provisions of the Ordinances were accordingly promulgated in n consolidated form in the Special Powers Ordinance of the 30th June.

The new Ordinance left the extension of its "emergency powers" provisions to the discretion of Local Governments. In Bengal it was at first extended to 16 districts only out of 27, though subsequently it was found necessary to extend provisions, but not all, to certain other districts.

### MIDNAPORE

In June attempts were made to hold district political conferences at Howrah, Jhaidin in the Jeypore district and Tehata in the district of Nadia. At all three places the police prevented the delegates from assembling and no conferences were held. At Tehata, however, the attitude of the crowds was aggressive, the police who were accompanied by the District Magistrate had to open fire and one person was killed and several others wounded. Endeavours were also made to hold a provincial conference at Calcutta but that design was frustrated by the prevention of the departure of delegates from their respective districts, the closing of the parks and by a number of preventive arrests in Calcutta. The imposition of an additional police force in the municipality of Midnapore, the headquarters of a district long notorious for its adherence to the cult of lawlessness, was sanctioned. In July at Masuria and Daatan, both places in the Midnapore district, the police had to fire on unruly mobs which had assembled to attend political conferences and had refused to disperse when ordered to do so. A collective fine was imposed in August on Maheshkhali and four adjoining villages of the 24-Parganas, long a stronghold of civil disobedience and long conspicuous for its resistance to authority. In October certain sections of the Special Powers Ordinance were extended to the districts of Mymensingh, Murshidabad and Faridpur, chiefly in order to facilitate the taking of land and buildings for the accommodation of troops and military police. November saw a recurrence of trouble in the Midnapore district where considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting the taxes assessed for the maintenance of the additional police in the Tamluk sub-division. In the same district a collective fine was imposed under the Special Powers Ordinance upon villages in the Nandigram thana and another upon villages in the thana of Mahisadal for acts of lawlessness done in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience movement. In the last month of the year Midnapore continued to be troublesome and collective fines were imposed on certain villages in the police stations of Tamluk, Ramaagar and Contai for the harbouring of Civil Disobedience volunteers and for doing wanton damage to the property of a president panchayat and chowkidars who gave informations leading to their arrest. In other districts, however, the movement was by now practically quiescent and had ceased to give cause for anxiety.

### BENGAL PUBLIC SECURITY ACT

Such was the position at the close of the year. Congress had failed, and Government had successfully fulfilled the purpose put before it in the Viceroy's statement of the 4th January. But the special powers which made the successful accomplishment of that task possible were to lapse with the expiry of the Special Powers Ordinance in December. As a measure of precaution the Local Government decided that it ought to take powers to enable it (in the words of the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill) "in case of emergency to combat activities which are subversive of law and order, or prejudicial to the public security and for the suppression of which the ordinary powers of Government are inadequate," and the Bengal Public Security Bill was introduced and passed at the November session of the Legislative Council. The Act is definitely a weapon to be kept in reserve and employed only when and where necessary to counter a recurrence of Civil Disobedience, or a movement of a similar nature. So far it has been necessary to extend it only to three sub-divisions of Midnapore district, that stronghold of obstinate defiance of authority, and to Arambagh sub-division of the Hooghly district.

### TERRORISM : ASSASSINATIONS & ATTEMPTED MURDERS

On the 6th of February at the Convocation of the Calcutta University a woman graduate attempted to shoot His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson who was presiding at the meeting in his capacity of Chancellor. The shots, though fired at close range,

fortunately missed their target and His Excellency escaped unhurt. The perpetrator 30th April Mr. R. Douglas, a successor of the late Mr. J. Peddie as District Magistrate of Midnapore, was fired at and mortally wounded by two terrorists while presiding at a meeting of the District Board. One of the assailants made good his escape but the other was pursued, arrested and subsequently hanged. On 13th June Captain Cameron of the 28th Gurkhas was killed during a raid upon a house at Dhalghat in the Chittagong district in course of which one of the absconding leaders of the Chittagong Armoury Raid, Nirmal Sen, and one other absconder were killed in attempting to escape. On 27th June Babu Kamakhy Prasad Sen, Sub-Deputy Magistrate, who had incurred odium by his work as a special officer in suppressing Civil Disobedience in the Munshiganj sub-division, was fired at and killed while asleep in his lodging at Dacca. His assailant was subsequently traced, tried and sentenced to death. On 29th July Mr. E. B. Ellison, Additional Superintendent of Police, Tippera, was attacked by a revolutionary armed with a revolver and received such grievous injuries that he expired a week after the outrage. His assailant has not yet been brought to justice. On 5th August a terrorist fired at point-blank range at Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the "Statesman" as he was approaching his office in a car. The shot miraculously missed its mark, and the would-be assassin took poison and died shortly after his arrest. Less than three weeks later there followed another shooting outrage, the victim on this occasion being Mr. C. G. Grassby, Additional Superintendent of Police, Dacca. The injuries received by Mr. Grassby though serious were not of a dangerous nature. The assailant, who was wounded by shots fired by Mr. Grassby's guard, was captured as he was attempting to escape and subsequently convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. On Saturday 24th September occurred the most foul and cowardly of all the crimes yet perpetrated by the terrorists. At Pahartali close to Chittagong, a body of them attacked at night the unprotected Railway Institute which was then crowded by persons of both sexes. Standing at the doors and windows of the building they fired revolvers and muskets at the defenceless occupants and threw bombs on the floor, killing one elderly European lady and wounding seven men and five women. One of the attacking party a young woman who had apparently taken poison was found dead near the scene of the occurrence. As no information was forthcoming regarding the perpetrators of this outrage, Government after warning the inhabitants of Chittagong imposed on the Hindu community of the area concerned a heavy collective fine. On the 28th September a second attempt was made on the life of Sir Alfred Watson. On this occasion the assailants followed and overtook Sir Alfred's car in one of their own, fired with their revolvers at close quarters and wounded Sir Alfred and his lady Secretary and his driver. Two of the terrorists took poison and died in the belief that they could not effect their escape while the third was successful in eluding pursuit. Skilful police investigation resulted in six men being placed on their trial, one of whom was sentenced to transportation of life, two others to shorter terms and three acquitted. On the 18th November Mr. C. A. W. Luke, Superintendent of Rajsahi Central Jail was attacked in his car at dusk by three men and seriously injured in the head by revolver shots. The assailants though pursued half-heartedly by some people who happened to be in the vicinity escaped. One, however, was traced and subsequently sentenced to transportation for seven years.

#### OTHER TERRORIST CRIMES

In the month of January there were three cases of armed robbery, including an attack on the mail van of the Noakhali train near Laksam Junction by six armed youths who held up the postal sorter and made off with the insured covers. There were two cases of murderous assault upon Government officers, the victim of one being a sergeant of the Dacca City police who was set upon and badly wounded by four young men who stole his revolver. In February two armed robberies were committed. In March guns were stolen on two occasions in the district of Dacca, the owner of the gun in one of those cases being done to death. Five men armed with revolvers and daggers raided Charmuguria post office in the district of Faridpur. Remarkable courage was, however, displayed both by members of the postal staff and by a number of villagers, who, despite the fact that one of their number was stabbed to death and three others injured, persevered in the pursuit until they overtook and overpowered all the raiders. In April there were four attacks by armed youths on postal peons and mail runners resulting in one instance in the

death of a peon. An armed robbery was committed in a train in the Rangpur district and an armed dacoity in a merchant's shop in Calcutta. In May several youths stopped a train by pulling the communication cord at Tezgaon near Dacca, stole over thirty thousand rupees from a passenger, fired at and wounded the guard and made off in a taxi which they eventually had to abandon, leaving about one fourth of the spoils behind. At Angaria in the Faridpur district four terrorists were frustrated in an attempt to steal the bag of a mail runner by the bravery of a local kabilraj and some chowkidars who, in spite of being fired on by the robbers, refused to be shaken off until they ultimately succeeded in capturing the four men. One of the latter had been so badly wounded by a fishing spear during the chase that he died of his injuries the following day. At Dneen the guard of a retired official was waylaid and his revolver stolen, while in Comilla three youths were arrested with revolvers in their possession shortly after they had committed a mail robbery. In June several armed dacoities were committed and there was also a serious theft of magazine rifles and other arms from the house of a zamindar at Rangpur. In October an important absconding terrorist and a companion were arrested in the Barisal district with a pistol and a bomb in their possession, while in Calcutta the arrest of two other leading absconders led to the finding of several weapons and bombs. In November at Dhamrai in Dacca district a mail runner who had been fired at and wounded by an armed robber courageously attacked his assailant and with the help of some members of the public succeeded in making him prisoner. The concluding month of the year was marked by the arrests in Bengal of one escaped terrorist convict, one escaped detenu, one absconding detenu and four other suspects in whose possession arms and ammunition were found while one of the absconders of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case who was also wanted in connection with the shooting of Captain Cameron was arrested at Rangoon by the Burma police. The 1st March 1932 saw the conclusions of the long-drawn-out Chittagong Armoury Raid Case trial, which commenced on the 11th September 1930. Thirty persons were tried, twelve of whom were sentenced to transportation for life and two to lesser sentences. Sixteen were acquitted.

#### ACTION AGAINST TERRORISM

Power had been taken by Ordinance IX of 1931, subsequently replaced by Act IV of 1932 to amend the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930, so as to make it possible to take preventive action against members of terrorist associations as such and also against persons who, though not themselves members, did any act to assist the operation of any such association. It had also made possible the arrest of those members of revolutionary associations, often the leaders and organisers, who stood in the background and avoided participation in violent acts. The promulgation of the Ordinance was followed in the last two months of 1931 by an acceleration of the rate of arrests to a figure never before attained and in order to provide the additional accommodation required a new camp had been opened in December 1931. From January 1932 there was another rapid rise in the number of arrests, the highest figure reached being well over one hundred for the month of October. Adjustments of accommodation made it possible to augment the numbers that could be detained at the camps at Hijli, Buxa and Berhampore, but this did not prove adequate and the Berhampore camp had to be extended, the new section being ready for occupation in November 1932.

#### EXTERNMENT OF DETENUS AND REG. III PRISONERS

The advantages of having dangerous persons removed altogether outside the province had long been recognised by the Local Government and in consonance with this view the Government of India agreed early in 1932 to deal with a few of the leading and most dangerous detenus under Regulation. III of 1818 and detain them in jails outside the Province. The number of dangerous revolutionaries however was large, plotting still went on within the camps, communication in spite of all precautions was kept up between those in detention and their allies outside, and it soon became clear that considerations of safety demanded that still more of the influential revolutionary leaders should be sent outside the Province. A Bill therefore to amend the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act so as to permit of the extermintion of detenus from Bengal was placed by the Government of India before the Legislative Assembly and was passed on the 30th March 1932. The Government of India found a suitable site at Deoli in Ajmer-Merwara and a new detention jail was opened there with accommodation for one hundred detenus on the

19th April 1932. Within a few months it was occupied almost to its full capacity. The value of sending detainees to this remote locality having been proved, the Government of India have agreed to extend the jail so as to accommodate four hundred more detainees and it is expected that this additional accommodation will be available early in 1933.

A second deterrent measure taken in the anti-terrorist campaign was to re-open the Andaman Island as a place of imprisonment for persons who had been convicted of terrorist crimes. Two batches totalling fifty eight prisoners were despatched from this province in 1932.

On the 18th August a communiqué was issued announcing the decision of the Government of India on a representation of the Government of Bengal to augment very substantially the military forces in the Presidency. In spite of the special measures which had been taken assassinations and the commission of political crimes had not ceased and it was believed thatocular proof of the reserves of power possessed by Government would both hearten their supporters and show to those anxious to subvert ordered government that they were determined to crush the forces of disorder. This belief has not been falsified, and there is no doubt that the presence of the augmented garrison has greatly contributed to the improved situation which gradually came about towards the end of the year. This augmented garrison consists of one battalion of British infantry and six battalions of Indian infantry and is stationed at Dacca, Comilla, Mymensingh, Saidpur, Chittagong and Midnapore.

The Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance which had been promulgated on the 30th November 1931 in order to give Government special powers to deal with the situation in Chittagong was due to expire on the 31st May 1932. Chapter I, being the emergency powers portion of that Ordinance, had been applied only in the Chittagong district, while chapter II which conferred powers to appoint special criminal courts was extended to the whole of Bengal. Before, however, the latter Ordinance expired at the end of December the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Bill which was designed to give Government the special powers it had been furnished with up to then under the Ordinance was introduced in August in the local Legislative Council. The Bengal Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill was introduced in the same session the most important provision of which was that which conferred upon Commissioners powers to pass a sentence of death for an attempt to commit murder. Both those Bills were passed by substantial majorities. Finally, at the November session of the Legislative Council, was passed the Bengal Criminal Law (Arms and Explosives) Bill, 1932 the object of which was to make punishable with transportation for life certain offences under the Indian Arms Act, 1878, and the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 and to provide for the trial by Special Courts of certain offences committed in connection with the smuggling of weapons and ammunition under the Arms Act.

The terrorist situation during 1932 may be summed up briefly as follows. The first three-quarters of the year gave little cause for satisfaction, and during September and October there was a period of grave anxiety. But as the year drew to a close, except for the outrage at Rajshahi when Mr. Luke was attacked, conditions improved and they were certainly better at the close of the year than they had been for some time previously. It would be folly to prophesy and the end of the road is still a long way off, but it cannot be denied that a feeling of confidence had grown up among the supporters of Government by the end of 1932 which had not been there during the previous two years. This is to be attributed to the steady and resolute pressure which it was the policy of Government to exert and to the moral effect of Government's determination to use all their resources to crush terrorism, a determination which was manifested by legislative measures, in an improved and enlarged intelligence system without which no success could be expected, and by the proof afforded by an augmented military garrison that the Central Government stood behind the Local Government. That these measures were bearing fruit was shown during the latter part of the year by a number of valuable captures of wanted men, arms and documents, captures which constituted a severe blow to one at least of the terrorist groups.

#### COMMUNAL AWARD AND POONA PACT

The communal decision announced on the 15th August was confined in scope to the Provincial Legislatures. While the promulgation of the award was necessitated by the fact that the continued failure of the communities to reach an agreement

was retarding the plans for the framing of a new constitution. His Majesty's Government made it clear that this decision was not necessarily final and that, until the projected Government of India Bill became law, it would be open to the communities concerned to devise by mutual agreement some other workable scheme. Under the terms of the award, election to the seats allotted to Muhammadan, European and Sikh constituencies was to be by persons voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of Province. Provision was to be made in the constitution itself for revision after ten years with the assent of the communities affected. All qualified electorates who were not voters either in a Muhammadan, Sikh, Indian Christian, Anglo-Indian or European constituency were to vote in a general constituency. Members of the depressed classes or scheduled castes qualified to vote were to vote in a general constituency. As these castes were unlikely for some time to be able by this means alone to procure adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats was assigned to them, to be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the depressed classes electorally qualified were to vote, both in a general and special constituencies for the scheduled castes would be terminated after twenty years; in the meantime they might be abolished with the consent of the classes concerned.

#### ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN BENGAL

The communal decision gave a house of 250 members for Bengal. Eighty of these seats, including two women's seats, were allocated to the general electorate which is equivalent to the present non-Muhammadan electorate. Of the eighty general seats, ten were to be given to the scheduled castes, the Muhammadans were given 119 seats including two for women, Indian Christians were given two, Anglo-Indians four including one for a woman, and Europeans eleven. Of the special seats landholders were given five, universities two, labour eight and commerce, industry, mining and planting nineteen, fourteen for Europeans and five for Indians. The numbers of the chief communities were fixed mainly on their population ratios; those of the Europeans followed the Minorities Pact. The consequent readjustment in the numbers between Muhammadans and Hindus was very badly received by the Hindus, whose numbers, relatively to their strength in the present Council, were considerably reduced. Many of their leaders asserted that the decision deliberately victimised them as a community on account of their past political activities. Some Muhammadans also criticised the award because it did not concede all that they had demanded; but on the whole the Muhammadan community was satisfied with what it had received. A motion to adjourn the business of the House in connection with the award was discussed in the Legislative Council on the 23rd August and, after a debate which showed few signs of very high feeling, was talked out. Of the four Hindu members who spoke, three strongly opposed the Premier's decision. The Muhammadans, while accepting the award, contended that it was unsatisfactory to their community. The Europeans held that an award of this sort was essential, as no future constitution would prove workable without a settlement of the question of communal representation.

During the same session considerable interest was created by a resolution of a Muhammadan member favouring a system of joint electorates in the future constitution. Government did not formally vote on this resolution. The Hon'ble Member in the Political Department explained that Government thought that separate electorates were not desirable in themselves but that there were practical considerations which could not be overlooked and which indicated that separate electorates must continue for some time to come. The resolution was carried by a majority of fifteen, most of the Muhammadan members opposing it, though some gave support to the principle of joint electorate if coupled with adult suffrage.

#### MR. GANDHI'S FAST

Keen interest was aroused by the publication of the correspondence which had passed between the Premier and the Secretary of State for India on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other in connection with the latter's threat to 'fast unto death' unless the grant of separate electorates for the depressed classes in the new constitution was withdrawn, followed as it was by the commencement of the fast. In his letter to Mr. Gandhi explaining the reasons for the decision of His Majesty's Government, the Premier pointed out that, while full consideration had been given to the declared opposition of caste Hindus to the permanent segregation of the depressed classes from the Hindu community, it had on the other hand been impossible to

ignore the urgent representations of the depressed classes for special consideration and it had been felt that it was the duty of Government to safeguard the right of those classes to a fair proportion of representation in the Legislature. By the communal decision the depressed classes would remain a part of the Hindu community while they will receive through a limited number of special constituencies the means of safeguarding their rights and interests. All depressed class voters would be included in the general Hindu constituencies so that higher caste candidates would have to solicit their votes while depressed class candidates who stood for election in a general constituency would have to solicit the votes of the higher castes. Such an arrangement would have the effect of preserving the unity of Hindu society. It would appear therefore that Mr. Gandhi was threatening to starve himself to death 'not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, which had already been provided, not to maintain the unity of Hindus which had also been provided, but solely to prevent the depressed classes who admittedly suffered from terrible calamities, from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in Legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.'

### THE PACT

The news of Mr. Gandhi's decision with its possible consequences caused great perturbation in the minds of the Hindus of Bengal. Meetings were held and public appeals were issued to launch a campaign against untouchability. Temples, the doors of which had for centuries been closed to the depressed classes, were thrown open in the hope that this gesture would inspire them with sufficient confidence to rely on the higher castes to represent their interests in the Legislature. It is still too early to decide how far this agitation against untouchability is likely to persist as a genuine movement but there can be no doubt that many Hindu leaders sincerely deprecate the separation of the depressed classes from the general body of their community, as they realise that such a separation is likely to prove a handicap for Hindus in the struggle for power under the new constitution. The agitation as is well known resulted in the Poona Pact of the 25th September. So far as Bengal is concerned the effect is to reserve thirty out of the general seats in the Provincial Legislature for the depressed classes. In place of the separate electorates prescribed in the communal decision, the Pact introduces joint electorates. Elections will be subject to a double procedure. All members of the depressed classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the depressed classes for each reserved seat by the method of a single vote, and the four persons receiving the highest number of votes at the primary elections will be candidates for election in the joint electorate. The Pact stipulates that the system of primary election and the panel of candidates for election to the Legislature will come to an end after ten years unless terminated in the meantime by mutual agreement between the parties concerned.

### GOVT. ACCEPT THE PACT

The acceptance of the agreement by His Majesty's Government, followed as it was by the end of Mr. Gandhi's fast was held with feelings of relief by the Hindu community. When, however, the leaders of the higher castes in Bengal, their minds free of anxiety for the safety of the Mahatma, were able quietly to consider the full implication of the terms of the agreement, its disadvantages became only too clearly apparent and opinion definitely crystallised against a Pact in the framing of which no representative of the caste Hindus of this Province had taken part, and the terms of which were so much less favourable to them than the award of the Premier.

### AGRARIAN TROUBLE

The depressed conditions which had prevailed in 1931 in agricultural areas, and particularly those that grew jute, continued in the year under report and in certain places were taken advantage of by Congress representatives in order to create discontent amongst the raiyats. In January meetings were organised by agitators in the Noakhali district with the object of stirring up feelings on communist lines, as had been done towards the end of the preceding year in the neighbouring district of Tippera. In the Mymensingh district associations of cultivators were formed

with the object of refusing to pay the rents of Zamindars and also the debts of money-lenders. February saw a recrudescence of the trouble in the Tippera district in which Congress agents took part, and a large mob which was gathered at a demonstration in favour of the non-payment of rents attacked a Sub-Inspector and a body of constables and had to be fired on before it would disperse. The District Magistrate of Mymensingh took action under the Emergency Powers Ordinance against two Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council who had been fomenting the movement for the non-payment of rent, while similar action was taken in the Faridpur district against the Vice-Chairman of the Madaripur Local Board who was also the President of the Local Cultivators' Association. In one thana of the Kishoriganj Sub-division of the Mymensingh district Muhammadans were combining with members of Tenants' Associations in order to exert pressure upon money-lenders with a view to compelling them to remit their demands for interest. Feeling ran so high at times that debtors set fire to the property of money-lenders, but the prosecution of some of the ringleaders soon put a stop to the commission of such crimes. In East Bengal the majority of Mahajans are Hindus and a large proportion of their debtors are Muhammadans of the cultivating class. It was therefore not surprising that in the Mymensingh district the movement, which was economic in origin, assumed on this as on past occasions, an anti-Hindu and communal complexion.

#### MYMENSINGH JAIL DISASTER

At 4 P. M. on the 9th May a tornado, moving rapidly on a path about six hundred feet broad, struck the Mymensingh jail at the moment of attaining its maximum intensity. Though the tornado had passed on in less than five minutes a great part of the high outer wall was laid in ruins and scarcely a building within the compass of the jail, except those of the strongest construction, escaped serious injury. Twenty-seven persons lost their lives, while about one hundred and fifty were injured. Many prisoners succeeded in escaping in the confusion but either returned of their own accord or were re-caught. The storm also did serious damage in adjacent villages, the number of dead being estimated at fifteen and the injured at seventy. A storm of a similar type which passed over a length of five miles in the Faridpur district in the same month caused a heavy damage to crops and homesteads and resulted in death to twelve persons and injuries to one hundred and fifty others.

#### GOVT. AND CALCUTTA CORPORATION

At the beginning of July Government addressed to the Calcutta Corporation two letters asking for information on certain points relating to the administration of the city and also inviting the Corporation's opinion on the working of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1932 with reference to certain specific points with a view to deciding whether the Act should be amended. The first letter called upon the Corporation to furnish full details of the working of the Primary Education Department with particular reference to cases, if any, in which teachers and students of that department had taken part in civil disobedience or in political demonstrations and the disciplinary action, if any, taken by the Corporation. A full and satisfactory reply was asked for within a fixed time in order to obviate the necessity of appointing an officer to investigate the affairs of the Corporation. In the second letter it was pointed out that the Calcutta Municipal Act 1923, placed the Corporation on an extremely democratic basis, widened its constitution and gave it considerably enlarged powers by reducing to a minimum Government control over its internal administration. The Government of Bengal considered that the time had come to examine in the light of experience how far the provisions of the Act had fulfilled the objects of the legislature and whether the difficulties had been experienced which pointed to the existence of defects in the Act. With these objects in view the Corporation were asked to explain certain features of their financial and general administration including that of dilatory disposal of audit objections, delay in the transaction of business and the details of certain tenders that had been accepted, and their comments were invited on certain suggestions made for amending the Act. Shortly afterwards Government addressed a third letter to the Corporation in regard to the pumping schemes at Ballygunj and other schemes appeared to form component parts of a comprehensive electrical project for producing and distributing electrical energy which required the sanction

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of Government under section 14 of the Calcutta Municipal Act. It was suggested that the execution by the Corporation of a considerable part of this project without such sanction amounted to an evasion of their responsibilities under the Act.

### THE CORPORATION'S REPLY

The Corporation asked for an extension of time within which to reply to the first letter. Their response eventually was merely a disclaimer of responsibility for the political activities of their staff, and as the Corporation have thus failed to recognise their duty Government have decided to introduce early legislation to prevent the employment of persons convicted of offences committed in furtherance of subversive movements. In answer to the second letter the Corporation contended that Government had no right to interfere. Government were unable to accept this contention till after the Corporation election in March, 1933. In reply to the third letter the Corporation disclaimed any intention of infringing section 14 of the Act and this question which is one of a technical nature remains to be decided by Government after it has been fully examined by experts.

### RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEME

In order to relieve middle class unemployment in Bengal a comprehensive scheme of economic reconstruction has been formulated by the Department of Agriculture and Industries and approved by the Government of Bengal. The scheme provides facilities at suitable centres in the Province for training middle class youths in local and indigenous industries, the products of which are in universal use and already have a wide market. The main object is to afford to young men at present unemployed an opportunity of training themselves in improved processes in the conduct of the more important cottage industries. While the knowledge of improved methods thus acquired will, it is expected, afford remunerative occupation to a considerable number of persons, it also hoped that it will be handed on to the village caste workers who still follow the antiquated systems of their fathers. The scheme provides for the establishment of four demonstration parties to give instruction in seven selected industries, for an industrial survey, the compilation of an industrial directory and the appointment of advisory boards in each district. It is estimated that at the outset the recurring cost will be one lakh of rupees per annum. Partial effect was given to the scheme during the financial year 1932-33.

### ECONOMIC SITUATION

There was no serious natural calamity having widespread effects during the year. Partial failure of crops in the district of Tippera and a mere serious failure in the Feni sub-division of the Noakhali district caused considerable local distress which was relieved by large grants for agriculturists' loans and by gratuitous relief. In July a flood on the Jamuna river affected riparian areas of the districts of Pabna, Bogra, Rangpur and Mymensingh but the damage caused was not serious. The situation in those districts was still, however, affected by the results of the much more serious flood of 1931 and by the general economic depression and large sums had to be set aside for agriculturists' loans as well as for the continuing of relief works. Large agriculturists' loans were also given in two other districts in one of which the rabi crops had been severely damaged by hailstorms. From June onwards there was a slight rise in the price of raw jute of which the outturn was somewhat larger than in 1931 but this was only temporary and was soon followed by a fresh fall. There was a slight increase in the prices of cereals but it was not sufficient to benefit the raiyats, while after the harvesting of the winter paddy the price of rice fell still further towards the end of the year, price levels being reduced which have been unheard of for many years. There was scarcity of food but the lack of money in rural areas was everywhere acute, while neither mahajans nor co-operative banks, all of whom have their capital set up that they cannot make effective use of it, could do much to relieve the situation. The reduced purchasing power of the cultivator was reflected throughout the Province and not least is the difficulty which Government experienced in collecting revenue and the zamindars their rents. There was indeed some increase in the collection of revenue when compared with the year 1931 but that may have been due to the payment of arrears which had accumulated in previous bad years. Under the sale law, however, more estates became liable for sale than in 1931 while there were also

more defaults and more sales of defaulting estates, even although the law was still applied with great leniency, and although exemption from sale was usually granted on the payment of only nominal penalties and in many cases on part payment of the arrears. The fall in the collection of revenue has not yet reached alarming proportions but there is reason to fear that in certain districts zamindars may soon reach a stage at which they will be unable to borrow. The all-pervading lack of money and the low prices of the more important products have made this Province suffer as much as any part of India and the stagnation in trade and business which marked the preceding year showed no signs of improvement in 1932.

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## The Bengal Police Administration Report

In submitting the report on the police administration in the province of Bengal for the year 1932, the Inspector-General of Police stated:-

The exceptionally difficult conditions created by the civil disobedience movement in 1930 continued throughout the year and the spirit of lawlessness manifested itself in various ways. Not only were the police called upon to deal with an exceptional volume of ordinary crime, consequent on unfavourable economic conditions, but they were confronted with a widespread terrorist conspiracy. A detailed account of the revolutionary crime and activities is given below. It will be seen that the record of the year has been marred by a number of deplorable outrages upon life and property and in order to combat this menace, the resources of the police have had to be strengthened in various directions and bodies of troops stationed at various centres. These measures, I am glad to be able to report, have had the desired effect. Though the civil disobedience movement, as a result of the policy adopted and maintained by Government, has manifestly failed and has practically ceased to function, the followers of Congress were still active in their endeavours to revive popular interest in the campaign and to bring about a repetition of the situation that existed in 1930. These conditions naturally placed a heavy strain on the police, hampered as they were by non-co-operative and obstructive methods adopted in many cases by members of the public.

### OFFENCES AGAINST WOMEN

With reference to the cases of kidnaping or abduction of women, and the use of criminal force to women with intent to outrage their modesty (sections 366 and 354 Indian Penal Code) the report shows an increase. Altogether, 234 and 459 cases under sections 366 and 354, respectively, against 212 and 387 in 1931, were disposed of as true during the year, of which 78 cases under section 366 ended in the conviction of 174 persons and 173 cases under section 354 in the conviction of 226 persons. The cases under these sections were reported from all districts but one (Faridpore), Nadia returning the largest number followed by Mymensingh, the 24 Parganas, Dacca and Mursidabad. The increase of 94 cases under this head is most noticeable, Burdwan, Nadia and Hooghly being the worst contributors with increases of 21, 20 and 17 cases, respectively.

### OFFENCES UNDER ORDINANCES

The number of cases reported under the cognizable sections of the Ordinances issued from time to time to deal with Civil Disobedience and the other allied movements during the year and of persons concerned in those cases show that altogether 3,255 cases, including 409 under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, were disposed of as true during the year, against 115 in 1931. Midnapore returned the highest number of true cases, viz., 654, followed by Bankura, Hooghly, Tippera, Dacca and Nadia with 329, 305, 255, 195 and 162 cases, respectively. Three thousand one hundred and ten cases ended in the conviction of 7,128 persons, against 67 cases with 84 persons in 1931.

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### TERRORIST OUTRAGES

Referring to the Working of the Intelligence Branch and terrorist outrages in Bengal the Inspector-General says :—

The year under review furnishes a formidable catalogue of serious outrages and cognate offences calculated to upset the administration and to bring in a reign of terror. It may be said with confidence that the terrorists have signally failed to reach their objective, and also that they have failed to convince those outside the various conspiracies that their methods have not done more harm than good to the country in many ways but particularly in spoiling the lives of thousands of promising youths. It is now generally recognised by the public that the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is not only necessary to the administration but that it has been wisely and mercifully applied.

Excluding the cases in Calcutta, 74 terrorist outrages, occurred during the year, and consisted of one armed raid, three murders, one shooting affray, two assaults, three bomb outrages, thirty-four dacoities, two cases of preparation to commit dacoities, one incendiarism, twenty-one robberies and three attempted robberies. A brief description of some of the more important of these events is given below :—

### ARMED RAID

A cowardly attack was made on the European Railway Institute at Pahartali, Chittagong, on the night of the 24th September while a whist drive was in progress. The assailants consisted of about 10 or 12 persons some of whom were dressed in dhootties and shirts while others were disguised as Muhammadans. They were armed with bombs, revolvers and a number of rifles. The attack opened with the exploding of a bomb at one door, followed almost immediately by the explosion of another bomb inside the room and indiscriminate shooting from all the doors. The raiders withdrew after three or four minutes. Mrs. O'Sullivan, aged about 65, was shot dead and 5 other women and 8 men were wounded. The dead body of a girl dressed as a boy was subsequently found on a path about 100 yards from the Institute. The body was identified as that of Prithi Wadadar, daughter of the head clerk of the Chittagong Municipal Office and of Dalghat, Patiya, who absconded from her home on the 5th July after enquiries in connection with the murder of Captain Cameron at Dalghat.

### MURDER AND ATTEMPTED MURDERS

About 5.40 p. m. on the 30th April, while Mr. R. Douglas, I. C. S., District Magistrate of Midnapore, was attending a meeting in the District Board Office at Midnapore, two youths came up behind his chair and shot him. Pradyot Kumar Bhattacharji was ultimately captured, grasping a six-chambered revolver loaded with five cartridges, all of which had misfired. In his possession was found a slip of paper with an inscription in Bengali, which translated read as follows : "A slight protest against the Hijli oppression. Let Britain take note by the death of these people and let India awake by our sacrifice, Bande Mataram." No trace of the second assailant was obtained. Pradyot Kumar Bhattacharji was sentenced to death.

Babu Kamakhya Prasad Sen, Sub-Deputy Magistrate of Munshiganj, was shot dead in Dacca town about 1 a. m., on the 7th July, in the house of Babu S. N. Chatterji, Sadar Sub-divisional Officer. The investigation of this case resulted in the submission of charge-sheet against Kalipada Mukherji who was sentenced to death.

On the afternoon of the 29th July at Comilla Mr. E. B. Ellison, I. P., Additional Superintendent, Tippera, while returning home on his bicycle from office was shot by a youth and seriously wounded. At the time of his escape the youth threw away a packet containing three manuscript pamphlets in red ink purporting to come from the Indian Republican Army, Chittagong, by order of Surja Sen. The leaflets advocated the cessation of isolated attacks on European officers in favour of indiscriminate attacks on all Europeans with a view to exterminating them. Mr. Ellison subsequently succumbed to his injuries at the Mitford Hospital, Dacca.

On the 22nd August, in Dacca town, an attempt was made on the life of Mr. C. G. Grassby, I. P., Additional Superintendent, District Intelligence Branch, while he was returning home from office. Binay Bhushan De Ray who was arrested in this connection was sentenced to transportation for life.

About 5.30 p.m. on the 18th November Mr. Chas A. W. Luke, Superintendent of the Rajshabi Jail, was going for his usual drive with his wife and daughter from his house towards the Natore Road when he was attacked by three youths, two of whom at least were armed with revolvers. They opened fire, expending some five cartridges and then made off. Mr. Luke was hit once by a bullet. As the result of the investigation of this case charge-sheet was submitted against Bhola Nath Ray Karmakar and Satyabrata Chakrabarti (absconding). The former was sentenced to transportation for seven years.

#### SHOOTING AFFRAY

On receipt of information that four absconders were hiding in the house of Sabitri Debi, widow of one Nabin Chakrabarti, at Dalghat, police-station Patiya, Chittagong, Captain Cameron with a force of one havildar and seven sepoys of the 28th Gurkhas and one sub-inspector and two constables raided the house about 9 p.m. on the 13th June. As Captain Cameron, the sub-inspector and the havildar entered the place they heard the sound of men running upstairs. The havildar followed by Captain Cameron proceeded to the upper story by an outside staircase. When the former reached the head of the staircase he was pushed off into the courtyard below by some one from inside the room whence revolver fire was immediately opened on Captain Cameron. He was hit in the throat and chest and fell from the stairs into the courtyard and expired. Immediately after this a person from inside the room ran down the stairs and attempted to seize the rifle of a sepoy who had been posted at the foot of the stairs. Being unable to use his bayonet effectively the sepoy fired and hit his assailant who thereupon bolted. As he was running away the sepoy fired two more shots at him and his dead body was subsequently recovered from a bush in the compound. About the same time another man attempted to escape through the window. He was fired at by a sepoy and retreated into the room again. On the arrival of reinforcements from Patiya Camp, Chittagong, the occupants of the house were called upon to come out and Sabitri Debi, her son Ram Krishna Chakrabarti, aged about 19 years and her daughter Suchalata Devi, aged about 13 years, came out. The house was then ransacked and the dead body of Nirmal Sen, an absconder in the armoury raid case, was found in the room upstairs. The body recovered from the north-east corner of the compound was identified as that of Apurba Sen alias Bhola, an absconder in the armoury raid case. Surya Sen and Sitaram Biswas are believed to have escaped from the house. Sabitri Debi and seven others were prosecuted for harbouring absconders and five of the accused were convicted and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment each.

#### ROBBERY

On the 13th May six youths who were travelling on the Eastern Bengal Railway held up and robbed three Bengalis and a Marwari of Rs. 32,000, which the latter were transporting from their firm at Bhairab Bazar. Five of the assailants were armed with revolvers. They stopped the train by pulling the alarm chain when it was on the curve near the Nilkhil Road level crossing and decamped with the money which was contained in gunny sacks and an old steel trunk. Of the persons sent up for trial, one was convicted and sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

#### BOMB OUTRAGES

On the night of the 11th March at Kandi, Murshidabad, three country made bombs were thrown into the courtyard of the Subdivisional Officer. Fortunately no one was injured. The Subdivisional Officer had previously been the recipient of a threatening letter. A case was instituted and three of the accused were sentenced to imprisonment for various terms.

On the evening of the 12th June, while the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Faridpur, were returning from Rajbari, loud explosion was heard near their carriage soon after the train started. The Magistrate pulled the alarm chain and when the train stopped it was found that the windows and window shutters of the coupe in front of and adjoining the coupe in which they were travelling had been smashed and the floor and seat were covered with splinters of wood, broken pieces of glass, jute and paper. Some yellow stains were found on the outside of the window frame where the bomb struck. No one was injured.

### THEFT OF REVOLVERS

In the course of the year under review, eighteen revolvers (of which five were subsequently recovered) and seven pistols (of which four were subsequently recovered) were reported to have been lost or stolen. Sixty-six revolvers and twenty-six pistols were recovered during the year.

### ARRESTS

Of 730 persons arrested for specific offences 227 were sent up for trial. One hundred and thirty-four persons were convicted, seventy-three discharged and twenty acquitted.

### ABSCONDERS

Twenty-nine absconders were arrested during the year. Among these were Krishnapada Chakrabarti, Sushil Das Gupta, Jiten Gupta alias Bikram, Phanindra Das Gupta and Sachindra Kar Gupta. Krishnapada Chakrabarti, who escaped from the Buxa Detention Camp on the 11th February 1932, was arrested in Agartala, Tripura State on the 5th April 1932, after a dacoity in which he took part. Sushil Das Gupta, who escaped from the Midnapur Central Jail on the 8th February 1932, was arrested in Dhakuria, 24 Parganas, on the 14th April 1932. Jiten Gupta alias Bikram, who escaped from the Buxa Camp on the 11th February 1932, was arrested in Strand Road, Calcutta, on the 28th December 1932.

### DOCUMENTS RECOVERED FROM TERRORISTS

Of the documents recovered from the terrorist party during the year, the following are of special interest :

In the pocket of a detenu who was arrested in January a sheet of paper outlining the "Minimum Programme" of the terrorist party to which he belonged was recovered. Among other things dacoity, terrorism and armed revolution, provinces by province, were advocated.

In the pocket of Apurba Sen who was killed in the shooting affray at Dalghat, Chittagong, previously referred to, a letter was found describing a plot to murder the District Magistrates of Khulna and Barisal.

In April in the search of a house two pages of a note-book were recovered. These contained a list of proscribed books and a list showing the Juganter and Aunishilan leaders in various districts in Bengal.

### BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1930

The following are the figures relating to the operation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act :—

Number of persons—

Arrested under the Act	920
Released after a month	76
Released u-s 2 (1) (a) (b) (c)	68
Given home domicile	16
Given village domicile	32
Kept under Detention Camps	626
Kept under detention in jails	98

### SEDITIOUS SPEECHES AND PUBLICATIONS

Five cases against nine persons were instituted in the districts of Bengal under sections 124A and 153A, Indian Penal Code, for the circulation of seditious pamphlets or the delivery of seditious speeches. All these cases ended in conviction. Seventy-three books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., were proscribed by the local Government under sections 99A, Criminal Procedure Code, and 19 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 in the course of the year under review.

### COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Communist literature continued to be disseminated during the year. Leaflets, bulletins, etc., containing the usual slogans came to notice in districts from time to time.

# Calcutta Police Administration Report

The following action was taken to combat the Civil Disobedience movement in Calcutta in 1932, stated the Police Administration Report of Calcutta for the year 1932 :

(1) Fifty-five persons were arrested and temporarily detained under section 3 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance.

(2) Two hundred and ninety-five orders were served under section 4 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance.

(3) Sixty-nine associations were declared unlawful.

(4) Possession was taken of 58 places notified under section 3 of the Unlawful Association Ordinance and was later relinquished.

(5) Movcable property belonging to unlawful associations was seized from 47 notified places.

(6) Two thousand eight hundred and ninety-four persons were arrested during the year in Calcutta in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement ; of these the names of 2,665 have been indexed and registered.

(7) Raids.—Sixty-six secret camps of unlawful associations were raided and 266 persons arrested at these camps.

## REVOLUTIONARY CRIME

During the year under review the Department had no respite from the terrorist campaign. Ten cases were reported and investigated in connection with the terrorist conspiracy, including cases of outrages and seizure of explosives and firearms. In 1930-31 nine cases of this nature were reported during the year. Three of the cases in 1931 were of a very serious nature, and aroused widespread indignation. They included an attempt to assassinate His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson and two attempts to assassinate Sir Alfred Waston, Editor of the "Statesman." It will be seen that in all these cases with two exceptions, the culprits were either students or clerks of the Hindu 'bhadrakal' class. It cannot be said, therefore, that their activities were the outcome of unemployment. The assassins resorted to snicido by means of potassium cyanide in two of these cases rather than submit to arrest, while the girl student who attempted to assassinate His Excellency the Governor was similarly equipped.

Most of the firearms and munition used in these outrages were of foreign manufacture, chiefly of Belgian make, and had been smuggled into the country. In one case there was definite proof that part of firearm had been made locally and in a second case a part was under construction when the mechanic was arrested with it.

Among the explosives seized during the year were five bombshells of a new type seized in Lower Circular Road. These had been prepared in a factory in Howrah. They were intended to be exploded at a particular spot either electrically or with a time-fuse.

## The Burma Ordinance

In the Burma Legislative Council during question hour on the 11th August 1933, Mr. Ganga Singh (Mandalay, India) asked :—Will the Government be pleased to state what is the number of persons arrested and detained under the Burma Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1931?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—Nine persons have been arrested and detained under the Ordinance and the Burma Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1931. One has since been released on medical grounds.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to give a list of persons so detained district by district?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—The persons now detained are :—

Mr. N. L. Das—Rangoon.  
 ” D. C. Biswas—Rangoon.  
 ” K. L. Mukherjee—Yamethin.  
 ” P. C. Barua—Rangoon.  
 ” K. Bhattacharjee—Rangoon.  
 ” S. Sen Gupta—Rangoon.  
 ” P. K. Mukherjee—Rangoon.  
 ” M. Sarkar—Rangoon.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if Indians have been arrested and detained under the Burma Criminal Law Amendment Act? If so, what is their number?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—Yes, all are Indians. They number eight.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to inform the House the date of their arrest and place of their present detention?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—The information is given as follows :—

Name	Date of arrest	Place of detention
Mr. N. L. Das	31st January, 1931	Insein Central Jail
” D. C. Biswas	Do	Do
” K. L. Mukherjee	Do	Do
” P. C. Barua	2nd March, 1931	Do
” K. Bhattacharjee	31st January, 1931	Mandalay Central Jail
” S. Sen Gupta	Do	Do
” P. K. Mukherjee	Do	Do
” M. Sarkar	29th July, 1932	Do

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if there had been any judicial scrutiny with regard to each case made by any High Court Judge before or after their arrests?

The Hon'ble the Member :—No; a judicial scrutiny in each case has been made by two Sessions Judges in accordance with the provisions of section 19 of the Burma Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1931.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state that if the answer is in the negative, are the Government willing to constitute a "Board of Inquiry" consisting of two High Court Judges to go through the records of each case and recommend to the Government either for their detention or release as the case may be?

The Hon'ble Home Member :—The answer is the negative for the reason given in the answer to the previous question.

#### MONTHLY ALLOWANCES

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if the persons so detained are getting monthly allowances both for themselves and for their families.

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—All the detainees in jails are given monthly allowances: and in the case of five of them, family allowance is also granted.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state that if so, how much each detainee gets for his personal as well as his family allowances.

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—Each detainee gets a personal monthly allowance of Rs. 36. The family allowances vary according to circumstances. In the case of one, an allowance of Rs. 100 per mensem is given, in the case of one other an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem: in the case of two an allowance of Rs. 30 per mensem and in the case of the last an allowance of Rs. 20 per mensem.

#### MEDICAL HELP

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if they receive proper medical help?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—Yes.

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if the detainees namely Mr. K. Bhattacharjee and Mukherjee who are suffering from dental and eye diseases are properly attended to? If not, would the Government state the

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reasons why their complaints were not attended to? Are they still suffering from the same diseases?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—Both these persons have received treatment by the Jail Superintendent. In the case of Mr. Bhattacharyya his eyes were examined also by the Civil Surgeon at Mandalay, he was sent to an ophthalmist for measurement and provided with suitable spectacles. In regard to Mr. Bhattacharyya's dental trouble he was offered facilities to have treatment by a dentist at Mandalay at Government expense, but declines to be conveyed to the surgery by ghatry, Mr. Mukherjee was advised to go to the hospital for treatment of his eyes but has refused for the same reason as in Mr. Bhattacharyya's case. He has been provided with spectacles.

## CASE OF A MEDICAL STUDENT UNDER DETENTION

Mr. Ganga Singh :—Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the detenu S. K. Sen Gupta a medical student of the local medical school, passed his annual examination at the third year after his arrest? If so, would the Government see its way to allow him to sit for final examination or permit him to prosecute his studies in the fourth year in the absence of a definite charge against him?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, Mr. Sen Gupta is not eligible to appear for final medical examination under the rules of the Burma Medical Examination Board, Rangoon, and the Rules and Regulations for the management of the Burma Government Medical School, Rangoon; and Government has already decided that he should not be re-admitted to the medical School.

Mr. B. N. Das (Bassein, India) :—Will the Government be pleased to state the name, age, nationality and previous occupation of the persons detained under Burma Ordinance?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—The information is given as follows:—

Name	Age	Nationality	Previous occupation
Khagendra Lal Mukherjee	33	Bengalee Indian	Overseer, P. W. D. (unemployed)
Dinesh Chandra Biswas	33	Do	Assist. in Book-shop
Nagendra Lal Das	37	Do	Office clerk
Prabin Chandra Barua	26	Do	Ticket Collector (Burma Railways).
Kedareswar Bhattacharjee	30	Do	School teacher
Parimal Kumar Mukherjee	23	Do	Unemployed
Manoranjan Sarkar	24	Do	Medical Student
Sukumar Sen Gupta	23	Do	Do

## QUESTION OF RECONSIDERATION

Mr. B. N. Das :—When does the Government propose to reconsider the case of those detained under Burma Ordinance?

The Hon'ble Home Member :—Their cases have been considered from time to time and this practice will continue in future.

Mr. B. N. Das :—Will the Government be pleased to state in how many cases allowances were paid to the parents or families of the persons so detained under Burma Ordinance?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—In five cases.

## DETENUS FROM BENGAL

Mr. B. N. Das :—Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Bengal Detenus sent over to Burma up to date?

The Hon'ble the Home Member :—From time to time between the years 1924 and 1928 detenus from Bengal were received and returned. At the end of December 1929 there were 12 such detenus in jails in Burma; and by July 1928, they had all been returned to India. There have not been any detenus sent to Burma from Bengal.